Cover picture: Leonardo da Vinci: The Battle of Anghiari: Study of battles on horseback and on foot, 1503-04. Pen and ink on paper, 160 x 152 mm. Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice. Image: Public Domain

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EDITORIAL[*]

Some academic historians believe that military history is not worthy of the same kind of academic status as other branches of the discipline. They find it overly descriptive and where analysis is offered, focused on relatively narrow questions which do not speak to the modern concerns of the wider discipline. Such an approach is problematic. In particular, narrative accounts of warfare often interest the general public far more than apparently esoteric academic tomes and provide a way into the study of History for many. Moreover, military history *is* capable of speaking to the wider discipline as new historical interests open up, not least because of the range of archival material which has so often been created by militaries. As this journal shows, military history is a history of society, of culture and of politics, among many other things.

One of the most important recent developments in the broad field of history is the 'history of emotions'.[1] Sometimes labelled the 'emotional turn', new perspectives are causing historians to look afresh at a wide range of subjects in which the emotional dimension has not previously been much considered. Surely military history has much to contribute to this field? Fear, bravery, revenge, cowardice, and the ways in which different societies construct such concepts should be central to the study of warfare and therefore to history more widely.

For this reason, we were delighted when we were asked by Professor Benjamin Deruelle of the Université du Québec à Montréal, Canada, about the prospect of the *British Journal of Military History* producing a special issue on the history of emotions and early modern warfare. This suggested an opportunity to place the *BJMH* at the cutting edge of wider debates in the field of history. It also offered a rare opportunity to focus the journal on early modern matters and to make clear that despite our 'British' title, we are emphatically an international journal which can produce material that is globally significant. This special issue ranges across early modern Europe, addressing matters such as fear, surrender, and the perspectives of a military surgeon. In so doing it points to the richness and significance of new work in military history.

<div align="right">

RICHARD S. GRAYSON & ERICA WALD
Goldsmiths, University of London, UK

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[1] For further information see: Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

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Introduction: War and Emotion in early modern Europe

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ABSTRACT
Since the 1980s, the history of emotions has developed rapidly. Some even speak of a real emotional turn. However, military history and the history of emotions still intersect little in early modern history studies. Since Antiquity, the emotions of soldiers have certainly been regarded as an objective parameter of war, and the role of emotions in the war context seems obvious. However the military history of modern Europe is still not very open to the concepts and methods of the history of emotions which, quite often, does not study war. Yet the history of emotions suggests fruitful avenues for renewing military history, and the study of war, omnipresent between the 16th and 18th centuries, is crucial to understand early modern societies.

Since Peter and Carol Stearns' work in the 1980s, the history of emotions has developed rapidly. There are now a host of concepts, methodologies and a rich historiography. The recent publication of a number of syntheses, textbooks and handbooks bears witness to the coming-of-age of this field.[1]

The jury is however still out on the existence of a true 'emotional turn'. The development of the history of emotions has certainly produced a 'revolution in how we approach affectivity, as well as in its status.'[2] Historians have made considerable efforts to define the field and adopt the concepts developed by sociologists, psychologists and cultural anthropologists. In this regard, the works of Peter and Carol

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[1]See for example Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions. An Introduction*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Rob Boddice, *The History of Emotions*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018); Barbara H. Rosenwein and Riccardo Cristiani, *What is the history of emotions?* (Cambridge: Polity, 2018).
[2]Piroska Nagy, 'Les émotions et l'historien: de nouveaux paradigmes', *Critique*, 716-717, 1, (2007), p. 10.

Stearns, William Reddy and Barbara Rosenwein have been fundamental.[3] They have challenged many of the binaries established over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which impeded a historical approach to emotions. Two dichotomies of note were reason and emotion as well as the biological-cultural opposition regarding the origins of emotions. The approach of these scholars underlined the role of society in the construction of affect, which reintroduced the notion of rationality in the expression of emotions and the link between emotion and intentionality – that is to say, the insistence on a dimension of appraisal in the evaluation of external stimuli rather than viewing affective processing as raw, unsignified, subconscious, and beyond human will.[4] They also called into question the opposition between individuals and communities which resulted, at least in part, in the notions of 'emotional regime' and 'emotional community', and which drew attention to emotional behaviours and norms.[5] The adoption of the model of constructivism, largely inspired by anthropology, not only included emotions in the field of history, but overturned the linear and Eurocentric models of Johan Huizinga and Norbert Elias, who tell the story of modernity as of increasing self-mastering affect control.[6]

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[3]Their notions of 'emotional styles' or 'emotionologies', 'emotional regimes', and of 'emotional communities' are now key concepts in the history of emotions. Peter N. Stearns and Carol Z. Stearns, 'Emotionology. Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards', *The American Historical Review*, 90, 4, (1985), pp. 813-830. William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2006).
[4]Rom Harré (ed.), *The Social Construction of Emotions*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Bernard Rimé, *Le partage social des émotions*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005). More recently see Ruth Leys' works, such as *The Ascent of Affect: Genealogy and Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2017). For a more complete bibliography of studies from the field of social constructivism, such as those of Michelle Z. Rosaldo, Catherine Lutz and Lila Abu-Lughod, see in particular Catherine Lutz, 'The anthropology of emotions', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 15, (1986), pp. 405-436. For bibliographic guidelines, see Piroska Nagy, 'Les émotions et l'historien', pp. 10-22.
[5]Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 129; Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p. 2.
[6]Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, transl. by R. J. Payton and U. Mammitzsch, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996 [1932]); Norbert Elias, *On the Process of Civilisation*, ed. by Stephen Mennell; transl. by Edmund Jephcott, (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2012 [1939]). For a critique of this model, see Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History'; and 'Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions', *Passions in Context: International Journal for the History and Theory of Emotions* [online journal], 1 (2010). For a more recent critique, see Damien Boquet and Laurent Smagghe, 'L'émotion comme désir de vie', in Élodie Lecuppre (ed.), *'Le*

Since the early 2000s, the institutionalisation of the history of emotions has become manifest.[7] Institutions and centres for research have been established,[8] along with specialised journals[9] and several collaborative projects.[10] Such momentum is an essential component in the construction and recognition of any field of research. The multiplication of *handbooks* and collections dedicated to the history of emotions in numerous university publishing houses is further evidence of these new transformations.[11]

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goût du sang et des roses'. Relire L'Automne du Moyen Âge de Johan Huizinga aujourd'hui, (Villeneuve-d'Ascq: Presses Universitaires du Septentrion, 2019), pp. 205-223.

[7]Gabrielle Spiegel and Christian Delacroix proposed studying historiographic turning points by observing the transformations of the three components of the 'historiographic operation' described by Michel de Certeau and Paul Ricoeur: the '*lieu social*' (i.e. the institutions and positions of power), the 'pratique' (i.e. the analytical procedures, the conceptual resources and the mobilised sources), and the way in which we write history. See Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Réviser le passé/revisiter le présent', *Littérature*, 159, (2010), pp. 3-25. Christian Delacroix, 'Écoles, paradigmes, tournants, ruptures: les embarras de la périodisation en historiographie', *Atala Cultures et sciences humaines*, Vol.17, (2014), pp. 219-231, here p. 221. See also Michel de Certeau, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 7-23 and pp. 63-120; and Paul Ricœur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, (Paris: Éd. du Seuil, 2000), p. 169.

[8]To name but a few: *Max Planck Institut für Bildungsforschung* de Berlin, the *Queen Mary Centre for the History of Emotions* of London, the *Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions* of Perth, and the *Émotions au Moyen Âge* (Emma) project in France.

[9]See, for example, the online journals *Emotion Review* http://emr.sagepub.com; *Emotions: History, Culture, Society* https://brill.com/view/journals/ehcs/ehcs-overview.xml, Accessed 30 March 2020, and *Emotions and Society* https://bristoluniversitypress.co.uk/journals/emotions-and-society, Accessed 30 March 2020. For France, cf. *Sensibilités. Histoire, Critique et Sciences Sociales* https://anamosa.fr/les-revues/, Accessed 30 March 2020.

[10]See, for example, the recent publication in six volumes edited by Andrew Lynch, Susan Broomhall and Jane W. Davidson on the *Cultural History of the Emotions*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019), 6 vol.; and the French publication edited by Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello, *Histoire des émotions*, (Paris: Seuil, 2016-2017), 3 vol.

[11]See, for example, Jan Stets and Jonathan H. Turner (ed.), *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions*, (New York: Springer, 2008); Peter Goldie (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Lisa Feldman Barrett, Michael Lewis and Jeannette M. Haviland-Jones, *Handbook of Emotions*, (New York: Guilford Press, 2010); Susan Broomhall and Andrew Lynch, *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe, 1100-1700*, (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2019).

The traditional opposition between emotions and their expression in historical documentation has led to profound reflection on the sources, methods and concepts used to interpret them, which makes it possible to overcome this original duality.[12] William Reddy considers language not as an « intermediary », but as co-constitutive of the emotional experience, which is considered to be a product of society, emotional expression and individual sentiments. Jan Plamper questions the very idea that the representation of an experience can be separated from an historical point of view. The need to pay attention to language mediation, to compare sources and situate them within specific contexts, social environments and normative systems is not peculiar to the history of emotions nor to twenty-first-century historiography in general. The focus on the gap between representation and reality is more generally in line with the work of historians of representation, for whom it has become a subject of study in itself.[13] The introduction of the emotional paradigm has not changed the way history is written either. The self-awareness essential to historians (and to the humanities in general) has become the norm since the linguistic turn – or, in France, the '*tournant critique*' of the *Annales* – of the 1980s, and the close interrelationship between emotion, truth and evidence-building in history has been widely acknowledged.

Yet history has demonstrated that the prism of emotions contributes to a better understanding of how the concepts of power, class and ethnicity relate to each other. It has also offered important insight into the effect of emotion on behaviours and reactions, and the way in which political, religious, familial and military institutions sought to control or regulate them. Emotional control was indeed an important issue for military officers, not only in their exercise of authority, but also as a tactical, operational and strategic issue.

Many important issues still require debate and further research.[14] The role of nature and culture in the emotional experience is one in particular. If constructivism has

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[12]These points are all the more essential considering how language determines experience, and that the expression of emotions resulting from norms, practices and social taboos as much as from rational intentionalities.

[13]Roger Chartier, 'Le monde comme représentation', *Annales. ESC*, Vol.44, (1989), pp.1505-1520; Carlo Ginzburg, 'Représentation: le mot, l'idée, la chose', *Annales ESC*, Vol.46, (1991), pp. 1219-1234.

[14]These issues have been highlighted in Quentin Deluermoz, Emmanuel Fureix, Hervé Mazurel and M'hamed Oualdi, 'Écrire l'histoire des émotions: de l'objet à la catégorie d'analyse', *Revue d'histoire du XIXᵉ siècle*, Vol.47, (2013), pp. 155-189. On tensions and debates which continue to preoccupy the history of emotions see also Piroska Nagy, 'History of Emotions', in Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (ed.), *Debating New Approaches to History*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 189-215.

allowed for emotions to become a field of historical study, it has its limits, and the danger of descending into relativism is but one. It is for this reason that William Reddy considered emotion as only partly acquired.[15] This suggestion holds promise especially for military history as it takes into account the contributions of cognitive and historical studies as well as the irreducible role of biology in human reactions.[16]

The inescapable mediation of the narrative has become an object of research, and the expression of the emotional experience a means to observe the norms, representations, and social usages of emotions. The scale at which emotional norms hold sway, however, is still under discussion among specialists. It is not so much a question of personal versus collective emotions. Today, many scholars of emotions consider them to be deeply relational.[17] But at what level should emotions be studied:

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[15]William M. Reddy, 'Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology*, 38, (1997), pp. 327-351; and *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. xi. He also argued, as does Jan Plamper, that the dichotomy of 'acquired' and 'natural' is unproductive and itself a product of the late 18th Century.

[16]Four main perspectives – Darwinian, Jamesian, cognitive, and socio-constructivist – have emerged regarding the interpretation of the relationships between body and emotions, and between practice and the expression of emotions. Each proposes a way to define, study, and explain emotions, which carries implications for our understanding of the nature, causes, and consequences of emotion – and ultimately, human nature. Recent advances in anthropology and neuroscience have led to a finer understanding of the biosocial and biocultural construction of emotions, raising questions about the traditional perception of the relationship between the emotions and the body and challenging Eckman's theory of affect. Cf. Armelle Nugier, 'Histoire et grands courants de recherche sur les émotions', *Revue électronique de Psychologie Sociale*, 4 (2009), pp. 8-14 [http://RePS.psychologie-sociale.org/]. Today, the link between conscious (words, gestures, facial expressions) and unconscious (blush) body expressions and emotions is made by emphasizing the internalisation of social norms which are expressed both in words and in language. Boddice, *The history of Emotions*, pp. 106-131; and Jan Plamper, 'The History of Emotions: An interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns', *History and Theory*, 49 (2010), pp. 237-265.

[17]The cognitive approach as applied to the collective considers that emotional reactions are based on an individual's belonging to, and identification with, a social group and as a motive for action. Eliot R. Smith, 'Social Identity and Social Emotions: Toward New Conceptualizations of Prejudice', in D. M. Mackie and D. L. Hamilton (ed.), *Affect, Cognition, and Stereotyping: Interactive Processes in Group Perception*, (San Diego: Academic Press, 1993), pp. 297-315; 'Affective and Cognitive Implications of a Group Becoming Part of the Self: New Models of Prejudice and of the Self-Concept', in Dominic Abrams and Michael Hogg (ed.), *Social Identity and Social Cognition*, (Oxford:

that of the individual, considering that each person experiences events differently; that of 'emotional communities', from the family nucleus to very large social groups (the Christian community for example); or that of 'emotional regimes' (which can encompass entire societies)? If Rosenwein's and Reddy's models allow for changes in scale and for multiple belongings, the way in which individuals navigate the emotional regimes of the groups to which they belong remains to be explored. This therefore raises the problem of classifying individuals in a single community. The boundaries between communities are often porous; each individual is situated at a crossroads between many social, religious and professional communities, which are themselves heterogeneous and subject to major tensions.[18] Once again, the problems of taxonomy are not limited to the history of emotions or even to historians themselves.

One key issue remains to be discussed: how does an individual emotion become a collective experience?[19] If historians recognise the importance of group influence, and not only in modern armies, the communication and amplification of emotions, and the means with which they propagate from the individual to the collective are still poorly understood.[20] Their propagation depends on specific dynamics which cannot be reduced to the sum of individual emotions, and which remain to be explored.[21] Recent studies in history have nevertheless shown the fertility of the notion of understanding affective cultures through an *emic* and anthropological approach to words, gestures and iconographic representations of emotions.[22] They explore not only whether

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Blackwell, 1999); and Ruth Leys, 'The Turn to Affect: A Critique', *Critical Inquiry*, 37 (2011), pp. 434-472.

[18]Bernard Lahire, *L'homme pluriel: les ressorts de l'action*, (Paris: Nathan, 1998).

[19]Cf. the workshop organised by Piroska Nagy, *Emporté par la foule. Histoire des émotions collectives: épistémologie, émergences, expériences*, February 7, 2020 at the Université du Québec à Montréal.

[20]On the difficulties involved in the notion of collective emotions see for example Piroska Nagy, 'History of Emotions', in Marek Tamm and Peter Burke (ed.), *Debating New Approaches to History*, (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2018), pp. 189-215. For different approaches in sociology or philosophy see Deborah B. Gould, *Moving politics: emotion and ACT up's fight against AIDS*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2009); Christian von Scheve and Mikko Salmela (ed.), *Collective Emotions. Perspectives from Psychology, Philosophy and Sociology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Mikko Salmela, 'Can Emotions be Collective?', in Andrea Scarantino (ed.), *Routledge Handbook of Emotion Theory*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019).

[21]Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules*, (Paris: Félix Alcan, 1895), pp. 18-20. On his reflections, see Vincent Rubio, 'Psychologie des foules, de Gustave le Bon. Un savoir d'arrière-plan', *Sociétés*, 100, 2, (2008), pp. 79-89.

[22]The works of Gustave Le Bon are now much debated because of their universalist vision of collective emotion, and their emotional and irrational conception of crowds.

societies in the past viewed emotions as collective, but also their understanding, appreciation and meaning. These studies question contemporary representations of crowds, mobilization and political action, and the perception of how situations escaped the control of the authorities. They highlight what is at stake in crowd discourse and in the narration of episodes of collective emotion. They study the phenomena of contagion, and the effectiveness of collective emotion which leads to action. In doing so, they rehabilitate the action of the people and the conscious capacity of a crowd to act on the world.[23] Other recent studies in neuroscience and in social psychology on suggestion and rumour propagation, contamination of eyewitness testimony, and memory distortion open up interesting perspectives.[24] The notions of suggestion, psychosocial contagion, and the psychosocial model have been used in particular to understand the cultural and social construction of representations and the way in which legends and mass illusions begin and spread, but also 'fake' news, false memories and the contagion of witness testimonies.[25] They are of particular interest for the

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On this conception at the turn of the nineteenth century, see Susanna Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors: Visions of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth-century France*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); Jaap van Ginneken, *Crowds, Psychology, and Politics, 1871-1899*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Damien Bouquet and Piroska Nagy, 'Una storia diversa delle emozioni', *Rivista storica italiana,* 128/2, (2016), pp. 481-520.

[23]Georges Lefebvre, *La grande peur de 1789*, (Paris: Armand Colin, 1932); Christian Borch, *The Politics of Crowds: An Alternative History of Sociology*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Sophie Wahnich, 'Émotions et ambition démocratique: la contribution de l'approche historique', in Alain Faure and Emmanuel Négrier (ed.), *La politique à l'épreuve des émotions*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 251-260; Piroska Nagy, 'Collective Emotions, History Writing and Change: The Case of the Pataria (Milan, eleventh Century)', *Emotions: History, Culture, Society*, 2, (2018), pp. 132-152.

[24]These studies focus on how ideas are formed and propagated, seeking to clarify what happens between perception and feeling. They take into consideration that 'the emotional meaning of situations' depends on the 'abilities' and 'evaluation' of individuals, and can therefore be 'biased' by culture, beliefs and context. Nugier, 'Histoire et grands courants'.

[25]Christopher C. French, Anna Stone, *Anomalistic psychology: Exploring Paranormal Belief and Experience*, (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Brigitte Axelrad, *Les ravages des faux souvenirs ou La mémoire manipulée*, (Sophia-Antipolis: Éd. Book-e-book, 2010); Elisabeth Loftus and Katherine Ketcham, *Witness for the Defense: The Accused, the Eyewitness, and the Expert Who Puts Memory on Trial*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991). See also Louis Crocq, 'Les paniques collectives: histoire, structure clinique, statut nosographique, étio-pathogénie et traitement', in *LXXXXIVe Congrès de psychologie et neurologie de langue française, compte rendu*, (Paris: Masson,

history of riots and the effect of panic on crowd movements, and especially so for military historians.

The history of emotions has, incidentally, developed along quite disparate lines depending on the period or topic of study. Scholars of social movements, riots and revolutions, medicine, women's history, family history, monastic communities, or power and the practices of governing, have all evolved along different avenues of thought.[26] In France, the history of emotions has had a profound impact on medieval studies.[27] A dialogue has recently begun between the French *Histoire des sensibilités* and the History of Emotions. Originally two distinct traditions – the first relied heavily on sociology and kept its distance from the neurosciences – they are increasingly finding common ground in the history of representations, their interest for actors and their perceptions of the world, and the desire to 'make affect a relevant factor in the study of the emotional understanding of past societies'. The recent convergence in France of the history of feelings and the history of emotions results from the desire to unify the 'three levels of affectivity – emotions, feelings and sensory perceptions.'[28]

Nevertheless, despite Lucien Febvre's early call to action and William Reddy's work, many modern historians are still wary of wading into the emotional realm.[29] Since the

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1986), pp. 180-191; Pat Jalland, *Death in War and Peace: A History of Loss and Grief in England, 1914-1970*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Rob Boddice (ed.), *Pain and Emotion in Modern History*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

[26]For an overview of the very ample historiography on the subject, see the online bibliography of the Perth's *Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions* (https://www.zotero.org/groups/300219/che_bibliography_history_of_emotions/items/order/dateModified/sort/desc). Accessed 29 March 2020.

[27]See for example Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy (ed.), *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 2009) and *Sensible Moyen Âge: une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2015); Laurent Smagghe, *Les Émotions du prince. Émotions et discours politique dans l'espace bourguignon*, (Paris: Classique Garnier, 2012); Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy (ed.), *Politiques des émotions au Moyen Âge*, (Firenze: SISMEL-Galluzzo, 2010).

[28]Quentin Deluermoz and Hervé Mazurel, 'L'histoire des sensibilités: un territoire-limite?', *Critical Hermeneutics, Biannual International Journal of Philosophy*, Vol.3, (2019), pp. 125-170.

[29]Notwithstanding this, of note are the pioneering works of Lucien Febvre, 'La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?', *Annales ESC*, 3 (Janvier-Juin 1941), pp. 221-238; and *'Honneur et Patrie'*, (Paris: Perrin, 1996); Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Les Amours paysannes (XVIe-XIXe siècle)*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975); Jean Delumeau, *Le Péché et la peur: La culpabilisation en Occident, XIIIe-XVIIIe siècles*, (Paris: Fayard, 1983); Delumeau, *La peur en Occident (XIVe-XVIIIe siècles)*, (Paris: 2013 [1978]);

decline of the history of mentalities, scholars of early modern history have explored practices and representations but still hesitate to tackle affect, emotions or sentiments. Despite the recent volumes on the history of emotions, edited by Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello[30] few publications and doctoral dissertations expressly mention 'emotion(s)' or 'passion(s)' in their title.[31] This dearth of publications is all the more surprising given the keen interest that philosophers, literary scholars and historians of art have had for the philosophy (Descartes, Spinoza, Hume), rhetoric (Bernard Lamy), poetics (Scaliger), aesthetics (Leibniz, Kant, Burke) and painting (Le Brun, Diderot, Lavater, Winckelmann) of passions.[32] The conference entitled *Émotions en bataille* held at the Université du Québec à Montréal in October 2018 was the first early modern French-language conference exclusively dedicated to

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and Arlette Farge, *La vie fragile. Violence et solidarités à Paris au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, (Paris: Hachette, 1986). This is less true for the English-speaking world: see Susan Broomhall (ed.), *Early modern Emotions: An Introduction*, (Abingdon & New York: Routledge, 2017).
[30]Corbin, Courtine and Vigarello, *Histoire des émotions*. The bibliographical notes for the sections which concern Early Modern history in volumes 1 and 2 are symptomatic of this trend, though the eighteenth century, a period when sentimentalism flourished, seems to be more substantially studied than previous centuries.
[31]The website https://www.theses.fr, Accessed: April 2019, identifies only 14 doctoral dissertations in history since 1979 which have 'emotion(s)' (5) or 'passion(s)' (9) in the title. Other dissertations with titles describing 'emotion' in the sense of 'sedition' are also indexed, four of which are in the field of early modern history. See for example Yann Rodier, *Les raisons de la haine. Histoire d'une passion dans la France du premier XVIIᵉ siècle*, (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2020). This number is likely far greater as there are many ways of phrasing emotion or passion in titles, not to mention studies which explore the subject despite omitting the words in the title. Nonetheless, this count gives a good idea of the work yet to be done. See Pauline Valade, *Réjouissances monarchiques et joie publique à Paris au XVIIIᵉ siècle: approbation et interrogation du pouvoir politique par l'émotion (1715-1789)*, (PhD diss., Université de Bordeaux 3, 2016).
[32]To name a few examples: Christian Biet, *Racine, ou la passion de l'âme*, (Paris: Hachette, 1996); Thierry Belleguic, Éric van der Schueren, Sabrina Vervacke, *Les discours de la sympathie: enquête sur une notion de l'âge classique à la modernité*, (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2007); Frédéric Charbonneau, *Mémorialistes français du règne de Louis XV: bibliographie*, (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2011); Lucie Desjardins and Daniel Dumouchel, *Penser les passions à l'âge classique*, (Paris: Hermann, 2012); Syliane Malinowski-Charles, *Affects et conscience chez Spinoza. L'automatisme dans le progrès éthique*, (Hildesheim: G. Olms Verlag, 2004); Anne Régent-Susini, *Bossuet et la rhétorique de l'autorité*, (Paris: H. Champion, 2011); Jean Starobinski, *L'encre de la mélancolie*, (Paris: Seuil, 2012).

the history of emotions.[33] Though numerous, historians were far from the only scholars who participated.

Despite such interest in other fields, publications pertaining to emotions remain scarce in the field of early modern military history, although emotions are omnipresent. Indeed, since Antiquity, the emotions of soldiers have been regarded as an objective parameter of war. In the *Stratagemata*, written at the end of the first century BC, Frontinus dedicated an entire chapter to 'On dispelling fears inspired in soldiers by adverse omens'.[34] In the preceding chapter, he recounted that Agesilaus had stripped Persian soldiers of their terrible war costumes to quell the fear they instilled in his men. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Michel d'Amboise recommended that captains evacuate the fearful, injured or dead from battlefields because 'they caused terrible fright in their companions.'[35] Long before Charles Ardant du Picq's *Étude sur le Combat*, published posthumously in 1880, the humanity of soldiers and its subsequent repercussions on war operations were the focus of military men and war theoreticians, though it was not before the last third of the twentieth century that military historians began working on the subject in earnest.[36] John Keegan is often considered the first to have enquired into the experience of combatants. In *The Face of Battle*, he approached the history of combat from the perspective of soldiers and in terms of human behaviour. The 'emotional and physical environment' of combatants is at the core of his work.[37]

While not detracting from Keegan's important study, it is nonetheless worth noting that over a dozen years earlier, André Corvisier – and Émile Léonard well before him[38] – had already taken an interest in topics such as the moral and affective factors of army enlistment, the sense or denial of duty, violence and the sensibilities of soldiers, as well as living conditions and morale in the French army on the cusp of the eighteenth

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[33] Pascal Bastien, Benjamin Deruelle and Lyse Roy (ed.), *Émotions en bataille, XVIᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècle. Sentiments, sensibilités et communautés d'émotions de la première modernité*, (Paris: Hermann, forthcoming).

[34] Sextus Julius Frontinus, *The Stratagems and the Aqueducts of Rome*, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1925), pp. 79, pp. 81-85.

[35] Michel d'Amboise, *L'art et Guidon des Gens de la Guerre*, (Paris: Arnoul l'Angelier, 1552 [1543]), ff. xvii v°, xxx v°, lxxxi v°.

[36] Charles Ardant du Picq, *Étude sur le Combat*, (Paris: Hachette, 1880).

[37] John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976).

[38] Émile Léonard's study remains a benchmark for the history of the French army in the eighteenth century. It focuses on the views of officers and soldiers and their evolution regarding military questions. Émile Léonard, *L'armée et ses problèmes au XVIIIᵉ siècle*, (Paris: Plon, 1958).

century.[39] The small group of historians that gravitated around Corvisier and attended the seminar he co-presented with Fernand Gambiez a few years later became attentive to the role of emotions in war. In 1969, André Corvisier, Henry Contamine, Jean Chagniot, Jean-Paul Bertaud, and William Serman, among others, actively took part in an international conference on military history in Paris. They also participated in the 13th International Conference on the Historical Sciences in 1970, which dealt with the lives and the psychology of combatants and men of war.[40] This burgeoning new field of history, and the interest in emotions, encouraged further studies on the relationship of soldiers to death, violence and also fear.[41]

Though largely decried in France in the 1930s and in the years following the Second World War, [42] military history once again gained favour with social historians in the 1970s and 1980s.[43] It began foremost as a social history of armies, military institutions and structures, rather than a history of war, operations or combat.[44] In France, the

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[39]André Corvisier, *L'Armée française de la fin du XVIIe siècle au ministère de Choiseul, le soldat*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), p.viii.

[40]David Kostewicz, 'A "Clearing House" for Military Historian: The International Commission of Military History', *Revue internationale d'histoire militaire*, Vol.75, (2013), p. 100.

[41]Cf. Fernand Gambiez, 'La peur et la panique dans l'histoire', dans *Mémoires et communication de la Commission française d'Histoire Militaire*, 1, (1970), pp. 91-124; and 'Étude historique des phénomènes de panique', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 20, (1973), pp. 153-166; André Corvisier, 'La mort du soldat depuis la fin du Moyen Âge', *Revue Historique*, 254, (1975), pp. 3-30; and 'Le moral des combattants, panique et enthousiasme: Malplaquet, 11 septembre 1709', *Revue Historique des Armées*, 3, (1977), pp. 7-32; Jean Chagniot, 'Une panique, les Gardes françaises à Dettingen (27 Juin 1743)', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 24, (1977), pp. 78-95.

[42]Though Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, who founded the Annales, did not deny the structuring nature of war. Cf. Marc Bloch, *L'Étrange défaite: témoignage écrit en 1940*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1990). War in all its forms was also prominent in Fernand Braudel's second volume of *La Méditerranée et le monde méditerranéen à l'époque de Philippe II*, (Paris: A. Colin 1966 [1949]). See esp. chapter VI, vol. 2 'Les formes de la guerre', pp. 164-212, as well as the entire third section, pp. 225-514.

[43]See for example the works of Jean Bérenger and Jean Meyer on the navy; Philippe Contamine on the Middle Ages; Jean Chagniot, Jean-Paul Bertaud and Jean-Pierre Bois on the French Revolution and the eighteenth century.

[44]Regarding this historiography, see Laurent Henninger, 'La nouvelle histoire-bataille', *Espaces Temps*, 71-73 (1999); *De la guerre. Un objet pour les sciences sociales*, pp. 35-46; Catherine Denys, 'La renaissance de l'histoire militaire française pour l'époque moderne: un bilan historiographique (1945-2005)', *Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen*

shift began to be truly felt in the decade following, and was driven by studies from English-speaking historians, the '*retour de l'événement*' and the development of historical anthropology. George Duby's *Le dimanche de Bouvines* is a model in this genre.[45] Duby used the example of a unique event to expand upon notions of social, political and cultural structures in history. He offered an 'ethnography' of military practice, gestures and symbolism, an anthropology of battle and of its sacred and political aspects, and a reflection on the process of writing history, which determines the fabric of an event and its entry into the annals of history. His work served as a foundation in France for later developments in the field of cultural and anthropological history, which began to turn its attention to the physical and psychological state of combatants, their emotions and sentiments, and to the evolution of military cultures. Seminal studies by Olivier Chaline, Hervé Drévillon and Bernard Gainot are a result of this new impetus.[46]

Currently, the social, political and cultural history of early modern war is being renewed and sustained by a new generation of historians for whom the history of emotions is central to their work.[47] Their studies have been important additions to French historiography since the 2000s and provide a perfect complement to English-

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Neuzeit, Arbeitkreis Militär und Gesellschaft in der Frühen Neuzeit, Vol.11, Iss.1, (2007), pp. 7-23; and for Germany, Ralf Pröve, 'La nouvelle histoire militaire de l'époque moderne en Allemagne', *Revue historique des armées*, 257, (2009), pp. 14-26.

[45]Georges Duby, *Le dimanche de Bouvines*, (Paris: Folio histoire, 2006 [1973]).

[46]Olivier Chaline, *La bataille de la Montagne Blanche (8 novembre 1620). Un mystique chez les guerriers*, (Paris: Noesis, 1999); Hervé Drévillon, *L'impôt du sang. Le métier des armes sous Louis XIV*, (Paris: Tallandier, 2005); and the many articles written by Bernard Gainot. For contemporary history and a study on World War I, see the publications of Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, also of great influence. Cf. *Combattre. Une anthropologie historique de la guerre moderne XIXe-XXe siècle*, (Paris: Seuil, 2008).

[47]To cite but a few, see the recent publications (and the additional bibliographic suggestions contained therein) of Ariane Boltanski, Yann Lagadec and Franck Mercier (ed.), *La bataille, du fait d'armes au combat idéologique*, (XIe – XIXe siècles), (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2014); Marion Trévisi and Laurent Vissière, *Le feu et la folie. L'irrationnel et la guerre de la fin du Moyen Âge à 1920*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016); Benjamin Deruelle and Arnaud Guinier (ed.), *Cultures et identités combattantes en Europe de la guerre de Cent ans à la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2017); and the collection 'L'homme et la guerre' edited by Jean Baechler at Hermann Publishing. My own study, *De Papier de fer et de sang*, considers chivalric sentiment and the role of emotion and social representations in the behaviour of sixteenth-century warrior nobility. *De papier, de fer et de sang: chevaliers et chevalerie à l'épreuve de la modernité (ca. 1460 – ca. 1620)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015).

language historians who also focus on the psychological aspects of combat. Since John Lynn's internationally recognised 1984 publication on motivation,[48] several other studies have followed, such as by Yuval N. Harari and Ilya Berkovich, as well as the publication edited by Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis Van der Haven.[49] Recent works on the two World Wars, as well as on shell shock and the emergence of military psychiatry also open up interesting perspectives on the issue of the motivation and psychology of soldiers.[50] Though military historians have long been interested in emotions and their behavioural consequences for soldiers, as well as in the tools used by officers and the military institution to manage them, they have scarcely begun to embrace the notions and methods espoused by the field of the history of emotions. And so, to paraphrase John Lynn, this issue of the *British Journal for Military History* is both a call to action for historians of war to embrace the recent contributions of historians of emotion, and an invitation to historians of emotion to engage in the history of war. For, despite the intensity of emotions felt by the men and women who wage and experience war, emotion is still largely absent in studies of early modern war.[51]

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[48]John A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic. Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-1794*, (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

[49]Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450-2000*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven (ed.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Regime Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017). See also, Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch and Katrina O'Loughlin, *Emotions and War: Medieval to Romantic Literature*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

[50]For example, see Mark S. Micale, Paul Lerner et al. (ed.), *Traumatic Pasts: History, Psychiatry and Trauma in the Modern Age, 1870-1930*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Alexander Watson, *Enduring the Great War: Combat, Morale and Collapse in the German and British Armies, 1914-1918*, (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Christine G. Krüger and Sonja Levsen (ed.), *War Volunteering in Modern Times: From the French Revolution to the Second World War*, (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Daniel Ussishkin, *Morale: A Modern British History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

[51]The structure and bibliography of the *Histoire des émotions* by Alain Corbin, the recent handbooks by Robb Boddice and Barbara Rosenwein, or *The Routledge History of Emotions in Europe* underscore this point. Note an exception in Jan Plamper's article, 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology', *Slavic Review*, 2009 (68-2), pp. 259-283.

Historiography has recently become invested with a renewed interest in individual agency and narrative history. The emotional approach provides us with fertile ground for refining our knowledge of the lives of these men of war, and of how they perceive the world. The notion that emotions are an essential aspect of understanding the combat experience was already at the heart of the shift proposed by John Keegan: adopting the viewpoint of common soldiers rather than that of the senior officers. However, the fact that the written word remained the monopoly of certain social groups places limitations on the study of earlier historical periods. Nonetheless, through the careful examination of written accounts and anecdotes, the methodical analysis of words, gestures, and codes, and the issues that surround the act of writing, we gain an understanding of the everyday experiences of the individual, and of the difficulties as well as the joys of military life. This also contribute to a better understanding of past societies as a whole, and of the complexity of their value systems.

This return to representation of the rules of combat, of the acceptable and the unacceptable, of courage, loyalty and honour, or of fear and suffering, must not, however, isolate the war historian from theoretical debates and the regulations issued by civil and military authorities. On the contrary, they help us to determine whether emotions were considered an objective parameter of war. If this is the case, then understanding how the State, the army and theoreticians – often themselves military professionals during the early modern era – thought about emotions and their relationship to accepted or rejected behaviour – fear, cowardice, anger and melancholy, for example – becomes possible. Their reflections resulted in defined 'emotional regimes'. Although never perfectly imposed, these regimes reveal how military institutions and theorists attempted to regulate emotions, influence the morale of men and keep control of troops in the emotionally saturated environment of war. The ways in which they conceived emotions also inform us more generally about how they perceived the world. Indeed, naturalistic perceptions in early modern Europe nurtured particular reflection on emotions and conditioned the choices made to contain them as the professionalization of the military corps progressed.

The attention paid by the history of emotions to their performative nature also prompts us to focus on the way in which emotions influence the organisation of social groups and individual or collective actions. They thus invite not only the study of specific emotions and their expression in the military context, but also an understanding of what emotions reveal about military cultures and how they interrelate with those of other social bodies. The history of emotions is a useful tool for rethinking relationships – between combatants, between civilians and combatants, and between civil or military authorities and combatants. For emotions can play a decisive role in war: in the tactical, operational and even strategic use of terror to avoid combat, preserve soldiers and save military resources; in the violence exchanged

between belligerents, exercised against populations as a reprisal, or present in the act of vengeance; in the tensions between disheartened soldiers and their officers or between warring elites and European monarchies. The emotional approach thus makes it possible to take a fresh look at the experience of war, the motivations and panic movements, or the means used to make an individual or a group take action.

This approach contributes to improving our knowledge of these unique military institutions which were the armies of the early modern age, and which recruited their members from a variety of geographical, social and cultural backgrounds. As a result, they were important centres of cultural exchange where diverse social, linguistic and religious communities rubbed shoulders. The sense of belonging that was created was expressed in ways and according to rationalities which differ greatly from those of contemporary armies. The concept of 'emotional community' is therefore of great use in understanding how military communities were organised, fought against one other or were merged. It sheds light on the interrelationship between the social, political or religious affiliations of the soldiers at a time when states were seeking to impose subjugation and obedience over traditional communities. Finally, it is an addition to the arsenal, one more tool to break with the teleological vision of the genesis of modern states and national armies, which continues in part to fuel nationalism and its myths. Thus, we continue to rehabilitate the study of war as one field of human activity among others.

Not all of the authors featured in this issue are, strictly speaking, military historians. But they propose to meet us halfway and to incorporate the notions and methodologies of the history of emotions into their own reflections on war, violence and international relations. The texts are not exhaustive studies, but they illustrate a variety of situations, sources, topics and historiographic traditions which will prove useful in exploring how the two fields intersect to provide fruitful avenues of future research.

They demonstrate the extent to which the rationalisation and professionalisation – of the Early Modern era in general, and the military profession in particular – made consideration of the emotions troubling the military more urgent. The ideal of mastering one's emotions was an Aristotelian notion carried through from the Middle Ages and reinforced by Neoplatonism and Neostoicism. The evolution in the perception of disorders of the soul and of the body, eventually considered natural even in noblemen, sparked new ways of thought on how they might be channelled. In war especially, more attention was given to managing if not controlling fear, sadness and compassion. This accompanied a redefining of the qualities inherent in the military profession and an affirmation of the need for discipline. A soldier's courage allowed him to confront danger and bear adversity. The detachment from a patient's suffering,

so essential to a good physician, also became a strength. Both were considered prerequisites to martial and therapeutic success.

When placed within their social and historical contexts, emotions reveal their performative power and bring to the forefront the relationship between emotional pragmatism and political, military and human action.[52] The articles in this journal issue prompt us to consider the multiple rationales and tensions at play within individuals so that we may retrace the logic of their actions. As much as they might seem irrational to us today, the decisions made under emotional stress, like the shrewd calculations of military administration, were based on 'sound reasoning'.[53] The papers invite reflection on this regime of rationality which determined the decisions of history's protagonists. They reveal reckless actions on the battlefield, supreme transgressions of religious norms (calling on the Turks), the prudence which tempered individual interests, and the necessity of preserving the army's precious human and material resources. And through it all, they unveil the power of emotion, instinct and especially fear in motivating action, reaction or the evolution of individuals and the structures in which they navigate.

In the highly charged emotional context of battle, emotions are a major driving force behind military action. They were a preoccupation which the military hierarchy and administration could not afford to eschew. In the sixteenth century, military regulations and treatises began to develop extensive ideas on how to manage the effects of emotions, fear foremost among them. It was affect which commanders, theoreticians and memorialists thought most about. They closely observed and described its every effect, from the release of bodily fluids to movements of panic which routed entire armies. Emotion clearly played a role in fashioning modern armies which were impossible to conceive without it. Despite every effort by the state to redefine martial virtues and criminalise cowardice, and despite the growing professionalisation of the military which turned the soldier into a cog in an overwhelming institutional machine, his humanity remained an inevitable and unavoidable consideration.

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[52]Following William Reddy's model and his notion of the 'emotive', which was inspired by that of performativity in Austins' discourse, and insists on the power of emotions to determine and transform behaviour.

[53]Raymon Boudon, 'L'explication cognitiviste des croyances collectives', and Louis Lévy-Garboua and Serge Blondel, 'La décision comme argumentation', in Raymond Boudon, Alban Bouvier and François Chazel (ed.), *Cognition et sciences sociales, la dimension cognitive dans l'analyse sociologique*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1997), pp. 19-54 and pp. 55-68.

In this regard, John Lynn's essay is halfway between historiographical reflection and case study.[54] 'The intersections between the history of warfare and the history of emotions,' he states, 'are clearly apparent, from the clash of great passions that precipitate armed conflicts, to memories that are propagated and continue long after the last shots are fired.' But these intersections are quite ancient – they existed well before the nineteenth century and the theories of Ardant du Picq. They are, paradoxically, at the root of many missed opportunities for renewing the history of war and the methodology and concepts of the history of emotions. Lynn begins with the assumption that, in contexts of war, 'emotions are experienced and expressed differently in different eras by different cultures.'[55] His is a reflection on the performative nature of emotions. Starting from perceptions of fear and honour during the Ancien Régime and revolutionary European 'command communit[ies]' and 'primary group[s]', he proposes to approach emotions not only as 'experience' and 'expression', but also as 'execution', i.e. as the levers of action.

This is precisely the conclusion of Giovanni Ricci regarding the geopolitics of emotion represented in Italian Renaissance appeals to the Turks[56]. The peninsula spanned both western European and Muslim worlds and its people feared, above all else, invasion from the armies of the Sublime Porte who, after the Fall of Constantinople, advanced

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[54]John Lynn is a Full Professor at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign and the author of numerous studies on war. He is one of the foremost international specialists on the history of war today. Among his principle works, see John A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic*; *Giant of the Grand Siecle. The French Army (1610-1715)*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and more recently, *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism*.

[55]He has applied this general principle of cultural history throughout his career and more notably in the debate with Victor Davis Hanson on the western model of war. Victor Davis Hanson, *The Western Way of War, Infantry Battle in Classical Greece*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989); and *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, (New York: Doubleday, 2001); John A. Lynn, *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture*, (Boulder: Westview, 2003).

[56]Giovanni Ricci is Full Professor of Early Modern History at Università degli Studi di Ferrara. His work centres on the intersection between social and cultural history and his topics of interest vary from social mobility and societal fringes, princely funeral rituals and their political dimension, and Christian-Turkish relations and 'Turks' in the Mediterranean, to international relations during the Italian Wars. He is notably the author of *Povertà, vergogna, superbia. I declassati fra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1996); *Il principe e la morte. Corpo, cuore, effigie nel Rinascimento*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998); *I giovani, i morti. Sfide al Rinascimento*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007); *I turchi alle porte*, (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008); *Appeal to the Turk*: *The Broken Boundaries of the Renaissance*, (Roma: Viella, 2018).

ever onwards both into the Balkans and the Adriatic. The Ottomans nonetheless evoked, in the peoples and cities of Italy, feelings of hope for liberation from the yoke of a rival, for a more just government, or simply for social, moral or religious renewal. Ricci demonstrates that, from the Fall of Constantinople (1453) to the Battle of Lepanto (1571), the intertwining of contrary emotions shaped relations between Italian forces as well as their relationships with the foreign powers which battled for dominion of the peninsula. He also notes how, over time, collective western history, out of moral and religious considerations, worked to suppress memory of the complex game of shifting alliances which was constantly played.

Benjamin Deruelle[57] and Laurent Vissière[58] also interrogate memory in their article. They give us an overview of how emotions of bereavement act on combatants. For, contrary to received opinion, it was not incumbent upon military men to be insensitive to death. Fathers, sons, brothers, comrades and even enemies were lamented, wept over and regretted. Their death gave birth to warlike fury as much as grief and opened psychological wounds so deep that they sometimes forced survivors to the very edge. Though grand manifestations of grief and lengthy literary compositions exalting the great warrior for eternity – or on the contrary discreet tears – stemmed from a social or political expression of grief, they nonetheless reveal the intensity of the emotions felt in the face of death in combat. They also unveil, at the cusp of the modern era, an emerging sensibility and a true military profession.

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[57]Benjamin Deruelle is Associate Professor of Early Modern History at the Université du Québec à Montréal. His work focuses on the history of the State, war and the elite, as well as on the culture and practices of war in the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries. His publications include, *De papier, de fer et de sang: chevaliers et chevalerie à l'épreuve de la modernité (ca. 1460 – ca. 1620)*, and chapters on early modern history in *L'histoire militaire de la France* (Paris: Perrin, 2018). He made contributions to a global history of war published in 2019, entitled *Mondes en guerre* (Paris: Passés composés, 2019). He is currently co-director, with Hervé Drévillon and Bernard Gainot, of the series *Construction du militaire* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2013, 2017, 2020).
[58]A former member of the École normale supérieure and the École des Chartes, Laurent Vissière is currently *Maître de conférences* in medieval history at Sorbonne-Université. He specialises in the early Italian Wars and his publications include *"Sans poinct sortir hors de l'orniere". Louis II de La Trémoille (1460-1525)*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2008); with Patricia Eichel-Lojkine, he has also edited *Les Louenges du roy Louys XII de Claude de Seyssel*, (Geneva: Droz, 2009). His work currently centres on the daily life of besieged populations in the fifteenth century.

INTRODUCTION: WAR AND EMOTION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

It is this spectre of professionalisation which Hélène Cazès follows, though it is with regard to the medical rather than the military profession.[59] She demonstrates that the spirit of the Renaissance was not uniquely one of rediscovery of ancient or of experimental knowledge, but also one of questioning – in this case, questioning the role of emotions in the medical profession. For Charles Estienne, medical detachment from the suffering of his patients was a prerequisite for successful treatment. In view of the horrors of the flesh resulting from injury or dissection, such as by Leonardo da Vinci, Jean Fernel, Andreas Vesalius and Ambroise Paré, nervousness, pity and mercy become the enemies of the physician, the patient and of the healing process. Hélène Cazes' text reveals just how hard it is to articulate medical compassion in the absence of emotion.

And in the final chapter, we see that emotions are as essential a parameter of the military profession as they are of the medical profession. Paul Vo-Ha demonstrates just that in his study on the function of emotions in seventeenth-century memoirs, correspondence and military treatises.[60] In his analysis of specific instances of surrender, he delves beyond written conceptualisations to demonstrate how fear drove soldiers to act. The causes, mechanisms and tactical consequences of fear greatly preoccupied commanders. Not only because it could undermine the morale of their troops, but also because it could be weaponised. At times, commanders admitted to resorting to carnage and massacre in order to terrorise the enemy and hasten capitulation. From threat to deed, violence was skilfully and subtly exploited with the express intent to avoid the even greater brutality of assaulting a breach.

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[59]Hélène Cazès is a Full Professor in the Department of French Studies at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, where she has worked since 2001. She specialises in medieval and Renaissance Europe, and studies humanism and its traditions in domains as varied as the history of the book, the history of medicine and discourses on friendship and bibliography. She has authored many articles and books on the Estienne dynasty (Henri II, Charles, Robert I and Robert II), on sixteenth-century anatomists (Vesalius, Estienne) and on women in history and literary historiography. She has also edited collective works and articles. Her most recent publication is a collaboration with Frédéric Charbonneau on *Recherches sur les habillemens des femmes et des enfans d'Alphonse Leroy* (Paris: Hermann, 2019 [1772]).

[60]*Maître de conférences* in Early Modern history at Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, Paul Vo-Ha is the author of *Rendre les armes, le sort des vaincus XVIe-XVIIe siècles* (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2017). His work also centres on surrender, cessation of hostilities, captivity in war and extreme violence in the Early Modern era. He is currently embarking on new research on confessional coexistence in the armies of the king of France in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

It is our hope that the diversity of themes, perspectives and results presented here will convinced the reader of the importance of integrating the questions and methods of the history of emotions into military history.[61] Indeed, to us they suggest fruitful avenues for renewing military history, pursuing further exchanges with cultural history and historical anthropology, and nurturing opportunities to study the military experience in relation to the rest of the historical field.

The Intersection of Military History and the History of Emotions: Reconsidering Fear and Honour in *Ancien Régime* Warfare

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ABSTRACT
This article reinterprets combat training and tactics in terms of the "execution" of the emotions, the shaping of actual military practice by the perceptions of fear and honour by different emotional communities. In the early modern European example emphasized here, the command community comprised of officers and commanders perceived itself largely driven by honour, but saw the emotional communities of the men in the ranks as most influenced by raw fear. The result was a tactical system based on supervision and control, minimizing soldier initiative. Only change in the compositions and perceptions of emotional communities allowed tactical revolution.

The genesis of this study was an invitation by Benjamin Deruelle to speak at his 2018 conference, 'Émotions en bataille.' While this author's past work has not explicitly addressed the history of emotions, this new approach is welcomed. Moreover, it seems to be a natural extension of the concern with war and culture that has so informed the study of military history over the past few decades. Therefore, the opportunity to utilise this new approach is welcomed as a contribution to what will be a growing area of academic discussion[1]. This essay will focus on the institutions and practices of land warfare during the *Ancien Régime*.

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Within seventeenth and eighteenth-century military culture and practice, fear and honour provide the most fruitful subjects for an inquiry into the conception, perception, and experience of emotions. Fear is universally accepted as a cardinal emotion, but some may question if honour deserves to be classed as an emotion. It can be viewed as a collection and interaction of different emotions. Honour is a measure of excellence, success, or failure as judged by societal and cultural standards. It can be public reputation, and at its highest levels of power and accomplishment rises to 'glory', that accolade so pursued and cherished by the aristocracy. To be most effective in battle, honour must be internalised. This is both a private sense of self-worth and a recognition of, and reaction to, one's public reputation. At one end of the spectrum is pride or, at least, a strong sense of self-worth, and at the other end is guilt, shame, and humiliation. The existential need to obviate guilt, escape humiliation, and eliminate shame can be a powerful counter to fear.

This essay will centre on two emotional communities: the 'command community' of those in the military hierarchy who shape and direct a military force, and the small soldier-group of common soldiers at the bottom of the hierarchy, labelled the 'primary group' by military sociologists.[2] The command community, a social/military elite during the *Ancien Régime*, included the officer corps from the highest ranks to company grade officers and those rulers who took a very direct and active role in shaping and leading their armies, such as Frederick II The Great of Prussia. The primary group is a micro-community of less than a score of common soldiers bound by camaraderie and dependence.

The historiography of *Ancien Régime* military history has benefitted from a number of recent studies that address the emotions. Consider Yuval Harari's *The Ultimate Experience*; Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven's collection, *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800*; and Ilya Berkovich's *Motivation in War*.[3] Also, focusing solely on fear are

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[2]A full discussion of war and emotions would also have to talk about a broad range of *emotional communities* – that fundamental concept of the history of emotions given to us by Barbara Rosenwein. Carl von Clausewitz, extolled by many for his rationalism in discussing war, also privileges the role of passions within that largest of emotional communities, the 'people'. He goes on to state: 'The *passions* that are to be kindled in war must already be inherent in the people.' Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, Michael Howard and Peter Paret (trans. and ed.) (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p.89, p.138.

[3]Yuval Noah Harari, *The Ultimate Experience: Battlefield Revelations and the Making of Modern War Culture, 1450-2000* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Arnaud Guinier, *L'honneur du Soldat: Ethique martiale et discipline guerrière dans la France des Lumières* (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2014), Erika Kuijpers and Cornelis van der Haven (ed.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination* (London: Palgrave

contributions by Jan Plamper and Benjamin Deruelle.[4] The existing historical work tends to rely heavily on memoirs, and that is certainly understandable and probably necessary. But this reliance on memoirs carries with it certain dangers. The history of emotions emphasises both the experience and expression of emotions – which usually means that we are relying on information as reported by those who either witnessed or purported to feel a particular emotion. But there is a problem: the real experience of emotion as felt by someone else is unknowable, and verification based on their own remarks and reminiscences is to a degree unreliable. There may well be a reason why the reporter might play down, warp, or exaggerate their emotions.

This concern with the unknowable/unreliable issue is exaggerated by the nature of military history. There is a hard-minded aspect to military history, more impressed with impacts on the real world than with nuanced debates in the intellectual world. In accord with this real-world emphasis, this essay proposes to approach the history of emotions not simply as experience and expression, but to introduce the ideas of seeing it as experience, expression, and *execution*. The latter implies the *doing* of something: for example, what fear makes a fearful person do; what happens when fear takes over. The medievalist Carol Symes has noted that a frequent critique of work by the noted historian Barbara Rosenwein is an over-reliance on descriptions of emotion or assumptions about its expression. Moreover, Carol Symes suggested that my concept of execution should also include not only what individuals do when affected by emotions but also what practices and institutions are actually constructed or changed to deal with emotions. In military contexts, fear in particular must be taken seriously because it has dangerous effects which, in turn, require an institutional framework to mitigate or manage fear.

Let us first discuss fear and honour in the context of 'execution' as it defined above.[5] This is a something of an experiment; the bits and pieces will probably not be that new

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Macmillan: 2016); Ilya Berkovich, *Motivation in War: The Experience of Common Soldiers in Old-Régime Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[4]Jan Plamper, 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Military Psychology,' *Slavic Review* Vol. 68, Iss. 2 (Summer, 2009), pp. 259-283; Benjamin Deruelle, 'Contrôler l'incontrôlable: Perception et contrôle du sentiment de la peur au combat chez les hommes de guerre du XVIe siècle,' in Laurent Vissiere and Marion Trévisi (ed.), *Le feu et la folie: L'irrationel et la guerre (fin du Moyen Âge-1920)* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016), pp. 113-131; Benjamin Deruelle, '"Toutefois, la crainte est radoulcye par ce remede": Perception et gestion de la peur dans les armées du roi de France au XVIe siècle', in Jean Baechler and Michèle Battesti (ed.), *Guerre et Santé* (Paris: Hermann, 2018), pp. 141-159.

[5]Without announcing it as such, Jan Plamper has looked at execution in his important article, 'Fear: Soldiers and Emotion in Early Twentieth-Century Russian Psychology.'

to some readers, but the way they are assembled might be. Consider what is said below more as a suggestion than as a proof.

Individual Execution of Fear

One tenet of the history of emotions is that emotions are experienced and expressed differently in different eras by different cultures. This gets into a discussion of emotions in general as visceral or learned, but for the purpose of this article, we solely focus on the elements of the debate as it confronts fear. It is undeniable that fear caused by the threat of physical death or injury is more visceral and instinctual than learned. But in addition, we are taught to fear a range of things beyond the physical. Fear is therefore both physical, or visceral, and culturally constructed. In contrast, honour as self-perception in terms of learned emotions such as pride, self-satisfaction, guilt or shame, is constructed and serves as a counter to physical fear by threatening cultural harm or annihilation. And this cultural threat can, and does, loom larger than the physical one. Combatants die for honour.

There are several ways in which individuals execute fear in battle. Most obviously, it can make a soldier hide from combat, cringing from the fight when possible. S. L. A. Marshall, in his important but now controversial study conducted during World War II, declared that only 25 percent of U.S. Army troops engaged in combat actually fired their weapons.[6] His findings have been challenged, but they were perceived at the time as reliable enough to revise training and organisation after the war. Fear can also lead combatants to desert or surrender; in fact, surrender is sometimes seen as desertion *to* the enemy, since both desertion and surrender are efforts by soldiers to remove themselves from the fight. Panic can drive a soldier to flee in the midst of combat. And the flight of a single soldier can precipitate a rout by other soldiers who view it. Acting on fear can be contagious.

There is also what seems like a paradoxical execution of fear, what the sociologist of violence, Randall Collins terms 'forward panic', aggressive action, often frenzied, as an execution of fear-induced panic.[7] He explains the fact that troops assaulting enemy trenches in World War I often shot down or bayonetted men attempting to surrender as an effect of the forward panic that drove many of the attackers. Writing of the same phenomenon, but without calling it 'forward panic', John Moran, in his classic study,

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[6]S.L.A. Marshal, *Men Against Fire: The Problem of Battle Command (*Washington, DC: *Infantry Journal*, 1947).
[7]Randall Collins, *Violence: A Micro-sociological Theory (*Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp.83-134.

The Anatomy of Courage, observed that '[S]ometimes the shadow of fear drove men in just the opposite direction, into sheer recklessness.'[8]

Lord Moran, basing his conclusions on experience in both the world wars, offered another insight into that firewall against fear: courage. Moran described courage as finite, like a bank account from which the soldier or airman might draw. When that individual had exhausted his account, he best be removed from combat. Moran learned much from the experience of RAF fighter pilots who flew against the Germans. Pilots too long in the air followed one of two paths: 'too much dash or too little.'[9] That is, they became foolishly aggressive or hung back from the fight. In either case, they became a danger to themselves or their comrades. All this should be taken as a warning for students of warfare and emotions in any era not to read bold action necessarily as courage; what seems like temerity could be timidity in disguise. Moreover, while fear is inexhaustible, courage is not.

These studies are centred on the twentieth century, but if fear of physical death and injury is largely visceral and instinctual, rather than learned, it is clearly applicable across epochs. Past and present examples make it absolutely clear that military organisation must confront and master the management of fear to be effective in battle. In the early modern era, 'the battle culture of forbearance' was based upon drill, training, punishment, and close supervision to create armies capable of linear tactics requiring counter-instinctual behaviour by the men in the ranks.[10]

Perceptions of Soldier-Fear and Soldier-Honour by the Command Community

Early modern European command communities cherished their own conceptions of honour, and believed common soldiers lacked such codes. Thus, the military must control its troops by fear of physical punishment. We have evidence of this in declarations of this perception from the top of the hierarchy.

Frederick the Great disparaged rank and file soldiers: 'An army is composed for the most part of idle and inactive men, and unless the general has a constant eye upon them, and obliges them to do their duty, this artificial machine … will very soon fall to

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[8]Lord Moran, *The Anatomy of Courage* (London: Constable, 1947), chap. 3, loc 750, Kindle.

[9]Moran, *The Anatomy of Courage*, chap. 3, loc 783, Kindle.

[10]On the concept of 'battle culture of forbearance', see John A. Lynn, *Giant of the Grand Siècle: The French Army, 1610-1715* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), chap. 15 and John A. Lynn, 'The Battle Culture of Forbearance,' in Wayne E. Lee, *Warfare and Culture in World History* (New York: New York University Press, 2011), Chap. 5.

pieces.'[11] He conceded, 'Our Régiments are composed of half our own people and half foreigners who enlist for money' – hardly men to be trusted.[12] Thus, Frederick suggested esprit de corps as motivation to serve as an alternative to honour:

> Everything that one can make of the soldiers consists in giving them an esprit de corps, or, in other words, in teaching them to place their Régiment higher than all of the troops in the world. Since officers must necessarily lead them into the greatest dangers, the soldiers (since they cannot be influenced by ambition) should fear their officers more than all the dangers to which they are exposed. Otherwise nobody will be in a position to lead them to the attack against three hundred cannon that are thundering against them. Good will can never induce the common soldier to stand up to such dangers: he will only do so through fear.[13]

The primary applicable leverage remains fear. Others in authority shared Frederick's declared low opinion of common soldiers. Claude Louis, Comte de Saint-Germain, French Minister of War, 1775-1777, similarly condemned the European common soldier: 'In the present state of things, armies can only be composed of the slime (*bourbe*) of the nation and of all that is useless to society.' Consequently, he argued, 'We must turn to military discipline as the means of purifying this corrupt mass, of shaping it and making it useful.'[14] For 'discipline', read obedience ingrained and maintained by punishment and the fear of punishment. A very explicit distinction between honour and fear as motivation appears in the Saxon-Polish Field Service Rules of 1752: 'Honour is reserved for the officer… Nothing therefore must incite the officer but honour, which carries its own recompense; but the soldier is driven and restrained and educated to discipline by reward and fear.'[15]

Given the repetition of such comments, we can conclude one of four things: firstly, European officers in general did not believe their common soldiers capable of honour; secondly, officers said things they thought their colleagues would want to hear; thirdly, the officer class defined honour in such a way as to exclude lower-class civilians; or

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[11]Frederick II, *Military Instructions from the late King of Prussia to his Generals*, trans. Lt. Col. Foster, 5th ed. (Sherborne: J. Cruttwell, 1818), p.5.

[12]Frederick II, *Military Instructions,* p.1.

[13]Frederick II in *Frederick the Great on the Art of War,* ed. and trans. Jay Luvaas (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 78.

[14]See this and other relevant quotes in John A. Lynn, *Bayonets of the Republic: Motivation and Tactics in the Armies of Revolutionary France* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1984), pp. 63-64 and Lynn, 'The Battle Culture of Forbearance', pp. 96-97.

[15]The Saxon-Polish Field Service Rules of 1752 in Alfred Vagts, *A History of Militarism*, *Civilian and Military* (New York: Free Press, 1959), pp. 72-73.

fourthly, officers felt themselves duty bound to deny soldiers honour because the recognition of martial honour among the lower classes would negate the elite's claim to privilege and preferment. These are interesting alternatives, but, ultimately, we are confronted with a real-world question: What did the command community execute in order to control their troops' fear and lack of honour?

Compliance Systems: Coercive, Remunerative, and Normative

To develop this argument further, it is necessary to identify compliance systems that militaries have historically employed to secure obedience. The words of Frederick just quoted represent only one of three alternatives.

In *Bayonets of the Republic*, this author drew from compliance theory to describe three paths to obedience: coercive, remunerative, and normative compliance.[16] These categories have proved illuminating and useful. Moreover, in surveying the literature about motivation and emotions, notably in Ilya Berkovich's *Motivation in War*, this terminology has been employed by others. Put briefly, participating in a military campaign is uncomfortable, sometimes miserable, and dangerous to the point of being deadly. Why should anyone agree to take up arms and go to battle? Unless unwilling soldiers are literally dragged along in chains, there must be some form of self-interest that leads them to comply with military commands. A military organisation must synchronise the troops' self-interest with its own interest and goals.

Coercive compliance employs punishments, or more precisely the fear of punishment, to bring troops into line. The certainty and severity of such coercion must be perceived as greater than the risk entailed in complying with orders. Frederick's soldiers were to be more afraid of their officers than of the enemy. Remunerative compliance, termed utilitarian compliance by some, uses the desire of something of value, usually seen as material reward, as an incentive to win the soldiers' obedience. For example, remunerative compliance could draw a sixteenth-century mercenary into service by the promise of pay, the expectation of 'normal' booty on campaign, and the hope of securing a windfall of considerable value and returning home rich. Lastly, normative compliance appeals to internalised symbolic and psychological rewards for acting in what the soldiers regard as the right and proper way. It relies upon a sense of honour that promises self-satisfaction and pride or threatens guilt and shame. As can be seen, each form of compliance is linked with emotions. This brings

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[16]See Steven D. Westbrook, 'The Potential for Military Disintegration', in Sam C. Sarkesian (ed.), *Combat Effectiveness: Cohesion, Stress, and The Voluntary Military* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1980), pp. 244-78.

to mind the declaration of William Reddy, a pioneer in the history of particular emotions: 'Emotional control is the real site of the exercise of power.'[17]

Before leaving this identification of compliance systems, it is important to make clear that these three forms of compelling or fostering obedience are *not* mutually exclusive. Those mercenary bands of the sixteenth century could also be coerced by physical punishments for disciplinary infractions and be motivated in battle by camaraderie and honour between the common soldiers themselves.

Execution of Practices to Counter Fear in Early Modern Armies: Drill and Weapons Training
The fact remains that early modern armies executed methods consistent with a coercive compliance system to counter fear among the troops. The announced perceptions of soldiers' lack of honour and the need to use fear for motivation were executed in an institutional manner – in drill, training, supervision, and punishment.

Historically, an emphasis on drill is not limited to armies relying on coercive compliance. But in early modern armies it had both tactical and psychological relevance. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, close order drill was a necessary tactical skill, essential for manoeuvre, defensive fortitude, and offensive force. This drill had to be meticulously carried out by the rank and file under the close command and supervision of officers. Thus, drill was an education in the fact that some people gave orders and others obeyed them, that there was an official hierarchy of power within the military, certified by the state. And errors in drill would habituate soldiers to censure and punishment.

Drill also aided in controlling fear by focusing the soldier on a familiar repetitive task of 'keeping together in time', as the great historian William McNeill termed it.[18] It required doing things as a group, making the soldier aware that he was not alone, but surrounded and supported by others. McNeill argued that marching drill, even in the very different times of World War II, led to 'muscular bonding' between those marching together. We will soon have more to say about bonding.[19]

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[17]William M. Reddy, 'Against Constructionism: The Historical Ethnography of Emotions', *Current Anthropology*, 38, 3 (July 1997) p. 335.

[18]William Hardy McNeill, *Keeping Together in Time: Dance and Drill in Human History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995).

[19]As Cornelis van der Haven points out in his discussion of Machiavelli's *Dell'arte della Guerra* (1520), 'Obedient soldiers are not only better at staying together; they also tend to feel stronger during battle.' Cornelis Van der Haven, 'Drill and Allocution as Emotional Practices in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Poetry, Plays and Military Treatises', in Kuijpers and Van der Haven (eds.), *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800*,

Military training beyond group drill, then as now, could supply another bulwark for those facing fear by teaching the soldier to focus on an immediate task, rather than the risk of death or maiming. Combat veterans frequently report, 'When all hell broke loose, and you were really scared, you just did what you were trained to do.' Concentrating on the basic actions of a specific job gives individuals an activity that occupies, and distracts, them from fear. Lord Moran observed: 'In the presence of danger man often finds salvation in action. To dull emotion, he must do something; to remain immobile, to stagnate in mind or body, is to surrender without terms.'[20]

This emphasis on task makes weapons training as outlined in Jacob de Gheyn's, renowned 1608 treatise *Exercise of Arms* (*Wapenhandelinghe van Roers, Musquetten ende Spiessen*, important in a sense not usually stressed. De Gheyn's work was not a drill regulation in the normal sense of showing the formations and deployments of entire military units, usually on the battalion level. The de Gheyn manual consisted of a series of engraved images showing individual soldiers going through a great number of movements necessary to handle, load, and fire weapons – forty-two plates for the arquebus, forty-three for the musket, and thirty-two for the pike.[21] In his historical study of emotions, van der Haven notices the calm faces of the individuals portrayed:

The soldier's silent receptivity as expressed by the faces of de Gheyn's soldiers, certainly refers to his presupposed willingness to be docile and subordinated to the will of his commander; but at the same time this docility implies the mental capacity to remain quiet and in a state of deep concentration, even in the turmoil of battle.[22]

But there is another way to interpret this; the manual is so detailed about every movement of hand, head, and body that it required a great deal of attention and repetition for soldiers to get it right. One might consider this as drill, but even more so as weapons training. It could be argued that manuals instructed individuals in complicated repetitive tasks that demanded concentration – where fear had no place.

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chap. 2, loc 589, Kindle. I would also argue that drill and the regalia of military dress and ritual are related to my concept of a perfected form of warfare in *Battle: A History of Combat and Culture*. One that celebrates warfare in an idealised form, that in this case, no longer exists but retains its romantic vision. It was a ritual in which common soldiers as a group performed obedience.

[20]Moran, *The Anatomy of Courage*, Chap. 4, loc. 832-833, Kindle.

[21]Jacques de Ghenn, *Maniement d'armes d'arquebuses, mouquetez, et piques* (Amsterdam: Henry Laurens, 1608).

[22]Van der Haven, 'Drill and Allocution as Emotional Practices', chap. 2, loc. 699-710, Kindle.

So, when danger escalated and fear with it, the soldier could respond by 'doing what he was trained to do.' The soldier's individual action diverted him from his emotions.

Execution of Practices to Counter Fear in Early Modern Armies: Leadership and Supervision

Another foundation of military success was and is leadership. From a technical point of view, such leadership requires technical knowledge and tactical, operational, and strategic judgement appropriate to the rank of the commander. Leaders who excel also understand their troops, or, at least, they comprehend the pushes and pulls that will bring out the best performance from the troops under their command.

However, there seems to be a tendency in those who discuss warfare in terms of the history of emotions to stress the inspirational character of military commanders, particularly on their emotive language. But there is reason for some scepticism that the harangues and allocutions of major commanders deeply moved their troops. A commander trying to address his troops orally is limited by the range of his or her voice, and outdoors, that is not very great, even if the audience and circumstances made no competing noises. Perhaps what mattered most when a commander addressed a large number of troops was not his words, but his presence and performance: presence in that the leader was there, among his troops who in all probability respected his authority, skill, and ability to win; and performance, literally in the commander's display of the demeanour and gestures of dedication, confidence, and bravery. In the more jargonistic use of the word, the commander's performance of courage buttressed his troops' courage and obliged them to match the commander's seemingly stout heart. Grand orations may have been like silent films, affecting the audience by sight rather than sound. One might want to see allocutions as an emotional exchange, but this can be challenged. Such addresses were one-way, from an individual of high status to those below, and meant as enactment rather than exchange. Of course, when commanders circulated among their troops' encampments, as Frederick and Napoleon were known to do, they could exert a far more personal touch.

In any case, company and field grade officers leading their men under fire had to perform courage. In the age of linear warfare, they had to lead from the front where they set a standard for their men. This lent their men some confidence, and encouraged the common soldier by a fearlessness he was supposed to emulate.[23] This would vary on the compliance system and on the circumstances. Being exemplary would also win the officer the respect of his men, buttressing his right to demand obedience.

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[23]*Zêlos*, a desire to emulate, was one of the emotions noted by Aristotle.

Performance of courage by officers appealed to the 'better nature' of soldiers. But in battle, this presence and performance was also an element of the close supervision of troops thought incapable of honour – of men who would run if not restrained, men who in a sense had to be driven forward rather than advancing on their own initiative. The battle culture of forbearance required soldiers on the attack to advance, in good order, over open ground, under heavy fire, but without permission to fire back. That is, they must expose themselves to enemy fire while not seeking cover or defending themselves – quite a lot to ask of the men in the ranks. But a command community that believed, or had to act as if it believed, that their men were uncompelled by honour, must not rely upon their soldiers' innate bravery, but upon close supervision and the long-ingrained fear of punishment.

Honour and the Execution of Honour Among Military Elites
Within emotional communities, it is important to take into consideration the different perceptions of honour. As stated above, honour is a complex of emotions that measure and reflect self-esteem, from pride to shame. And most importantly, concern for one's honour is a powerful counter to fear. To the extent that martial values are important to a society, or to the elites of society, the recognition, control, and expression of emotions most associated with warfare need to be seen on the macro level first – in this case, the command community. Within the Western European *Ancien Régime* military elite, the values and emotions associated with honour were embedded from an early age through observation and interchange, praise of some examples and condemnation of others. Pride in a brave action or outrage at an undeserved insult would become second nature.

Cultural differences can be surprisingly strong, even among military elites of similar status and employing similar technology at about the same time. There is no sharper contrast within the realm of late medieval and early modern military honour than that between the status of surrender among the western European aristocracy and that held by the samurai of Japan. Europe developed a tradition of honourable surrender in battle, in which a noble 'knight' or officer could yield to a foe, promise the payment of ransom, even be freed on his word, his *parole*, to collect that sum, and pay it without losing status or honour. It is common knowledge that attitudes towards surrender, death, and suicide were radically different in medieval and early modern Japan. Samurai adhered to a code that held life as ephemeral, disposable, and surrender as damningly dishonourable. The manual of bushido, *Hagakure*, quotes the judgement of a famous fourteenth-century samurai who expressed the apparently universal opinion that

surrender was always 'an unforgivable course of action for a samurai', under *any* circumstance.[24]

This stark juxtaposition can be explained by vast cultural differences. In contrast, Holger Aflerbach demonstrates that during the nineteenth century, while European armies continued and expanded the tradition of honourable surrender, European navies followed a very strict code that rejected surrender as dishonourable. Naval captains would see their ships sunk and their crews perish rather than striking their flags in surrender. It amounted to forcing suicide upon the sailors. In 1914, British Vice Admiral Sir Frederick Doveton Sturdee observed, 'in former times ships surrendered; now they prefer to go down.'[25] These examples serve as a warning that one must be ready to differentiate emotional communities, in this case command communities, *between* and even *within* given cultures.

Honour and Motivation Among Soldier Groups
The intersections between the history of warfare and the history of emotions should be apparent, from the clash of great passions that precipitate armed conflicts, to memories that are propagated and continue long after the last shots are fired. However, this author's work has been most consumed by the essential role played by emotions in the motivations felt and followed by men, and women, on campaign and in battle.

Compliance systems, as discussed above, are each linked to particular emotions within military emotional communities. Armies based primarily on fear or material desire differ from communities based primarily on normative compliance, with its emphasis on pride and shame. Coercive and remunerative systems are basically hierarchical, with punishments and incentives administered from the top down; normative systems assume strong influences originating at the bottom, among the troops, themselves. In studying the emotional history of warfare on the level of the soldier group, it is helpful to break down motivations into a trilogy of initial, sustaining, and combat motivation.

We should address that trilogy now. In the 1980s, this author began a study of military motivation mainly through what was then termed 'military effectiveness'. This work focused on differences between *Ancien Régime* forces and those who took the field in

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[24]Yamamoto Tsunetomo, *Hagakure: The Secret Wisdom of the Samurai*, trans. Alexander Bennett (Tokyo: Tuttle Publishing, 2014) book 1, loc. 1,813, Kindle. The *Hagakure* was written in the Tokugawa period, ca. 1716.
[25]Doveton Sturdee, quoted in Holger Aflerbach, 'Going Down with Flying Colours? Naval Surrender from Elizabethan to Our Own Times', in Hew Strachan and Holger Aflerbach (ed.), *How Fighting Ends: A History of Surrender* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 200.

the name of the French Revolution. Military effectiveness literature centred on the role of the primary group as a sociological phenomenon, on bonding and camaraderie between men during actual combat. The primary group is the small soldier group defined by face-to-face relationships between soldiers who live and fight together and know each other well. In modern times such groups are characteristically based on tactical organisation, the squad or the platoon. It can also centre on an administrative unit, and in the early modern and revolutionary French army this was the mess group, or *ordinaire*. It is too complicated to get into it here, but the *ordinaire* could be composed of men from the same platoon or not depending on circumstances. The bonding between soldiers of a primary group, called primary group cohesion, was and is deemed essential for effectiveness in the field.

The formal discussion of soldier small group bonding under fire dates back to Charles Ardant du Picq in 1880, but its greatest impetus came out of U.S. Army studies of World War II troops. This includes *The American Soldier: Combat and Its Aftermath*[26] and S. L. A. Marshall's *Men Against Fire*, and the extension of this work by a coterie of military sociologists.[27] While these professional and scholarly studies deal with times well beyond the early modern era, they so inform our understanding that they must be included here.

Work on military effectiveness studies not only centred on the structure of the primary group, it also focused in sharply on that group during actual combat, when the bullets were flying, and death was intimately present at the front. As a group under extreme stress, the primary group in combat seemed necessary and natural, and by implication universal. Those studying it talked little of culture and change.

To understand the problem with the nearly exclusive attention to actual combat in these studies, we need to distinguish what Kay Anderson and Susan Smith term 'emotionally heightened spaces'.[28] During wartime, a distant 'home front' obviously differs from the immediate battlefield. However, even when discussing a 'war zone', where troops are active and operations pursued, we need to differentiate between different sites and situations within it. In this essay, combatants engaged in actual fighting are labelled as on 'the front lines', but those 'behind the lines' are not engulfed

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[26]Samuel A. Stouffer, *et al.*, *The American Soldier: Combat and its Aftermath* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949).
[27]This coterie included Morris Janowitz, Edward Shils, Sam Sarkesian, and Charles Moskos.
[28]Kay Anderson and Susan J. Smith, 'Editorial: Emotional Geographies', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* Vol. 26, Iss. 1 (2001), p. 8. See as well Benno Gammerl, 'Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges,' *Rethinking History* 16 (2012), pp. 161-175.

by actual combat, at least temporarily. The terms 'the front lines' and 'behind the lines' denote 'spaces', but they more fundamentally apply to conditions, exposed to fire or relatively safe from immediate danger. Troops' experience and the expression of emotions can differ fundamentally between being at the front or behind it.

Despite all the emphasis on the front lines in military sociology, how much did it encompass the life of the primary group? There is an adage about war that it consists of months of boredom punctuated by moments of sheer terror. But military effectiveness literature seemed to be obsessed with the moments of sheer terror and skipped over the less dramatic months of boredom. Scholars reached firm conclusions that American troops in twentieth-century wars were not driven by great causes but, above all, by the bonds of camaraderie, dependence, and responsibility between men in the ranks. But in studying motivations among soldiers of the French Revolution, we needed to know more about the periods of 'boredom', the quieter times in a soldier's life when soldiers had the time to express beliefs, values, and emotions – when they might well talk of causes as well as experience camaraderie.

The point was to differentiate between the characters of soldier-motivations that suited different emotional spaces and circumstances. The result was distinguishing between initial, sustaining, and combat motivation. One ought to begin with a consideration of why men volunteered to enter the military, or at least complied with conscription when that was instituted. This is initial motivation. Personal and financial strain, along with state *malice* coercion, largely explain it before 1789, but an investment in the new society of revolutionary France became a significant part of initial motivation after war broke out in 1792. Contemporary literature about radicalisation and de-radicalisation in terrorism, which has much to offer historians of all periods with its insights on initial motivation, would further inform this inquiry.[29] One point made is that the social environment and social networks, of a potential terrorist are extremely influential in turning him or her to violence. It is no great jump to imagine that the social networks of potential soldiers were also very important in the decisions of those men to march off to war in early modern Europe. Thus, in discussing initial motivation, it would be important, if it were possible, to know more

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[29]See John A. Lynn, *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2019). See in particular John G. Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2014); Mark Sagemen, particularly *The Leaderless Jihad: Terrorist Networks in the Twenty-first Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008), and Daniel Koehler, *Understanding Deradicalization: Methods, Tools and Programs for Countering Violent Extremism* (London: Routledge, 2017). See as well, Tore Bjørgo and John G. Horgan, *Leaving Terrorism Behind: Individual and Collective Disengagement* (London: Routledge, 2009).

about the micro-communities of family, friends, and neighbours around potential recruits.

Once the micro-communities of those soldiers and sailors within military and naval organisations have been examined, it will be important to explore our understanding of sustaining and combat motivation. Berkovich has employed my trilogy, but at times he makes them seem as if they are sequential, in other words, the soldier begins in an environment of initial motivation, then moves into one of sustaining motivation, and then deals with combat motivation. Initial motivation is, indeed, initial. However, sustaining motivation is defined not by sequence but by situation; it is the motivational and emotional factors that affect soldiers when they are not directly engaged in combat, when they are behind the lines, which is most of the time. Here soldiers have time to ponder and question.

Sustaining motivation had to have been the critical site and circumstance for emotional exchange between common soldiers, and emotional exchange had to be fundamental to primary group cohesion. Moreover, the barriers of class and rank that separated soldiers from their officers would increase the importance of emotional exchange between men in the ranks. These are hypotheses worth exploring as elements of military and emotional history.

Combat motivation is the state of mind and motives existing under the extraordinary circumstance of actual fighting, and usually accounts for a small percentage of a soldier's time, even when war is raging. Thus, generalisations made about motivation in the primary group as a social group or as an emotional community under fire need to be modified by taking into account that same emotional community in less highly charged times. And, that troops in the war zone move back and forth between sustaining and combat motivation.

Granted, the importance of soldier primary groups is strongest and most obvious under fire, when fear peaks, emotions intensify, and the individual depends on, and supports, his immediate comrades. To explain what motivated soldiers to fight bravely, S. L. A. Marshall gave an iconic answer: 'the same things which induce him to face life bravely – friendship, loyalty to responsibility, and knowledge that he is a repository of the faith and confidence of others.'[30] Despite some of the controversy that surrounds Marshall's work today, that answer still stands. In sociological terms, M.B. Smith wrote that the primary group 'set and enforced group standards of behaviour, and it supported and sustained the individual in stresses he would otherwise not have been

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[30]S. L. A. Marshall, *Men Against Fire: The Problem of Battle Command in Future War* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1947, Kindle edition: Uncommon Valor Press, 2016), chap. 11, loc. 2143-2146, Kindle.

able to withstand.'[31] In the group, men shared their feelings and fears, and they explicitly and implicitly cared for one another. They also voiced their disdain for some conduct and their praise for other actions.

Soldiers commonly speak of their comrades as family, as brothers. 'We band of brothers' is not simply a Shakespearean phrase. But in reality, the soldier groups of early modern armies before about 1650 were not simply composed of 'brothers', because many, many women campaigned with the men.[32] The presence of women in camp, as partners or wives, without or with children, would probably have made for a very different dynamic of the soldier group on campaign before 1650 than it became after that date. It is worth exploring.

As an emotional community, the primary group is characterised by a range of emotions that would typify those of a family, not just an army. Primary group cohesion is about emotional support as well physical dependence, particularly emotional exchange made behind the lines. When the group faces the dangers of combat, the feelings of affection and responsibility can be so great that soldiers who might have the opportunity of escaping the fighting by assignment to light duties behind the lines or being confined in hospital, may beg to return to their units, even deserting their sick beds, to rejoin their comrades on the front lines. Much of the memoir discussion of this comes from the twentieth century, but Berkovich gives examples of this in *Ancien Régime* forces.[33] Among other examples, he utilises contemporary stories reported by two British sergeants fighting against the French in Quebec during the Seven Years' War, James Thompson and John Johnson, who told of men abandoning medical care to return to the front and march with their fellows to battle. Such men who 'deserted to the front' were drawn by concern for their comrades and by fear of being considered 'skulkers'.

Such behaviour brings us to the notion of normative compliance and honour among *Ancien Régime* troops, a key subject of Berkovich's book. Berkovich holds that in my work, I question or deny the existence of honour among private soldiers before the French Revolution, when a system of normative compliance materialises in the French

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[31]M. B. Smith in Samuel A. Stouffer, *et al.*, *The American Soldier: Combat and its Aftermath* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1949), pp. 34-35.

[32]John A. Lynn II, *Women, Armies, and Warfare in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

[33]Berkovich, *Motivation in War*, pp. 218-220. James Thompson, *A Bard of Wolfe's Army: James Thompson, Gentleman Volunteer, 1733–1830*, Earl John Chapman and Ian Macpherson McCulloch (ed.) (Montreal: R. Brass Studio, 2010); and John Johnson, 'Memoirs of the Siege of Quebec and the Total Reduction of Canada', in Arthur Doughty and G.W. Parmelee (ed.), *The Siege of Quebec and the Battle of Plains of Abraham*, 6 vols. (Quebec: Dessault & Proulx, 1901), Vol. 5, pp. 75-166.

military forces. However, I have no trouble with crediting common soldiers with their own version of honour; I simply contend that the command community recognised fear as dominant and depended on coercive compliance to keep men to their tasks.[34] It is also important that European armies experimented with 'light' infantry before the French Revolution. Light infantry were trained to fight in ways more individualistic than the linear formations of 'heavy' infantry. Light infantry could exploit topography for cover and concealment, pick their own targets and rate of fire, for example. They were meant to perform without constant supervision and direction. Thus, in a sense, light infantry implied less coercion and more normative compliance. Still, for armies as a whole, the predominant form of practice and institutions was still coercive before the Revolution.

The institutional execution of organisation and practices demonstrates an institutionalisation of reliance on normative compliance with the French Revolution. After the Second World War the United States Army took its studies of combat effectiveness and primary group cohesion seriously enough to reorganise infantry units to emphasise the soldier group. The Army based this new system on the fire team of four men operating with other fire teams. We can say this was executing fear, and motivation, by institutional change. There is similar evidence of changing execution in the army of the French Revolution. Writing about Prussian military reform in the wake of the debacle of defeat by Napoleon, 1806-1807, the noted military historian Peter Paret commented that the most novel element of the French revolutionary army was the capacity to employ any infantry battalion as light infantry.[35] By this he meant, while there were limited numbers of specialised light infantry before the Revolution, the command community of the new revolutionary army felt confident in deploying all its men in ways that depended on the initiative and responsibility of the common soldier – the predominance of normative compliance.

So, reliance on new 'light' tactics was not simply a tactical innovation; it institutionally recognised the honour of common soldiers. Before the Revolution, the officer was regarded as admirable and the common soldier as dangerous, 'merely as vile instruments for the oppression of the people', a veteran remarked. But at the height of the Revolution the officer was regarded as suspect, because of his ambition, while the soldier was elevated as a paragon of patriotic sacrifice: 'It is an honour to be

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[34]Allow me to quote myself in self-defense: 'There is … very good reason to question the aristocratic prejudice that there was no honor among common soldiers. In fact, there is every reason to believe that common soldiers adhered to their own codes of honor.' Lynn, 'The Battle Culture of Forbearance, 1660-1789', p. 105.

[35]Paret referenced in Lynn, *Bayonets of the Republic*, p. 265. See Peter Paret, *Yorck and the Era of Prussian Reform* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966), pp. 72-73.

considered a soldier, when this title is that of defender of the Constitution of this country.'[36]

We can describe this tactical and civic change in several ways, but this essay proposes considering it as an execution of the realisation that soldier-honour, a complex of emotions, could be relied upon to counter fear without commanders wielding a heavy hand of coercion.

This paper has been an experiment of sorts: to deal with military obedience and effectiveness as an execution of emotions, or at least of the perception of emotions. Perhaps all that has been accomplished here is to recast in emotional terms what we already know about the very hard world of military history – just an intellectual tour de force. But it is more fundamental than that. It is argued here that military practices and institutions have an emotional base. In the past, this author has explained things, such as the battle culture of forbearance, in social and cultural terms, but perhaps the most important element within social and cultural difference is the gulf between emotional communities and the ability of the command community to use its power to shape military practices and institutions in accord with its emotional perceptions of common soldiers.

In conclusion, if emotions are fundamental to military practice and performance, military historians could benefit from insights generated by the history of emotions. And perhaps historians of emotions might gain from looking at the evolution of military institutions and practices as a theatre for the execution of emotions, one from which they could both draw useful approaches.

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[36]See contemporary contrasting descriptions quoted in Lynn, *Bayonets of the Republic*, p. 64.

Fear the Turk or Call on the Turk? Conflicting Emotions in Renaissance Italy

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ABSTRACT
It is well known that after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Renaissance Italy was consumed by its fear of the Turk. This article will demonstrate that throughout the Renaissance the Turks were also associated with a set of positive emotions: hope in a system of justice that Christian authorities no longer seemed to ensure; a desire for vengeance against the untouchable ruling elite; the expectation of social, moral and even religious renewal. Historical memory has been pruned of these positive associations but it is important to keep in mind this ambivalent emotional conflict which tore apart all levels of society and broke up societal groups to the point of shaping them as much as the hostilities did.

The concept of conflicting emotions has emerged as a recognised historiographic category, and a particularly essential one in the light of situations such as urban violence or riots.[1] Historians have also explored the 'emotional landscapes' of fear, rage and tears experienced, for example, by medieval crusaders.[2] However, these concepts have rarely been used to study the great religious and political conflicts of the Renaissance. Yet Renaissance Italy was an epicentre of conflicting and contradictory emotions, which often carried over into international relations. This article will attempt to shed light on this complex phenomenon by examining the emotions and relationships of Italian states or societies with the Ottoman world throughout this period.

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[1]Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Generations of feeling: a history of emotions, 600-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin and Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th century). Les émotions au cœur de la ville (XIVᵉ-XVIᵉ siècle)*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).
[2]Stephen J. Spencer, *Emotions in a Crusading Context, 1095-1291*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Renaissance Italy was consumed by its fear of the Turk. In 1453, Ottoman forces had conquered Constantinople, a bastion of Christendom.[3] The Turks had then entered the Balkans, making their way through the Adriatic Sea before capturing Otranto, in southern Italy (1480-81), and had launched pirate and corsair raids on all shores. 'No nation is eternal!' Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II, is said to have cried when he received news of the fall of the Second Rome. 'The Romans were once masters of the world. Now, it is the Turks.'[4] These historical events are well known and have left many a trace in memory, local tradition and in the cult of saints. They have even left their mark on the landscape in the form of maritime defence towers and fortresses along the north-eastern border.

And yet, throughout the Renaissance, the Turks were also associated with a set of positive emotions: hope in a system of justice that Christian authorities no longer seemed to ensure; a desire for vengeance against the untouchable ruling elite; the expectation of social, moral and even religious renewal. Historical memory has since been pruned of these positive associations but is important to keep in mind this ambivalence towards the Turks. Emotional conflict tore apart society at all levels and within societal groups to the point of shaping them as much as the hostilities did.

Two great wars chronologically bookend this article: the Fall of Constantinople (1453) and the Battle of Lepanto (1571). It was during this period that the myth of Ottoman invincibility reached its peak.[5] Tracing the contemporary emotions may help us to construct a more integrated history of the Mediterranean and place it within the broader context of global history.[6] Would such a path allow for a history of the Renaissance to break free from misconceptions? In other words, is it possible to write a less self-absorbed, more culturally open-minded history of the period?[7]

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[3]Among others, cf. the synthesis of Jacques Heers, *Chute et mort de Constantinople. 1205-1453*, (Paris: Perrin, 2004).

[4]Agostino Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, (Milano: Mondadori, 1976), II, p. 65.

[5]Julien Loiseau, 'De l'Asie centrale à l'Égypte: le siècle turc', in Patrick Boucheron (ed.), *Histoire du monde au XVe siècle*, (Paris: Fayard, 2009), pp. 33-51.

[6] David Abulafia, 'Mediterraneans', in W. Harris (ed.), *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 64-93; Edgar Morin, 'Penser la Méditerranée et méditerraneiser la pensée', *Confluences Méditerranée*, 28, (2009), pp. 33-47; Francesca Trivellato, 'Renaissance Italy and the Muslim Mediterranean in Recent Historical Work', *The Journal of Modern History*, 82, 1, (2010), pp. 127-155; Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

[7] Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Défense et illustration de la Renaissance*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2018), pp. 55-102.

Of Christian Sovereigns and Their Turkish Allies
The conduct of Italian leaders will only be rapidly touched on below, though indirectly it will provide context for this analysis. Throughout the period, various European powers regularly conspired with the Ottoman Empire and other infidel potentates. In 1402, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, had already earned the title of *Italicus Baisettus* for his associations with Sultan Bayezid I.[8] Following the Turkish triumph on the Bosphorus, affairs would escalate.[9]

In 1460, Pope Pius II considered granting Mehmed II 'The Conqueror' the imperial designation in exchange for converting to Christianity. In the same year, Sigismondo Malatesta, lord of Rimini, sent the Sultan two ambiguous offerings, a military treaty and a map of the Adriatic.[10] In 1477, Hapsburg Emperor Frederick III, with Leonhard of Gorizia, paved the way for Turkish raids on the region of Friuli in order to threaten Venetian interests. Nearly a dozen years later, in 1486, Boccolino Guzzoni, lord of Osimo and a rival of Pope Innocent VIII, offered his city to Bayezid II as a base for invading Italy. And in 1494, Pope Alexander VI, the Vicar of Christ, sought aid from the 'Antichrist', Bayezid II, to hinder the most Christian King Charles VIII's Italian expedition and his plans for a crusade. Alfonso II of Aragon, King of Naples, would make a similar attempt, while in Mantua, Francesco II of Gonzaga openly displayed friendship with the Sultan. In 1499-1500, from Milan and Naples, Ludovico 'the Moor' and Frederick of Aragon offered to become vassals of Bayezid if he defended them against Louis XII of France. In 1526, Federico II of Gonzaga also sent cryptic promises of submission to Suleiman the Magnificent, who was preparing attacks on Hungary and Vienna. In 1552, Italian noblewoman Lucrezia Gonzaga di Gazzuolo implored Suleiman to help liberate her husband from Ercole II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. And finally, in 1536, the French King François I negotiated capitulations – later baptised an 'impious alliance' – with the Ottomans to counter the power of Habsburg Emperor Charles V.[11]

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[8]Eugenio Garin, *Interpretazioni dei Rinascimento*, (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 2009), II, p. 95.

[9]For what follows in this paragraph, cf. Giovanni Ricci, *Appeal the Turk. The Broken Boundaries of the Renaissance*, (Rome: Viella, 2018).

[10]Monica Centanni, 'Fantasmi dell'antico alla corte di Rimini e nel tempio malatestiano', in F. Muccioli and F. Cenerini (ed.), *Gli antichi alla corte dei Malatesta*, (Milano: Jouvence, 2018), pp. 33-59.

[11]Giovanni Ricci, 'L'empia alleanza franco-ottomana: una prospettiva italiana', in C. Lastraioli and J.M. Le Gall (ed.), *Francois Ier et l'Italie. L'Italia e Francesco I*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 169-179.

Though a victim of raids on Friuli, Venice maintained a delicate balance with the infidels, in one way or another. In 1480, it supported the Turkish landing in Otranto at the expense of Federico II of Naples. In 1484, it championed Moorish resistance in Granada to keep the Iberian monarchs busy and far from Italy. In 1509, Venice accepted supplies from Bayezid following defeat at Agnadello by the League of Cambrai. La Serenissima would demonstrate her 'diplomatic' skills on still further occasions, leaving an indelible impression on the whole of Europe. Venetians were viewed as 'true procurators and protectors of the Turks' and the 'precursors of the Antichrist and procurators of Muhammad' according to poets of the early sixteenth-century French monarchy.[12] Spanish diplomats would refer to the Venetian Republic as '*Amancebada*', or the sultan's concubine. This reputation was echoed by Francisco de Quevedo in his literature expressing 'Indignation against Venice […] the concubine of the Turks'.[13]

Genoa, though Venice's rival, would ally with the Turks all too frequently according to popular opinion. In 1444, Genoese galleys had, after all, transported the Turks beyond the Bosphorus during the Crusade of Varna. Furthermore, the Genoese colony of Pera, which faced Constantinople, commonly provided the Turks with information and equipment, to say nothing of their habit of supplying slave soldiers to the Mamluks of Egypt, who were fierce enemies of the crusaders.[14]

At this time, transgressing the taboo of associating with the Turks was so unremarkable that it was occasionally openly endorsed by the great rulers of Italy. In 1494, Ludovico the Moor, Duke of Milan, declared that, were he threatened, he 'would not only call upon the Turks, but also on the devil.'[15] In 1499, a Neapolitan diplomat confided to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza that 'we prefer the Turks to the French, because unlike the French, the Turks leave us alone provided we pay their tribute.'[16] Neither Christian affiliation nor prudence ever hindered such an attitude.

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[12]Jonathan Dumont and Florent Lilia, *L'imaginaire politique et social à la cour de France durant les premières guerres d'Italie (1494-1525)*, (Paris: Champion, 2013), pp. 315-316.

[13]Paolo Preto, *Venezia e i Turchi*, (Roma: Viella, 2013), pp. 26-30; Federica Cappelli, 'La repùblica de Venecia… 1617 attribuita a Francisco de Quevedo', *Rivista di filologia e letterature ispaniche*, 6, (2003), p. 267.

[14]Carlo Bitossi, 'Genova e i Turchi. Note sui rapporti tra genovesi e ottomani fra medioevo ed età moderna', in F. Meier (ed.), *Italien und das Osmanische Reich*, (Herne: Schafer, 2010), pp. 91-97.

[15]Carlo Vianello, 'Testimonianze venete su Milano e la Lombardia degli anni 1492-1495', *Archivio storico lombardo*, 4, (1939), p. 418.

[16]Marco Pellegrini, *Ascanio Maria Sforza. La parabola politica di un cardinale-principe del Rinascimento*, (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo, 2002), p. 741.

Turkish Horses on the Altar of Saint-Peter

The common people also held to this position, though the cost could be greater for them than for the powerful. Typically, more prudent public figures such as scholars were, astonishingly, of the same viewpoint. In 1465, Pope Paul II sent exiled Byzantine scholar George of Trebizond to Constantinople 'to investigate and understand the conditions of the inhabitants and the country of the Turks.' According to Agostino de Rubeis, a Milanese ambassador to Rome, the Pope still hoped to convert the Sultan. The mission was however a complete fiasco. Trebizond had not even been granted an audience. Yet he had begun to portray the Sultan as '*imperatorem romanorum et orbis*', emperor of the world. Upon returning to Rome, Trebizond was imprisoned in the Castel Sant'Angelo. Like other Byzantine survivors, George of Trebizond had reinterpreted history, attributing the growing power of the Turks to providential significance. He is also said to have sent letters to Istanbul 'informing the Turks of [Italian] affairs, of the discontent of the populations, and inviting him to come quickly to Italy.'[17] To escape from his imprisonment, Trebizond was forced to sign a declaration stating the distinction between public gestures and the inner sentiments of the soul. It read: 'I deny that [the Sultan] is king and emperor of the Romans, notwithstanding what I have said.' He was also made to rectify his interpretation of the Fall of Constantinople:

> I renounce all I have said: that he had occupied the city of Constantine by divine will […] I saw in him only military virtues, by which means only did he take the city. I retract all statements of this nature, those I remember and those I have forgotten.[18]

Not long after, in 1468, an unusual conspiracy concocted by members of the Roman Academy – Bartolomeo Platina, Giulio Pomponio Leto, Filippo Buonaccorsi, among others – was uncovered. It was said that they had secretly wished to depose the pope. They had allegedly planned to appeal to Mehmed II, and to convene a council to attribute the title of Restorer of the Church to the Turks. They were all arrested.[19] Most other contemporary humanists had renounced the efforts made by their medieval peers to understand Islam, but these Roman scholars felt more sympathy

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[17]Angelo Mercati, 'Le due lettere di Giorgio da Trebisonda a Maometto II', *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, 9, (1943), pp. 68-69.

[18]John Monfasani, *George of Trebizond: A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic*, (Leiden: Brill, 1976), p. 359.

[19]Paola Medioli Masotti, 'L'Accademia Romana e la congiura del 1468', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 25, (1982), pp. 189-204; Andrea Gardi, 'Congiure contro i papi in Eta moderna', *Roma moderna e contemporanea*, 11, (2003), pp. 36-38.

than horror towards the Turks. [20] A short stay in the jails of the Castel Sant'Angelo nevertheless convinced them to revise their opinions.

In 1489, Pacifico Massimi, a poet errant who had been in contact with the Roman conspirators, published a collection of one hundred philosophical and homoerotic elegies. The texts expressed even more radical criticism than that of his peers in the Academy, though his denunciations were lost in a sea of Latin verse and received limited distribution. In his writings, Massimi severely reprimanded the corruption of clerics ('You who have turned dominant Rome into a house of prostitution!'), which he felt was grounds for calling on the sultan to march on Rome. And 'when your horse feeds on the altar of Peter,' he wrote, 'and in a human voice says, "Come"? If the Parcae let me live, I shall see it, for it is destiny.'[21] Though it is not unusual to encounter nonconformist words and gestures throughout the period, this is one of the most extreme pro-Turkish messages – by a talking horse, no less! – that we have discovered to date. The Burgundian court had previously introduced this image of the conquering horses of the Turks to make a case *for* a crusade.[22] The equine metaphor would survive in this revised form for centuries, though the enemy Turks would eventually be replaced by the Bolsheviks.

Bologna, 1508: Better a Government by the Turks than One by Priests

In 1494 the citizens of Pisa proclaimed that they would rather submit to the Turks than be delivered up to Florence, which was Charles VIII's wish.[23] The following year, the inhabitants of Apulia, though traumatised by the recent Ottoman conquest of Otranto, wrote to Venice that they 'would have called on the Turks to avoid the

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[20]Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), pp. 43-87; Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), pp. 65-116.

[21]Pacifico Massimi, *Hecatelegium*, (Florentiae: Miscomini, 1489), f° N2v-n3r; for modern editions: Pacifico Massimi, *Les cent élégies. Hecatelegium. Florence 1489*, ed. Desjardins J., (Grenoble: Éditions de l'Université de Grenoble, 1986); Pacifico Massimi, *Les cent nouvelles élégies. Deuxième Hecatelegium*, ed. J. Desjardins Daude, (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2008); James Wilhelm, *Gay and Lesbian Poetry. An Anthology from Sappho to Michelangelo*, (New York, London: Garland, 1995), pp. 290-302. Franco Bacchelli, 'Celio Calcagnini, Pacifico Massimi e la simulazione', *I castelli di Yale*, 8, (2005), pp. 127-131.

[22]Jacques Paviot, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient*, (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2003), p. 28.

[23]Michele Luzzati, *Una guerra di popolo. Lettere private del tempo dell'assedio di Pisa (1494-1509)*, (Pisa: Pacini, 1973), pp. 31-37.

French, who were lazy, dirty and depraved.'[24] In Pisa, better the Turks than the Florentines; in the south of Italy, better the Turks than the French. Similar comments were made by Ludovico the Moor and by Cardinal Sforza. It is little wonder that ensuing events unfolded as they did.

In 1500, Pope Alexander VI of Borgia took advantage of the Jubilee year to issue a papal bull calling for a crusade in an attempt to curb Bayezid II's aggressiveness. The only monarch to truly respond to the call was Louis XII, and it would be the final crusade of the most Christian Kings.[25] The mission would end in 1501 with French defeat on the island of Mytilene, in the Aegean Sea. 'Just now I have come from Turkey, where I was taken prisoner during the ill-fated attack on Mytilene', Rabelais would bitingly write.[26] In 1494, the Pope had sought aid from Bayezid when Charles VIII had marched on Italy but by the turn of the new century, circumstances had already changed.[27] In a letter to Niccolò Machiavelli, chancellery official Agostino Vespucci (cousin to the more famous Amerigo) related how Alexander VI was frightened when the bad news arrived from the East, and had even thought to flee Rome. Despite his panic, the Pope chose not to abscond. He remained entrenched with 'his illicit flock of whores and pimps', every night bringing 'at least twenty-five females to the palace, as if it were a filthy brothel.' Vespucci would inevitably conclude that 'the Turk now seems a necessity, since the Christians are incapable of extirpating this human carrion feeder.'[28]

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[24]Marin Sanudo, *La spedizione di Carlo VIII in Italia*, ed. Fulin R., (Venezia: Visentini, 1873-82), p. 344. Carole Kidwell, 'Venice, the French Invasion and the Apulian Ports', in D. Abulafia (ed.), *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy, 1494-95. Antecedents and Effects*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1995), pp. 295–308.

[25]Nicolas Vatin, 'Le siège de Mytilène (1501)', *Turcica*, pp. 21-23, (1991), pp. 437-459; Jonathan Dumont, 'Entre France. Italie et Levant. Philippe de Clèves et la Croisade de Mytilène (1501)', in J.-M. Cauchies (ed.), *Bourguignons en Italie. Italiens dans les pays bourguignons (XIVe-XVIe s.)*, (Neuchâtel: Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes, 2008), pp. 51-68.

[26]*The Histories of Gargantua and Pantagruel by François Rabelais*, trans. J.M. Cohen, (London: Penguin Group, 1955), p. 201; cf. Hope Glidden, 'Ces paillards Turcqs: Rabelais devant le Levant »', in L. Zilli (ed.), *L'Europa e il Levante nel Cinquecento. Cose turchesche*, (Padova: Unipress, 2001), pp. 15-24.

[27]Giovanni Ricci, 'Les lettres de 1494 entre Alexandre VI Borgia et Bàyezid II: les effets indubitables d'une documentation douteuse', in B. Dumézil and L. Vissière (ed.), *Épistolaire politique. II. Authentiques et autographes*, (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2016), pp. 233-243.

[28]Niccolò Machiavelli, *Opere*, ed. Vivanti C., (Torino: Einaudi, 1999), II, p. 34.

The poor nobles of central Europe, principal participants in the crusades, now felt 'disgust' for the holy war. Italian popular literature often expressed pro-Turk sentiments.[29] This burgeoning contempt for the crusade was consistent with the context. In a commemoration of the 1464 crusade Pius II had called, the Bolognese chronicler Fileno dalla Tuata had surmised that 'the monies extorted from the people to fight the Turk were used instead to fatten wolves and pigs.' To raise funds for Alexander VI's crusade, however, the priests had needed to 'absolve both the living and the dead from the most incredible sins so the money would come… I will say no more, it would cause too much scandal.'[30]

Marin Sanudo confirmed the 'scandal' in his analysis of Charles VIII's descent in 1494. He recounted that, in Venice, the Austro-German cardinal Matthäus Lang had argued in favour of 'the expedition against the Turks' promised by the king. What were his reasons? It seems that Lang 'was a poor cardinal, with little income. *Unde*, in preaching against the infidels, *ergo*,' he could keep some of the fruits of his declamations. Needless to say, 'This thing [the crusade] was refused by Venetians, by virtue of the peace [they] had made with the Grand Turk.'[31]

Sanudo was of the oligarchy and represented the political views of La Serenissima. Fileno dalla Tuata was a different case. Though of very little education (he did not know Latin, for example), he echoed the popular anticlerical sentiment of derision and disrespect towards the Church which flowed through Renaissance Italy. The scandals surrounding Pope Alexander VI of Borgia only served to underscore the negative cliché.[32] In 1508, before being hanged for rebellion, the tanner Giacomo Rabuini declared to the papal legate in Bologna, 'Better a government by the Turks than one by the priests!' And Fileno would judiciously comment, 'Well, he was right, but it was not the time for saying it.'[33] The words that had sent George of Trebizond to prison in 1466, or that Agostino Vespucci had written to Machiavelli in 1501, were openly

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[29]Xavier Hélary, 'Le dégoût de la noblesse française à l'égard de la croisade à la fin du XIIIe siècle', in M. Nejedly and J. Svâtek (ed.), *La noblesse et la croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Toulouse: Framespa, 2009), pp. 17-30; Francesco Tateo, 'Crociata e anticrociata nella letteratura umanistica e nella novellistica volgare tra XII e XIV secolo', in H. Houben (ed.), *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito,* (Galatina: Congedo, 2008), I, pp. 309-317.

[30] Tuata Fileno dalla, *Istoria di Bologna*, ed. B. Fortunato, (Bologna: Costa, 2005), pp. 315, p. 324 & p. 434.

[31]Sanudo, *La spedizione*, p. 265.

[32]Ottavia Niccoli, *Rinascimento anticlericale*, (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 2005), pp. 49-78.

[33]Fileno dalla, *Istoria*, p. 529.

echoed by the common people. This shows that the Turkophilia was directly proportional to the anticlericalism, both rising and falling together.

Crusades and Anti-Crusades

In 1518, rumour spread that the Turks would invade Italy. This presage would curiously resonate in the form of a comedy written by Machiavelli, entitled *La Mandragola (The Mandrake)*. In one scene, after complaining a little wistfully about how her 'brute' of a husband sometimes treated her, a falsely naïve woman asked a monk of dubious virtue: 'Do you think that the Turks will invade Italy this year?' She then added: 'My word! Heaven help us, then, with those devils! I'm terrified of that impaling'.[34] Machiavelli admired Ottoman military discipline. He even integrated his comedic and sexual fantasies into his political thought. But if the Florentine scholar's objective was amusement, it was no jest for others.

The Fifth Lateran Council in Rome was dissolved in 1517. There, Cardinal Giles of Viterbo related a prophecy announcing the end of the sect of Muhammad.[35] The Ottomans, as if to contradict him, promptly conquered Mamluk Egypt.[36] Pope Leo X reacted to this by calling for a crusade.[37] His decision to do so was also spurred by his near-death experience during a corsair raid, in 1516, while on a hunt along the Roman coast.[38] On April 29, 1518, Fileno dalla Tuata recorded the journey to Bologna of 'three cardinals sent to gather funds to counter the coming of the Turks.' Among them was Giles of Viterbo, who was to reach Hungary. Processions and ostentatious displays of relics were organised, but to Fileno it all seemed a scheme to collect money. It was not that he was ignorant of the danger the Turks presented, however. On June 4 the same year, he described an incursion of corsairs not far from his city on the Adriatic coast: 'They pillaged and burned a village, after having slit everyone's throats.' How then can his aversion to crusades or his fondness for the Turks be explained? It seems that Fileno never passed up the chance to criticise the ecclesiarchs. A few weeks

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[34]Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Mandragola,* in *Five Italian Renaissance Comedies*, ed. by B. Penman, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1978), p. 33.

[35]Delio Cantimori, *Eretici italiani dei Cinquecento*, (Torino: Einaudi, 1992), p. 24.

[36]Benjamin Lellouch and Nicolas Michel, *Conquête ottomane de l'Égypte (1517)*, (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2013).

[37]Hans Pfeffemann, *Die Zusammenarbeit der Renaissancepäpste mit des Türken*, (Winterthur: Mondial, 1946), pp. 174-181; Ottavia Niccoli, *Profeti e popolo nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1987), pp. 110-114.

[38]Bram Kempers, 'Sans fiction ne dissimulacion. The Crowns and Crusaders in the Stanza dell'Incendio', in G.-R. Tewes and M. Rohlmann (ed.), *Der Medici-Papst Leo X. und Frankreich Politik. Kultur und Familiengeschäfte in der Europäischen Renaissance*, (Tubingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2002), pp. 381-386.

before the cardinals responsible for the crusade came through Bologna, Fileno had disparagingly noted the supremely wealthy cardinal Luigi d'Aragona's visit to the city. Though it was Lent, d'Aragona and his company 'ate nothing but capon, partridge and pheasant, in blatant disregard of believers.'[39]

Let us return to our brave tanner hanged in Bologna in 1508. Though the anticlerical faction had prepared his declaration on the government of priests and of Turks, the tanner had had no intention of abjuring his Christian beliefs. His reasoning was much like that of the Eastern Christians, who claimed: 'Better the turban than the tiara.'[40] In other words, the Turks, who were more open to granting legal status to infidels in exchange for tribute, were a more palatable alternative than the Latin Church, which hounded schismatics with proselytism (and also demanded tribute). The notion of 'Ottoman tolerance', which historians continue to debate, had something to do with this, as did the memory of crusaders pillaging Constantinople in 1204.[41] But powerful emotions were indeed stirring if, in a city such as Bologna, which belonged to the pope and was in the heart of the Western world the avarice and gluttony of its prelates were more scandalous than murderous corsair attacks.

Lepanto: The Flip Side
In 1571, the Battle of Lepanto aroused a new wave of emotions. The Turks had just besieged Malta and its defending Knights, and had recently conquered Genoese Chios, the Latin Duchy of the Archipelago, and Venetian Cyprus.[42] A Holy League was

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[39]Fileno dalla, *Istoria*, p. 747.

[40]Elizabeth Zachariadou, 'Τα λόγια κι ο θάνατος του Λουκά Νοταρά' [Words and the Death of Luca Notaras], in Ch. Maltezou, Th. Detorakis and Ch. Charalabakis (ed.), *Ροδώνια. Τιμή στον Μ.Ι. Μανουσάκα* [Rose garden. In honour of M.I. Manoussakas], (Rethimno: University of Crete, 1994), pp. 135-146; Roderich Reinsch, 'Lieber den Turban als was? Bemerkungen zum Diktum des Lukas Notaras', in C. Constantinides, N. Panagiotakes, E. Jeffreys and A. Angelou, *Philellen. Studies in honour of Robert Browning*, (Venezia: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini, 1996), pp. 377-389.

[41]Marc Baer, Ussama Makdisi and Andrew Shryock, 'Tolerance and Conversion in the Ottoman Empire: A Conversation', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 51, (2009), pp. 927-940.

[42]Anne Brogini, *Malte, frontière de Chrétienté (1530-1670)*, (Rome: École Française de Rome, 2006); Philip Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island. 1346-1566*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958); Ben Slot, *Archipelagus turbatus. Les Cyclades entre colonisation latine et occupation ottomane: c. 1500-1718*, (Istanbul: Nederlands historisch-archaeologisch instituut, 1982), pp. 66-72; Chryssa Maltezou, *Cipro-Venezia: comuni sorti storiche*, (Venezia: Istituto

arranged in response to this expansion, while in the churches believers recited the prayer *contra paganos*, exchanging '*paganos*' *(pagan)* for '*Turcas*' (the 'Turk').[43] At the same time, taxes were raised, causing discontent among the people to surface. Just prior to this, in 1570, Doge Pietro Loredan had drawn his last breath in Venice. During the funeral service, the crowd had dared cry out, 'Long live Saint Marco and the Signoria, the Doge of famine is dead!'

A contemporary anonymous versifier composed a *Lament of the Venetian Fishermen* which seems a counterpoint to the fervour for war. Echoing popular sentiments of egalitarianism, he mocked the oligarchs with: 'they who fear that the Grand Turk will come steal their melons.' And, in response to religious millenarianism, he stigmatised Christian sins: 'It is not the Turks, but God himself who wages war against our practice of usury and our weaknesses. It is a miracle the earth does not open up and swallow us whole.' The would-be poet concluded his interminable series of scandalous observations by declaiming that, 'not wanting the tyrants to reign supreme over this world, God had arranged for the Grand Sultan to dispense justice. [The Turk] took back what was taken by the tyrants and gave them war and misfortunes in return.'[44] The victory at Lepanto would be decisive, but dissension among the victors prevented them from fully reaping its benefits.[45] While official – and sincere – enthusiasm for anti-Turk sentiment raged, to the point of elevating Lepanto as a new Battle of Salamis,[46] the author of the *Lament*, paying no heed to Greek history, perpetuated the tradition of pro-Turkish appeals.

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ellenico di studi bizantini, 2002); Vera Costantini, *Il sultano e l'isola contesa. Cipro tra eredità veneziana e potere ottomano*, (Torino: Utet, 2009), pp. 43-74.

[43]*Episcopale Bononiensis Civitatis et Diocesis. Raccolta di varie cose che in diversi tempi sono state ordinale dal [...] cardinale Paleotti*, (Bologna: Benacci, 1580), p. 96 v.; Gianclaudio Civale, *Guerrieri di Cristo. Inquisitori, gesuiti e soldati alla battaglia di Lepanto*, (Milano: Unicopli, 2009).

[44]Manlio Dazzi, *Il fiore della lirica veneziana*, (Venezia: Neri Pozza, 1956), pp. 441-449.

[45]For an original overview: Onur Yildirim, 'The Battle of Lepanto and Its Impact on Ottoman History and Historiography', in R. Cancila (ed.), *Mediterraneo in armi (secc. XV-XVIII)*, (Palermo: Mediterranea, 2007), II, pp. 553-556.

[46]Carlo Dionisotti, 'La guerra d'Oriente e la letteratura veneziana del Cinquecento', in A. Pertusi (ed.), *Venezia e l'Oriente tra tardo Medioevo e Rinascimento*, (Firenze: Sansoni, 1966), pp. 471-493; Francesco Sorce, 'Metafore in bianco e nero. Propaganda antiturca nelle stampe di Nicolò Lelli', in Francesco Sorce, *En blanc et noir. Studi in onore di Silvana Macchioni*, (Roma: Campisano, 2007), pp. 47-60; Álvaro Alonso, 'Lepanto como Nueva Salamina: un tópico hispano-italiano entre Mal Lara y Viruès', in L. Secchi Tarugi (ed.), *Oriente e Occidente nel Rinascimento*, (Firenze: Cesati, 2009), pp. 475-485.

Conclusion

This article has explored the views of one Byzantine scholar and some Roman academics, Pisan citizens and inhabitants of Apulia, a chronicler and a tanner from Bologna, an official and a writer from Florence, one cosmopolitan poet, and Venetian fishermen. Yet we have scarcely begun to scratch the surface of public opinion towards the Turks, and the more political version of the pro-Turk sentiment of princes and popes has also barely been touched on. Nor have the many who converted to Islam been mentioned in this article. Nonetheless, we can observe that the geography of positive emotions towards the Turks is as varied as its sociology. Though it is impossible to measure the true extent of this phenomenon, it is unlikely to be negligible. Perhaps what we glimpse flowing over Renaissance Italy was but the tip of the iceberg in a geopolitical conflict of emotions of far greater importance.

Tears of blood: War and Grief at the End of the 15th and the Beginning of the 16th Centuries

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ABSTRACT
Contrary to what traditional historiography asserts, the expression of emotions was not absent from the narrative and literary sources that provide information on the condition of men of war at the turning point of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. While the art of war underwent unexpected metamorphoses, tears manifested mourning and sadness, but also compassion, joy or anger. They demonstrated the changing sensitivity to death, to the necessary commemoration of officers of high birth, as well as to the more humble laments linked to the disappearance of a parent, a comrade-in-arms, or even a beloved animal. A symptom of a real emotional wounds, grief also sometimes lead to murderous fury and revenge. Tears then come along with emotions considered as an objective parameter of war.

As Monsieur de La Palisse might have said: in battle, it is blood which flows; but at day's end, when the dead and the wounded are counted, then flow the tears[1]. The purpose of a man-at-arms might be to strike or be struck down, yet dying often seemed to him an unjust fate, something to be feared. Whether in the army or the city, death engendered great displays of ostentatious mourning, collective outbursts of tears or a profound sense of despair. And during the Italian Wars, it seems, the French aristocracy wept a great deal.

In the tradition of the *grands rhétoriqueurs*, great figurative 'monuments' were erected to dead heroes. The virtues of the glorious dead were extolled in poems, prosimetra and heroic epics brimming over with pathos. Their authors (court poets and their patrons) shed many a tear over the loss of a protector, as did the 'actors' in the dramas

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[1]On tears, see especially Anne Vincent-Buffault, *Histoire des larmes*, (Paris: Rivages, 1986).

(family, friends and companions).[2] To what extent can we trust their torrents of tears? The question must first be asked of the sources. But as might be expected, it is never quite so simple. Chroniclers and men of war recorded manifestations of mourning every bit as ostentatious as the poets, though some were more discreet. In correspondence and memoirs, whether faithful or pure fantasy, aristocrats and captains sometimes talked of their profound despair and of tears shed for fallen companions.[3] It is not only in conventional literary corpora that these sentiments are expressed. Though the sources are heterogeneous, a certain uniformity within can be found in the identities, culture and writing objectives of the authors.

They were men who set pen to paper in order to bear witness, memorialise or self-justify, but also to instruct or pass on skills, knowledge or a set of values. Some were memorialists, historiographers and military theoreticians, while others were philosophers, poets, doctors or humanists. There were educated combatants of noble birth, camp followers, and those who served the nobility or sought their protection. Some wished to share with others the experience of war, campaigns and the routines of camp life. Their experiences and accounts were stamped with the omnipresence of violence and death, the boredom of long periods of waiting, and the hardships of forced marches and sieges. They were shaped by privations, sickness and injuries that became engraved on the flesh or in the soul. But these men also experienced plenitude in times of pillage and, sometimes, the joy of victory. The authors shared a moral code and an emotional reality, which often transcended social, denominational or 'national' differences. They were all part of an 'emotional community', an 'affective culture' developed in the same way as within families or between neighbours, members of communes, parishes and monastic communities.[4] Martial, masculine episodes of weeping were not simply anecdotal accompaniments to campaign casualties. They were the expression of this 'affective' culture, though such emotionality in the military man seems foreign to us today.[5]

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[2]Christine Martineau-Génieys, *Le thème de la mort dans la poésie française de 1450 à 1550*, (Paris: H. Champion, 1977); Claude Thiry, *Recherches sur la déploration funèbre française à la prérenaissance*, 2 vol., PhD thesis on Roman philology, Université de Liège, 1973.

[3]Hélène Monsacré, *Les larmes d'Achille*, (Paris: Albin Michel, 1984); Dominik Perler, *Feelings Transformed. Philosophical Theories of the Emotions, 1270-1670*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[4]Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (Ithaca-Londres: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 2; Damien Boquet and Piroska Nagy, *Sensible Moyen Âge: une histoire des émotions dans l'Occident médiéval*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 2015).

[5]The works of Elina Gertsman, Gerd Althoff and other anthropological studies have helped to distinguish grief from tears and their study as a social as well as a natural phenomenon. See for example Elina Gertsman (ed.), *Crying in the Middle Ages: Tears of*

This article seeks to reconcile the paradox of a historiography that has long discarded literary and narrative sources – still often viewed as either self-serving justification or the shameless vindication of the ruling class[6] – and the richness of this documentation, in which emotions are expressed in all their diversity and complexity. This paradox seems all the more striking when we consider how the codes governing gender, propriety or modesty in the late Middle Ages and early modernity restricted their expression. This paper will therefore explore the way in which tears are expressed and exhibited in the sources, what it is they express, what norms they reflect, and what they say about the condition of men of war. Suffering and death are ubiquitous in war and can determine the outcome of combat. Were tears consequently a subject of reflection in martial literature? However, in order to address this, we must first understand why the warrior elites of Renaissance France wept in the context of war, examine the manifestations of emotion and assess how they were named (physical or psychological pain, sadness, anger, or even joy), and finally, understand the extent to which they were considered an objective parameter of war.

Of Ink and Tears

Emotions associated with death and the manly expression of grief have long been the poet's domain: Achilles, the quintessential hero, unashamedly wept over the body of Patroclus. Before deciding on the authenticity of such displays of grief, however, it is important to examine their literary *mise en scène*.

The eulogy had always been fashionable, but it gained new life toward the end of the fifteenth century under the *grands rhétoriqueurs*. Tributes were not only for those who died in combat. Women were lamented as much as men and princes as much as artists or writers. In this era, heroic death was but one theme in the vast genre of *tombeaux littéraires*. Eulogies were peopled with countless allegorical characters and provided a theatrical framework for the ceremonial shedding of tears. Poets often portrayed themselves in the role of the narrator, and the tearful allegories were obvious polyphonal incarnations of the poet himself, who single-handedly comprised the entire funeral choir.

History, (Ithaca-London: Cornell University Press, 2011); Gerd Althoff and Regis Ira, 'Prolegomena to a History of Royal Anger', in Barbara Rosenwein (ed.), *Anger's Past. The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Ithaca, 1998), pp. 59-74.
[6]Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident (XIVᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles). Une cité assiégée*, (Paris: Fayard, 1978). For references to the scholars who have questioned this perspective, see the article by Paul Vo-Ha in this volume, Paul Vo-Ha, 'The Wages of Fear: Fear and Surrender in The Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', British Journal for Military History, 6.2 (2020).

An example of this eulogistic genre is *La Plainte du Désiré*. Composed in 1503, it features Jean Lemaire de Belges lamenting Louis de Ligny, Comte de Luxembourg, who had died in his bed of sickness, or despair.[7] The author-performer presents the scene in prose, while two allegorical female mourners, *Painture* and *Rhetorique*, sing over the deceased in verse. As is often the case, the poem is lengthy and complex. Filled with architectural metaphors, it speaks of '*tombeaux*' and even '*temples*'. A *monument* must be created, of words and images, to eternalize the glory of the noble deceased. In 1503, Lemaire de Belges also composed *Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus* to honour the death of Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon.[8]

In the same vein, Jean Bouchet composed *Le Temple de Bonne Renommée* (1516), an indigestible work of several thousand lines on the death of Charles de la Trémoille at the Battle of Marignano. Bouchet declaimed that he wished to 'lament and weep in tragic form', an intriguing expression that underlines the theatrical aspect of the text.[9] The author inserted himself into the poem and brought several allegories into play, amplifying *ad nauseam* the model of Lemaire de Belges. A whole chorus of professional mourners can be found intoning, their harrowing sobs gradually evolving into the voices of a celestial choir.[10] According to the poetic conventions of the time, tears of this type could accompany mourning the physical body, but were always followed by a fully Christian exultation of the soul.

These tears proved to be as much mercenary as literary. After all, what a writer such as Jean Bouchet needed was a protector. The tears wept over his lost patron were a calling card presented to Charles de la Trémoille's successors. The poet singing the praises of Charles de la Trémoille was almost caricatural; his quarry was Trémoille's next of kin. Unfortunately for him, Gabrielle de Bourbon died before Bouchet could complete the poem and Louis II perished at Pavia, though Bouchet would later dedicate a monumental *Panegyric* of the perfect knight to Louis' grandchildren.[11] Moral,

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[7]Jean Lemaire de Belges, *La plainte du Désiré*, ed. by Dora Yabsley, (Paris: Droz, 1932).
[8]Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Le temple d'honneur et de vertus*, ed. by Henri Hornik, (Geneva: Droz, 1957).
[9]Jean Bouchet*, Le temple de bonne renommée*, (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1516), p. 28 [Henceforth *Le temple de bonne renomm*ée…*,* ed. by Giovanna Bellati, (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1992).
[10]On Antique models of epics and funeral orations in official funerals of citizens who died for the city, see Nicole Loraux, *L'invention d'Athènes, histoire de l'oraison funèbre dans la cité classique*, (Paris: Ed. EHESS, 1981); Maurice Sartre, 'Les Grecs', in Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine and Georges Vigarello (ed.), *Histoire des émotions*, vol. 1*: De l'Antiquité aux Lumières*, (Paris: Seuil, 2016), p. 28.
[11]Jean Bouchet, *Le panegyric du chevallier sans reproche…*, (Paris: Enguilbert de Marnef, 1527) [Henceforth *Panégyric*].

mournful allegories are not the focus of this discussion. Yet these figures do at times pose as stand-ins for actual people, whose bereavement Bouchet thought to illustrate. Again, it seems more than just a question of theatrical masks: the individuals to whom the poet alluded did indeed exist and were evidently his potential audience. The author was therefore not in a position to ascribe untruthful sentiments to them. That their emotions were represented reflects a certain conception of bereavement and as such is deserving of analysis.

A poet might choose to portray the dead hero's brothers in arms or peers. Here, we are truly in the realm of virile tears. For the death of Gaston de Foix, an anonymous author related, in a poem of several hundred lines, how one night he met despairing noblemen dressed in black.[12] 'I saw,' he said,

[…] deux hommes fort touchéz	Two men, by their countenance
De grant douleur à veoir leur contenance,	Quite touched by a great sorrow,
Car de plourer ne font nulle abstinence,	For they held not back their tears.
Vestuz de noir et bonnetz sans rebratz	Black they wore, with brimless caps
Et chapperons de deul dessus leurs bratz.	And hoods of mourning above their arms.
Lors je m'assiéz et leur façon j'advise,	As I sat, their features, which I found
Que je trouvay d'assez estrange guise,	strange in semblance, leapt to my eyes,
Car ilz gectoient force larmes et criz,	For tears and cries erupted from them.
Més de leurs plains gueres je n'entendiz,	But I scarcely heard their complaints,
Fors seullement qu'ilz mauldisoient la mort,	Save that they cursed death
Fortune aussi, qui tant leur a fait tort.	And Fortune, who had wronged them so.
(v. 246-256)	

The author sought to console the mourners but was nearly pummelled by one of them, who did not want to be distracted from his grief (v. 279-285). In the end we learn that they were mourning the death of Gaston de Foix, who had fallen at Ravenna in 1512. Of the three mentioned – they were Pierre de Foix, De Belleville and Haubourdin –, the last was a soldier, the only one to have participated in the Battle of

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[12] *Le regrect des trois gentilzhommes, collaudant et desplorant le triumphant et infortuné trespas de feu de noble et inmortelle memoire, tres hault, tres puissant, illustrissime et victorieux prince, Monseigneur Guaston, en son vivant conte de Foix et d'Estampes, duc de Nemours, nepveu du tres crestien roy Lois douziesme de ce nom, son lieutenant general en Italie et gouverneur de sa duché de Milan.* Bibliothèque nationale de France, mss fr. 1710, ed. by Laurent Vissière in 'Gaston de Foix dans les poèmes contemporains', in Joana Barreto, Gabriele Quaranta and Colette Nativel (ed.), *Voir Gaston de Foix (1512-2012). Métamorphoses européennes d'un héros paradoxal*, (Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 17-30 and pp. 223-237.

Ravenna. The poem then centres on the dialogue of the three men, who afterwards head back into the night wrapped in their eternal despair.

Their grief might have been excessive, but oh, how masculine! And akin to the grief that *La Chanson de Roland* attributes to Charlemagne when he discovered the battlefield of Roncevaux.

Et Charles de s'arracher la barbe, comme un homme en grande colère;	Seeming enraged, his beard the King doth tear.
Il pleure, et tous ses chevaliers d'avoir aussi des larmes plein les yeux.	Weep from their eyes barons and chevaliers,
Vingt mille hommes tombent à terre, pâmés. […]	A thousand score, they swoon upon the earth; […]
	CLXXVIII
[CCVIII]La douleur est grande à Ronceveaux:	[Sadness is great at Ronceveaux]
Il n'y a pas un seul chevalier, pas un seul baron,	No chevalier nor baron is there, who Pitifully weeps not for grief and dule;
Qui de pitié ne pleure à chaudes larmes.	They mourn their sons, their brothers, their nephews,
Ils pleurent leurs fils, leurs frères, leurs neveux,	And their liege lords, and trusty friends and true;
Leurs amis et leurs seigneurs liges.	Upon the ground a many of them
Un grand nombre tombent à terre, pâmés.[13]	swoon.[14]

Grief could in fact be every bit as excessive as fury in battle. There existed a state beyond that of tears: loss of consciousness, possibly leading to death. It is the destiny Aude faced. It is also the end the friends of Gaston de Foix set for themselves. The tears shed for the same 'heroes' of the Italian Wars, in the *Lamenti*[15] were quite different, however. Indeed, they represent an antithetical model of chivalry, in which tears were a mark of the regret, pain and fear felt by the knights, who were otherwise described as brave and beyond reproach.

Other characters cast in mourning could include close kin, such as fathers and most especially mothers:

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[13]*La chanson de Roland*, ed. by Léon Gautier, (Tours: A. Mame et fils, 1876).
[14]The Song of Roland. (n.d.). Project Gutenberg.
http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/391/pg391.html. Accessed 1 April 2020.
[15]Florence Alazard, 'Son stato Colonnello & generale: soliloques militaires dans l'Italie en guerre au XVIe siècle', in Benjamin Deruelle and Bernard Gainot (ed.), *Les mots du militaire*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2020), pp. 35-55.

O quel grant deul fera	How great shall be
La mere, quant saura	The mother's grief when she discovers
La mort de son seul filz !	
Sur l'heure perira	The death of her only son!
Et de deul languira…	Within the hour shall she perish,
	Languishing from sorrow.

At least, that is what Jean Bouchet affirmed in *Le Temple de Bonne Renommée*.[16] This was a premonition perhaps, since Gabrielle de Bourbon did languish, though it was a few short months following the demise of her son before she died. The poet had not anticipated her death – it was to her that the text had been dedicated. In *Panegyric*, Bouchet resumed the tale of Marignano, pointing out the difference between paternal and maternal reactions. For example, Louis II remained stoic when François I announced the death of his son, though he could not prevent his eyes 'from distilling tiny tears despite his determination'.[17] His wife had quite the opposite reaction. She collapsed, broke into tears and lamented, 'for I have lost my son, my progeny, my likeness and my only consolation.'[18] When she wrote to her husband, her tear-soaked letter was rendered nearly indecipherable.[19]

In *L'Apparition du Mareschal sans repproche*, Guillaume Crétin imagines a chorus of women mourning the disaster of Pavia.[20] 'Lo, look upon these poor suffering mothers,' they wail,

Lors veissiez vous paovres dolentes meres	Full of pain and bitter anguish,
Porter douleur et angoisses amaires,	Regretting the loss of their children,
En regrettant la mort de leurs enfans,	Their comfort in old age, and their protection.
De leur vieillesse appuys et seurs deffens;	
Oultre veissiez ung tas de femmes veufves	Beyond see you a heap of widows,
Larmes getter de leurs yeulx comme fleuves,	Tears gush from their eyes like rivers,
Ayant les cueurs contristés et transis	Their hearts desolate and paralysed
Pour leurs maris en la bataille occis;	For their husbands dead in battle.
Jeunes enfans ayans perduz leurs peres,	Young children have lost their fathers,

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[16] *Le temple de bonne renommée*, v. pp. 318-322.

[17] *Panegyric*, f. 149 v.

[18] Ibid., ff. 152 v-153r.

[19] Ibid., f. 158 r.

[20] Guillaume Crétin, *L'apparition du Mareschal sans reproche, feu messire Jaques de Chabannes*, in *Œuvres poétiques*, ed. by K. Chesney, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1977), pp. 143-181, loc.cit. v. 1159-1167, p. 180.

N'esperant plus recouvrer jours prosperes…	All hope lost of prosperous days ahead…

In courtly circles, where everyone was related, such a chorus of widows was not at all improbable.

Guillaume Crétin's innovation was his use of the device of a ghostly apparition in his poem. Instead of a cast of family members, the poet imagined the hero's pale, trembling spectre standing tearfully before him. The old captain was not weeping over his own death, but over the defeat of the royal armies and, more particularly, the capture of François I. As his litany rose to a crescendo, he intoned his terrible words, 'The king is taken'.[21] In this instance, the proud paladins had failed.[22]

A virtuous hero deserved to live. But like Roland and Olivier, or the knights of the Round Table falling on Salisbury Plain, in death were heroes also created. Even so, the passing of a great man was perceived as an injustice, an absence of order. That a captain as young and brilliant as Gaston de Foix should meet his end at the age of 22 was unthinkable for his companions. Charles de la Trémoille's parents certainly found nothing normal in their only son's death at Marignano. And that the son should die before the father! 'Better that he should have been without a father than I without a son,' La Trémoille is said to have declared to François I.[23] The natural order of things had been overturned. True, the two young warriors had fallen in loyal combat, but that was of little consolation.

Upon reflexion, the death of a literary hero was typically the result of duplicity. At Ronceveaux, disaster was caused by Ganelon's treachery. On Salisbury Plain, tragedy struck from Mordred's betrayal. This theme of treason and disloyalty was every bit as potent on the cusp of the sixteenth century. In the *Panegyric*, Jean Bouchet attributed the defeat at Pavia to the apathy of the French soldiers who had left the king and his paladins to the mercy of the Spanish. In reality, most knights fell without having exchanged a single blow. Artillery fire was becoming the norm on the battlefield. Since Charles VII, French kings had been increasing the size of their artillery parks, and no campaign was envisaged without cannons. Nevertheless, poets remained faithful to the archaic structures and continued to denounce the thunderous cannons as arms of the devil. The best of the world's knights fell to these weapons, their miserable ends a

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[21]Ibid., v. 1028, p. 176.
[22]Jean-Marie Le Gall, *L'honneur perdu de François Ier: Pavie, 1525*, (Paris: Payot, 2015), pp. 118-122.
[23] *Panegyric*, ff. 149 v°-150 r°.

negation of their virtue in life: Jacques de Lalaing (1453), Bayard (1524), La Trémoille and La Palice (1525) are but a few examples. Artillery annihilated not only the hero, but also his very *raison d'être*.

Symphorien Champier imagined the arquebusier who had killed Bayard filled with regret, cursing the inventor of the firearm, and deciding to enter into religion.[24] It is a familiar trope alluding to Lancelot, who became a monk after causing the death of some of his comrades, an act which spelled the end of the Round Table. Jean Bouchet gave La Trémoille's retainers a long 'invective against artillery' following the Battle of Pavia

> the meanest and lowest of men, the puniest and most ignorant of fools might now strike down, with one blast of an arquebus, the grandest, richest, strongest, most hardy, prudent, magnanimous and experienced of warriors.[25]

These tears have a morality to them. In weeping over the death of paladins mowed down by firearms, the poets were doubtless lamenting the end of an age. But in this 'new regime of death' which became the norm at the end of the Middle Ages, singing the glory of heroes shot to death was perhaps a way of exorcising the unpredictability and suddenness of this *mors repentina*.[26] And in this way, acolytes of Petrarch thought to avert an infamous and shameful death. Humanists rehabilitated the classical ideal of dying for one's nation, adding to it their Christian belief in immortality gained through glory, to found a temple for the glorification of the great captains.[27] Their discourse on death also played a role in the expression of social emotions, creating bonds by fostering collective emotional experiences.[28]

Professional Mourners: the Social and Political Practices of Tears
Tears were therefore not mere literary artifice. Ancien Régime societies truly did weep. But if we now understand the why, the how still needs to be demystified. The expression of psychological distress in narrative sources remained subject to social

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[24]Symphorien Champier, *La vie de Bayard*, ed. by Denis Crouzet, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale Éditions, 1992), pp. 209-210.
[25]*Panegyric*, f. 190 v.
[26]Michel Vovelle, *La mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos jours*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2000 [1983]), p. 98; Philippe Ariès, *L'homme devant la mort*, (Paris: Seuil, 1985 [1977]), vol. 1, p. 18.
[27]Ernst Kantorowicz, 'Mourir pour la patrie (*Pro Patria Mori*) dans la pensée politique médiévale', in Ernst Kantorowicz, *Mourir pour la patrie et autres textes*, (Paris: Fayard, 2004 [1984]), p. 133.
[28]William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

constraints and the control dictated by contemporary emotional models. Christian, philosophical, classical and medieval medical traditions were also intertwined in the mix, if not always in obvious ways.[29] Together, these traditions formed the belief that emotions, and particularly psychological pain, were a disrupting force, inevitable perhaps but to be tempered.[30] For if these emotions conserved their fundamental duality – potentially troubling, but at the same time a stimulating force for the human spirit – men had the power to 'make use of them'.[31] Emotions also fostered complex interrelationships: grief, where contrary emotions intertwine, led as much to love and sadness as to anger or even fury. Jean Fernel affirmed that

> melancholy leads to mania, which we call fury, or furious frenzy. It is a state in
> which thoughts, speech and actions come close to the extravagances of
> melancholics. But it has this besides, that it stirs the patient to anger, to quarrels

[29]Among which, we find Platonism, Aristotelianism, Stoicism, Thomism and the Hippocratic-Galenic model. On the necessary control of emotions in Stoicism, see especially Seneca's *De Ira* (On Anger) (I, 12, 2) and *On Consolation: To Polybius*; Cicero's *Tusculanae Disputationes (Tuscular Disputations*, IV, 6, 13), inspired by Stoic morality; and Pliny's *Natural History* (see for example X, LXXXIII-1; XVIII, I-4; or XXXIII, II). Cf. Plato's *Timaeus*, Aristotle's *Physics* and *De Anima (On the Soul)*, as well as the *Confessions* of Saint Augustine, Saint Gregory the Great and Thomas Aquinas (esp. the *Treatise on the Passions* in *Summa Theologica* I-II, Qu. 22-48). On the medical viewpoint of passions as perturbations in the mechanics of bodily fluids (humours and spirits), see the works of Nicolas de la Chesnaye, counsellor to Louis XI, Charles VIII and Louis XII; Ambroise Paré, physician of François Ier and of the armies; and Jean Fernel, physician of Henri II: Nicolas de La Chesnaye, *La nef de sante avec le gouvernail du corps humain […], et le traictie des passions de lame*, (Paris: Anthoine Verard, 1507) [hereafter *La nef de santé*], especially the translation of the treatise on the passions of the soul by Benedetto Reguardi – physician of Sixtus IV and of Francesco Sforza –, f. 94 et seq.; Ambroise Paré, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Joseph-François Malgaigne, (Paris: J.-B. Baillière, 1840), vol. 1, pp. 75, pp. 78-79; and Jean Fernel, *Pathologia […]*, (Paris, Veuve Jean le Bouc, 1646), pp. 3-4 [hereafter *Pathologia*].

[30]See Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, p. 32; and more particularly Léontine Zanta, *La renaissance du stoïcisme au XVIe siècle*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 2007 [1914]); Margaret Graver, *Stoicism and emotion*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of Secular Psychological Category*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); and on the medical perspective Georges Vigarello, *Le sain et le malsain: santé et mieux-être depuis le Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Ed. du Seuil, 1993); Sébastien Jahan, *Les Renaissances du corps en Occident (1450-1650)*, (Paris: Belin, 2004).

[31]Luc-Thomas Somme, 'Passions et temporalité chez Thomas d'Aquin', *Revue d'éthique et de théologie morale*, 254, 2, (2009), p. 57.

and to shrieks, giving him a terrible aspect, before finally exerting on his body and spirit much agitation and impetuosity, wherefrom he may throw himself upon all who cross his path, furiously and with an extraordinary rage, like a cruel and ferocious beast, biting, tearing with nails or beating with fists.[32]

Good emotions are those which, mastered, lead to re-action; negative emotions are those which annihilate reason and dehumanise the individual.[33]

The expression of emotions was also coloured by social and sexual distinctions. In accordance with Stoic morality, self-control was a nobiliary virtue, an indicator of social quality and hierarchy. Unsurprisingly, commoners seem more sensitive to emotions, and particularly to collective emotion. In narrative sources, it is the soldiers who first succumbed to fury.[34] Equally unsurprising, excessive manifestations of grief remained associated with women, whose cries and disproportionate displays accompanied their tears: when, in 1552, Henry II sent for François de Scépeaux, sieur de Vieilleville, who had but recently returned home, his wife 'was unable to contain her tears, failing to hide her sorrow and despair.' The entire household of women then followed suit, 'and all through the house there was nought but wailing and weeping, for this sex collectively discharges all its passions and anguish through its eyes.'[35]

And yet, in certain circumstances, the expression of grief was neither improper nor unjustified – especially in war, where loss was omnipresent. But if, contrary to popular perception, some tears were a personal expression of emotion, they were rarely documented. Whether anonymous and externalised when exhibited by the masses or identified and discreet when rolling down the cheeks of noblemen and great captains, they were no less the expression of intense emotion and personal grief. In 1507, after the revolt in Genoa against Louis XII failed, Jean d'Auton relates that the city was filled with 'tears, cries and lamentations of the poor desolate women who had lost their husbands, brothers or sons in the battles.'[36] In 1553, when the emperor took

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[32]*Pathologia*, pp. 313-314.

[33]Pascal Brioist, 'La gestion de peur et de la fureur dans les traités d'escrime à la Renaissance', in Bernard Andenmatten, Armand Jamme, Laurence Moulinier-Brogi and Marilyn Nicoud (ed.), *Passions et pulsions à la cour*, (Firenze: SISMEL – Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), pp. 339-358.

[34]Except in song, romances and chivalric biographies, which are part of another emotional regime.

[35]Vincent Carloix, *Mémoires de la vie de François de Scépeaux, sire de Vieilleville*, ed. by Claude-Bernard Petitot, (Paris, Foucault, 1822), pp. 6-7.

[36]Jean d'Auton, *Chronique de Louis XII*, ed. by R. de Maulde La Clavière, (Paris: s.n, 1895), vol. 4, p. 225.

Thérouanne, the land was cast in 'mournful grief. Fathers lamented over the loss of their sons, brothers over brothers, families their friends and wives their husbands.'[37] The heartache was one of families, but also that of companions, who found the emotion difficult to accept. In 1528, Vieilleville, commander of the *Régente*, was abandoned by his seamen on the bridge of an enemy galley off the coast of Naples. When Comte Philippin learned of the situation, he ordered a search for Vieilleville, 'with extreme grief and regret, among the dead floating on the water, but could not find his body. He thought he would die of despair.'[38]

The men also seemed to form strong attachments to some of their animals, particularly dogs and war horses. In 1541, in order to save their warships caught in a storm off the coast of Algiers, Spanish soldiers resignedly threw overboard 'the ships' dead weight, everything save the men.'[39] Not even the horses were spared. Years later, Brantôme related that Genoese mariners on the expedition still recalled the soldiers whose 'hearts had broken from pity and grief seeing [the horses] swim in the open seas [and] drown and perish piteously before their eyes.'[40]

These tears expressed personal grief and distress. They bear witness to the love borne for a son, husband or father, or to the friendship for a lost companion considered a kindred soul. They reveal 'great loss', that the living '*regrettent*' and '*plaignent*', 'deeply', 'eyes filled with tears'. The experience was one of 'sad', even 'extreme' grief, deep 'regrets' or 'distress', at times to the point of 'believing one would die' 'of chagrin', of 'despair', of 'melancholy', or of 'grief'. These terms, once strong with meaning, have lost their intensity over time: '*despit*', '*ennuy*', and '*deuil*' were characteristics of psychological or even physical suffering, linked with profound sadness, sometimes touched with torment, bitterness and anger.[41] The expression '*mourir de tristesse*' represents how much survivors must often have felt cornered by these extreme emotions.

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[37]François Rabutin, *Commentaire des dernières guerres en la Gaule Belgique*, ed. by C.-B. Petitot, (Paris: Foucault, 1823), vol. 1, p. 200.

[38]Carloix, *Mémoires de la vie de François de Scépeaux*, pp. 38-39. Their friendship dates from the time Vieilleville was *enfant d'honneur* to the Queen regent and Pillippin a page in the King's Chamber.

[39]25 October 1541. Antonio Magnatoli, the Pope's Legate, affirmed that the next day, the bodies of men and animals littered the shore. Daniel Nordman, *Tempête sur Alger: l'expédition de Charles Quint en 1541*, ([Saint-Denis]: Bouchène, 2011), p. 510.

[40]Pierre de Bourdeille, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by Ludovic Lalanne, (Paris: Vve J. Renouard, 1866), vol. 1, pp. 71-72 [Désormais Bourdeille].

[41]*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)*, consulted 3/10/2018 (online: http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/) [henceforward *DMF*].

When nobles mourned, the intensity of the pain expressed was at odds with the propriety of the descriptions. This depended not only on the degree of mourning, but on the author's own personality and intentions. Sorrow was nonetheless present, though far from the exacerbated manifestation of mourning found in literary sources or described in collective grieving. It appeared on the fringes, like stolen moments or stray thoughts buried under often vast documentation. For noblemen, honour was also a consideration: honour lost, or honour stained. Tears might be legitimately expressed only when circumstances, injury or sickness prevented combat and thus the possibility of a heroic death (*la belle mort*). They were permitted in cases of betrayal by friends or when men refused to mount an assault, thus depriving their captain of his assured victory. And they were licensed if defeat in battle, personal failings or rumour cast doubt on one's honour or brought shame or disgrace.

Every now and again, the shedding of tears conveyed more than merely suffering. Tears became political acts of communication, objects of social usage, expressed by design. This is particularly the case with royal tears.[42] They appeared at the death of a great captain and accompanied public stagings of grief at court or even grand ceremonies reminiscent of royal or princely funerals, and observers did remark upon them. The purpose of public tears, staged and symbolic, was to create or preserve allegiance.[43]

The sacredness of the monarch rested on the image of a sacrificial king, his *imitatio Christi*, and his ability to defy death in battle and safeguard his nobility.[44] War was therefore an opportunity to amplify his majesty, but it was also a great gamble. The great wars at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Early Modern era made noble blood flow. Louis XII felt the death of Gaston of Foix, who had been 'as a son' to him, like a great blow. In 1528, when François I learned of the death of Lautrec in Naples, he was deeply affected 'by the loss of such a great man, […] he ordered the service held in Notre Dame of Paris', in the presence of every prince of the blood and 'in mourning as if for the death of the Dauphin.'[45] And in 1553, when the news of the capture of Thérouanne reached Henry II, he

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[42]Laurent Smagghe, *Les Émotions du prince. Émotions et discours politique dans l'espace bourguignon*, (Paris: Classique Garnier, 2012); Damien Bocquet and Piroska Nagy (ed.), *Politiques des Émotions au Moyen Âge*, (Firenze: SISMEL-Galluzzo, 2010).

[43]Bernard Rimé, *Le partage social des émotions*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2005).

[44]Denis Crouzet, 'Désir de mort et puissance absolue de Charles VIII à Henri IV', *Revue de synthèse*, 112 (1991), pp. 423-441.

[45]Martin Du Bellay, *Les mémoires*, ed. by C.-B. Petitot, (Paris: Foucault, 1827), vol. 2, p. 75.

was seized by such a bitter sadness that he remained unable to speak. But at length he expressed his great regret, and the grief His Majesty displayed was not for the loss of the city and the surrounding lands, but for the great number of virtuous men he estimated had died therein.[46]

Unlike familial grief, princely pain and regret were '*aigres*' (violent, difficult and intensely felt), '*grands*', even '*merveilleux*' (in the sense of terrible or extraordinary), and sometimes to the point where they 'could not be appeased.'[47] Superlatives such as these described the unquantifiable intensity of public grief, which was so inconsistent with the archetype of emotional mastery. It was present in the exacerbated manifestations of pain, or conversely, in the equally extraordinary speechlessness. Like the afflictions expressed in literary sources, it was incorporated in the transforming conceptions of death,[48] and the emerging notion of sacrifice for one's nation,[49] propagated through fiction, histories, annals and chronicles, and embraced by men of war in their treaties and memoirs.[50] In this way, princely tears reaffirmed the political as much as the emotional bonds with the old nobles of the sword. The representation of nobiliary legitimacy and its ideal of good government equally emphasised the superiority of the sovereign, who decreed the mourning period and publicly recognised its virtues.

But princes were not the only ones who knew how to use pathos. Ousted captains, affecting bafflement, knew well how to stroke the lachrymal nerve. Following the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in April 1559, François de Cossé, Maréchal of Brissac and Governor of Savoie, asked the king to dismiss him, 'as only with a regret which drew hot tears from his heart could he assume the role of minister of privation of that which had been conquered with such glory and blood.'[51] In November 1570, Blaise de

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[46] Rabutin, *Commentaire des dernières guerres en la Gaule Belgique*, vol. 1, p. 200.
[47] *DMF*.
[48] Cf. infra note 22, and Philippe Ariès, *Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, (Paris: Seuil, 1977 [1975]), pp. 21-35.
[49] In addition to the previously cited article by Ernst Kantorowicz, see Philippe Contamine, 'Mourir pour la patrie, x^e-xxe siècle', in Pierre Nora (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire*, vol. 2: *La nation*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), pp. 11-43; Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1985), p. 324 et seq.; Nicolas Housley, '*Pro Deo et patria mori*: le patriotisme sanctifié en Europe, 1400-1600', in Philippe Contamine (ed.), *Guerre et concurrence entre les États européens du XIVe au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1998), pp. 269-303.
[50] Benjamin Deruelle, *De papier, de fer et de sang: chevaliers et chevalerie à l'épreuve de la modernité (ca. 1460 – ca. 1620)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), p. 263.
[51] François de Boyvin du Villars, *Mémoires du sieur François de Boyvin*, (Paris: Foucault, 1822), p. 313.

Montluc, hated by the protestants and vilified by the Montmorencys,[52] justified himself in a letter addressed to Henri III, listing everything his service to the monarchy had cost him in his life. Though he apologised for exposing his pain, he claimed to find no other recourse

> Having nothing else to mark my suffering and service, despite the years, but regret for the loss of my children who have died for your Crown, and seven arquebus wounds, daily reminders of the humble and affectionate devotion I have shown in my most humble service to your predecessors, and which I will show all my life to Your Majesty.[53]

Formulated in this way, his tears aimed to shift the balance of power or authority which pitted him against his enemies and the king. Blaise de Montluc used pathos as a ploy to provoke emotion in the reader, gain his support and sympathy, and reinforce the argumentative power of his discourse.[54] But do such tears diminish the anger and pain felt by these captains or the transgression suggested in the expression of personal grief?

Tears and Flesh: An Objective Parameter of War?
Tears, and the emotions they conveyed, could not be confined to a period of mourning or to the public sphere. At times, they also had concrete consequences for how wars unfolded. Simple soldiers constituted the bulk of an army, and grief was omnipresent, but their sadness was rarely evoked in writing. When it was mentioned, it was more often to underline the attachment they had for a lost captain than to describe the manifestations of their emotions. The point here is not to reduce collective sentiment to the sum of individual emotions but to point out, like Nicolas Volcyr, that affection for a captain could also be a singular sentiment. The intensity of the emotion varied no doubt with the officer, the extent to which he conformed to the model of the fatherly captain presented in treatises and military memoirs, as well as the favour that some garnered or could expect from him.[55]

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[52]Paul Courteault, *Blaise de Monluc historien: étude critique sur le texte et la valeur historique des Commentaires*, (Paris: Librairie Alphonse Picard et fils, 1907); Jean-Charles Sournia, *Blaise de Monluc: soldat et écrivain (1500-1577)*, (Paris: Fayard, 1981); Serge Brunet, *'De l'Espagnol dedans le ventre!': les catholiques du Sud-Ouest de la France face à la Réforme (vers 1540-1589)*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007).
[53]Blaise de Montluc, *Commentaires*, ed. by C.-B. Petitot, (Paris: Foucault, 1822), vol. 7, pp. 482-483.
[54]Raphaël Micheli, *L'émotion argumentée: l'abolition de la peine de mort dans le débat parlementaire français*, (Paris: les Éd. du Cerf, 2010).
[55]Nicolas Volcyr, 'Relation de la guerre des Rustauds', in *Recueil de documents sur l'histoire de Lorraine*, (Nancy: A. Lepage, 1856), pp. 172-173, cited in Nicolas Handfield,

The death or ill-health of a commander provoked turmoil in the ranks. In 1503, French troops lamented the illness which suddenly seized Louis de la Trémoille en route to Naples.[56] In 1522, the death of Marcantonio Colonna in Milan was 'sorely grieved over in the camp.'[57] Eight years later, the demise of Philibert of Chalon during the Siege of Florence was 'deeply regretted and wept over by those in the Spanish as much as the German armies, with whom he had much credit.[58] The imperial soldiers had held him in great esteem ever since, after succeeding Charles of Bourbon, he had led the Sack of Rome.[59] They were filled with great or dolorous 'regret', 'grief' and 'moans' as a result. They were also 'tearful' or 'wept abundantly'. Just like princely tears, theirs were publicly and conspicuously expressed in funerals or in spontaneous processions. Their legitimacy was no doubt due to their social character and to the ritual nature of the ceremonies, in which the military community bonded over the illustrious dead. These ceremonies equally reinforced cohesion, camaraderie, and the feeling of belonging.

Occasionally, grief turned into anger and even fury. Though the mechanism is not yet completely understood, we can observe that the power of group emotion swept up everything in its path, sometimes changing the course of combat.[60] For, 'if there was nothing stronger than anger and ire to cause men to lose all reason,' wrote Ambroise

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'Ehrliche Kriegsleute': la construction de la représentation du lansquenet au royaume de France lors de la Renaissance (1486-1559), (master's thesis, Université de Montréal, 2018), p. 123.

[56] Auton, vol. 3, pp. 205-206.

[57] Robert de La Marck, *Mémoires du maréchal de Florange dit le jeune adventureux*, ed. by Robert Goubeaux and P.-André Lemoisne, (Paris: Librairie ancienne Édouard Champion, 1924), vol. 2, p. 59.

[58] Bourdeille, vol. 1, pp. 244-245. On his death, see also Pedro Vallés, *Historia del fortissimo, y prudentissimo capitan Don Hernando de Avalos marques de Pescara*, (Anvers: Juan Steelsio, 1558), f. 323 r°.

[59] Bourdeille, vol. 1, pp. 241-242; Paolo Giovio, *La Vita di Ferrando Davalo, marchese di Pescara*, (Fiorenza: L. Torrentino, 1551), p. 222.

[60] The mechanisms of crowd psychology are indeed still largely debated. See Gustave Le Bon, *Psychologie des foules*, (Paris: Alcan, 1895). For an analysis of his reflections, see especially Vincent Rubio, 'Psychologie des foules, de Gustave le Bon. Un savoir d'arrière-plan', *Sociétés*, 100, 2, (2008), pp. 79-89. For a more recent study see for example Deborah B. Gould, *Moving politics: emotion and ACT up's fight against AIDS*, (Chicago: the University of Chicago press, 2009).

Paré, it could also lead them to accomplish the most ferocious exploits.[61] Many physicians and men of war in the sixteenth century still followed the teachings of Plato and Aristotle,[62] for whom anger was one of the pillars of courage and 'retaliation'.[63] Indignation and a desire for vengeance could also fuel soldiers' drive and aggression. It is this anger in particular which memoirs and military treatises valorise. In the mid-1570s, Italian *maître d'armes* Angelo Viggiani affirmed that there were two types of anger

> If you are alluding to furious anger such as obliterates the intellect and all rational discourse, then I see no difference between an infuriated individual and an irrational animal. I concede that fury is a noxious force and has no part in this discussion. But if we are speaking of anger which does not obscure all reason, then I say that it is an advantage […] and so we may claim that a little anger favours the soldier and all who wish to train with weapons.[64]

Passionate reactions were therefore not all to be proscribed. Brantôme describes how the death of Charles of Bourbon during the assault on Rome brought 'such a deep regret in his men, that out of rage and to avenge his death, they unceasingly cried out "*carne, carne! Sangre, sangre!* Bourbon, Bourbon!" and did not stop the killing until they were spent.'[65] The chronicler was completely unmoved by the vengeful fury of the troops. He considered it both legitimate and just, 'for in war, when one's general has died, one must always become a cruel avenger.'[66]

In no way did this mean that captains and noblemen should let themselves slide from grief into uncontrolled and uncontrollable fury. Their self-mastery should be such that it tempered their sadness and pushed them to consider their actions. Theirs must be a reasoned anger, upon which resolute action could be grounded. Sterile lamentations

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[61]Ambroise Paré, 'Apologie et traicté contenant les voyages faicts en divers lieux', in Ambroise Paré, *Les œuvres d'Ambroise Paré conseiller et premier chirurgien du Roy*, (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1585), p. mccviii. Cf. *Pathologia*, p. 69.

[62]*La nef de sante*, f° 99 v°. This same duality can be found in Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Paster Gail Kern, *Humoring the body: emotions and the Shakespearean stage,* (Chicago: The University of Chicago press, 2004).

[63]Plato, *Timaeus*, trad. G. Bury, (Cambridge Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 70a-d, pp. 181-183; Aristotle, *On the Soul*, (Cambridge Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 403a, p. 15.

[64]Angelo Viggiani, *Lo Schermo*, (Venezia: Giorgio Angelieri, 1575), p. 52. Cited in and trans. by Brioist, 'La gestion de peur et de la fureur'.

[65]Bourdeille, vol. 1, p. 259. André Chastel, *Le sac de Rome: 1527: du premier maniérisme à la Contre-Réforme*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1984).

[66]Bourdeille, vol. 1, p. 329.

and apathy were to be given a wide berth. Emotional control was a sign of bravery, as much an attribute befitting a warrior as it was a social quality. It separated the nobleman from the commoner, the good captain from the bad. Princes must possess the same determination – just as Henry II had done after the defeat at Saint Quentin and Montmorency's capture in 1557, which had paved a way to Paris for his adversaries. Claude La Chastre noted that the king had been quite upset, but that

> immediately afterwards, […] instead of losing time in useless regret and complaints, and having called on God to aid him, […] he resolved virtuously to give all possible order to addressing the present inconvenience.[67]

Catherine de' Medici, who had been needed to secure the kingdom's defence, and been 'left to overcome her justified suffering, […] came to terms with her pain with a virile and noble heart.'[68] In surmounting these emotions, which was more expected of a man than of a woman, she proved her capacity to govern and the legitimacy of her political action in the crisis which followed. Appropriate sorrow was one that was not only mastered but that also provided impetus for action. If the legitimacy of one's emotions remained linked to social condition, anger and fury became encoded into the values of war during the Renaissance. Neither intrinsically good nor bad, they were deemed beneficial or detrimental depending on the character of the individual.

But there was another slippery slope which menaced soldiers. Affected by the horrors of war, the excessive compassion of some led to a sadness which descended into apathy or even melancholy. On very rare occasions, we find sources which record the inner struggles of soldiers and captains, resulting from the atrocities of combat or the difficulties of military life. Such anecdotes are found in the pages of chroniclers and memorialists or are mentioned by men of war seized by regret or by a fear of dying long after the events have occurred. For all of this, they are no less revealing of the emotional state certain soldiers felt at the time.

Above anything else, military men communicated their thoughts on civilian populations, the primary victims of war. In 1488, Jean Molinet relates, during the war between Maximilian of Habsburg and the rebellious cities of Flanders and Brabant, that many men, women and children took refuge in 'the church in Asque, two leagues from Brussels.' Though they were non-combatants, the church, with all its occupants, was assailed and set on fire. The soldiers heard 'the most pitiful cries of pain and lamentation that had ever been produced', of which they 'could not speak without a

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[67]Claude La Chastre, *Mémoire du voyage de M. le duc de Guise en Italie, son retour, la prinse de Callais et de Thionville (1556 et 1557)*, ed. by C.-B. Petitot, (Paris: Foucault, 1823), p. 479.
[68] Ibid., p. 481.

bitter heart, sighs or a flood of tears.'[69] Nearly a century later, in 1555, Blaise de Montluc himself expressed regret over having evacuated Siena of its extra mouths to feed. Of 'all the sorrows and desolations I have witnessed,' he declared in his memoirs, 'I have never before seen the like, nor do I believe I will again.' But though he still regretted the event twenty years later, he concluded with the pragmatism he believed every great captain must possess, and also with great lucidity regarding the military condition, that 'those were the rules of war: one must quite often be cruel to achieve triumph over one's enemies. May God be merciful on us all, who do such evils.'[70]

In some cases, this compassion was also directed towards the enemy. Even before François de Guise raised the siege of Metz led by Charles V, the imperial troops were in such a disarray that the French army let deserters pass without seeking to seize them for ransom

> We sojourned in the city until Monday [De Vieilleville communicated] with much rejoicing. Our joy would have been perfect and complete had it not been for the pitiable distress we witnessed in the camp of the Duke of Alva, which was so hideous, that there was not a heart that did not break. We found hordes of soldiers, death-sick, who had fallen over in the mud. Others sat on large stones, leg-deep in the mire, frozen to their knees, which were deadened, crying for mercy, begging us to finish them off.[71]

These terrible accounts are depicted in striking contrast to the images of 'la guerre joyeuse'. The compassion they reveal troubles the conscience. Military conditions were extremely precarious, and emotions, particularly sadness, omnipresent in war. When too strong, they became uncontrollable or were never fully mastered. Melancholy, apathy and death were sometimes the result. Melancholy defined both black bile, one of the four cardinal humours, and the state of profound sadness which could result when in excess. It caused malaise, lassitude, even a depressed state, and was susceptible of provoking death or suicide.[72] According to physicians, this exacerbated form of sorrow manifested in symptoms such as whimpering, uncontrollable weeping and befuddlement, in a tendency towards apathy, fear and anxiety, and in a general enfeeblement resulting in lividity and emaciation, 'following

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[69]Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, ed. by J.-A. Buchon, (Paris: Verdière, 1828), vol. 3, p. 482.
[70]Montluc, *Mémoires*, vol. 2, pp. 267-268.
[71]Carloix, *Mémoires*, p. 102.
[72] *DMF*. In contemporary medical thought, an excess of black bile can also result in anger and ire.

which death was the most likely outcome.'[73] The early sixteenth-century medical descriptions did not pertain only to men or nobles of course, nor did they relate exclusively to those in the military.[74] The stories and memoirs of men of war, however, often focus on a few representative cases of melancholy. It was rarely described as directly resulting from the experience of war or combat, but rather as the loss of a fellow soldier or of one's honour. Ostensibly, it was for this reason that many captains had been unable to surmount their pain, succumbing to '*despit*', '*regret*' or '*mélancolie*'. But did Louis of Luxembourg really 'die from regret' in 1503, as Brantôme described, when Louis XII disavowed him by refusing him command of the Army of Naples?[75] Charles d'Alençon may have 'die of pleurisy and despair', as some maintained, when he quit Pavia without seeing combat, pursued by the rumour that he had shamelessly fled. Unless he perished from regret, as still others claimed.[76] Antonio de Leyva may have die of guilt and chagrin after failing in his invasion of Provence in 1536 – the very invasion on which he insisted the Emperor embark. And finally, did Oudard du Biez, accused of complicity in the surrender of Boulogne, stripped of his nobility on a public scaffold though reprieved of execution, die 'as much from regret as from old age […] for who could bear to live after such an injury and such disgrace?'[77]

Grief did not invariably result in death, but the kind that led to apathy or inaction was to be averted. Nonetheless, in contrast to their treatment of fear, military treatises devoted few words to how to counter this pain which constantly affected combatants. Michel d'Amboise and Raymond de Fourquevaux did not speak of it, though their treatises overflow with details concerning the handling of troops and the need for a commander to consider the human nature of his soldiers.[78] In the theoretical literature, the requirements of grief appear only through discussions on fear or

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[73]Ambroise Paré, *Œuvres*, p. 78. While Paré describes melancholy, its symptoms and its possible outcomes, Nicolas de La Chesnaye speaks instead of 'sudden death', *La nef de sante*, fº 95 vº-96.

[74]Hélène Germa-Romann, *Du 'bel mourir' au 'bien mourir'. Le sentiment de la mort chez les gentilshommes français (1515-1643)*, (Geneva: Droz, 2001), pp. 184-195; Jean-Claude Schmitt, 'Le suicide au Moyen Âge', *Annales. ESC*, 31 (1976), pp. 3-28.

[75]Bourdeille, vol. 2, p. 355.

[76]Bourdeille, vol. 4, p. 11. On this story, cf. book 3, pp. 404-408.

[77]Montluc, vol. 3, pp. 217-218. Cf. Bourdeille, IV, pp. 22, 60; Michel de Montaigne, *Les essais*, (Paris: Abel L'Angelier, 1595), p. 29; and David Potter, *Un homme de guerre au temps de la Renaissance: la vie et les lettres d'Oudart du Biez, maréchal de France, gouverneur de Boulogne et de Picardie (vers 1475-1553)*, (Arras: Artois Presses Université), 2001.

[78]Raymond de Fourquevaux, *Instructions sur le faict de la guerre*, (Paris: Michel de Vascosan, 1548); Michel d'Amboise, *L'art et Guidon des Gens de la Guerre,* (Paris: Arnoul l'Angelier, 1552 [1543]).

violence. It is in their memoirs that commanders sometimes considered the sentiment. In 1553, Sebastian de Luxembourg-Martigues was captured at Thérouanne and hid his identity for several days to avoid an overly heavy ransom. The tears, cries and laments that poured forth upon learning that his brother, Charles, had died in the siege of Hesdin, would betray him.[79] During the siege of Thionville in 1558, the Duke of Guise ordered that the death of Pietro Strozzi not be revealed to Blaise de Montluc, his 'greatest friend', 'for fear that my regret would prevent me from doing my duty in combat on the morrow.'[80] Rare mentions such as these certainly reveal that controlling emotional pain was not as imperious a necessity as that of mastering fear.

Conclusion

Contrary to common belief, military men do not seem to have been doomed to emotional muteness, whether social or literary. This preconceived idea is based on an essentialised understanding of the sources grouped under the generic term of 'military memoirs' despite their diversity. Though it is impossible to access the actual emotions, and though only written expression of these emotions subsist, their significance and social function remain. The words that military men, caught up in the chaos of conflicts, chose to speak or to transmit these emotions is important.

Grief and pain occupied a position which varied according to the documentary context, the personality and intentions of the author, and the events being reported. Far from becoming an archaism, the gift of tears, inherited from Christian morality and chivalric romance, was revisited through the prism of new representations of death, becoming a topos of Early Modern warfare. The social, political or ritualised character of the emotions expressed was not always antinomic to the real affection experienced at the death of a husband, brother, father, fellow soldier or captain.

The relationship to affect remains nonetheless ambiguous. But it was not the emotions themselves – good or bad – nor the inability to control them which drew the attention of authors, so much as their beneficial or detrimental consequences for military operations. If no universal thought was elaborated on the subject of sadness as had evolved regarding fear, the cases that are recorded demonstrate that military men were conscious of the importance of emotions and their influence on the conduct of war. However, while fear could be surmounted through training and experience (by acquiring the habitus of war), there seemed for them to be no means of surmounting grief other than will and virtue, which belonged foremost to gentlemen. But how many reacted instead as did Charles de Cossé, when he received the dispatch which relieved him of his duties as *lieutenant-général delà les monts*? Unable 'to make reason command

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[79]Paré, *Les œuvres d'Ambroise (*1585), pp. mccxxxv, mccxxxvi.
[80]Montluc, vol. 2, pp. 443-444.

his passions or his anguish, great sobs escaped him, and amongst them, three or four tears of blood.'[81]

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[81]Boyvin du Villars, p. 431.

'Pitiless Pity' in Renaissance Medicine (1545-1585)

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ABSTRACT
Doctors of the Renaissance were embroiled in a debate about the limits of pity during the performance of a surgery. Paradoxically, surgical practice entailed the inflicting of pain in order to prevent suffering. Contemporaries approached this difficulty in different ways, highlighting by turns the need to resist impulsive compassion and the duty to work in full consciousness of the patient's suffering. Evoked during numerous discussions of professionalization and anatomical study, the problem of a 'pitiless pity' is best addressed by Ambroise Paré, who stresses the reciprocity between doctor and patient as a way out of the impasse between ineffectual empathy and the ruthless objectivity of the medical gaze.

During the glory days of a positivist history of medicine, the French surgeon[1] Ambroise Paré (1510-1590) was celebrated as the 'father of modern surgery'.[2] His rise from humble beginnings to a lofty station at the French court of four different kings and princes of France, coupled with his military service during the Italian War of 1536-

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[1] The terms 'surgeon', 'doctor', and 'physician' have carried different meanings at different times in history and across different linguistic and national contexts. For the purposes of this article, the wording of the primary sources has been preserved as far as possible throughout the text. The French 'chirurgien' is rendered here in English as 'surgeon' and 'médecin' is similarly rendered as 'doctor'. In 16th century France, 'médecins' referred generally to those who held a doctorate in medicine, while both surgeons and doctors could be considered 'physicians'. For example, Ambroise Paré, a surgeon, held the post of royal physician and wrote about surgery and medicine. Other physicians, like Charles Estienne, practised surgery. In general, when speaking of the physician as opposed to the patient, this article uses the most frequently attested word 'doctor' ('médecin').

[2] Amédée Dechambre (ed.), Dictionnaire encyclopédique des sciences médicales, Second Series, vol. 21 (Par-Pea), (Paris: G. Masson et P. Asselin, 1885), p. 127.

1538 and his medical writings, published in French at a time when Latin reigned supreme over France, made him a heroic figure of the French medical art for scientists and scholars of the nineteenth century.[3] Even today, many hospitals and clinics in France carry the name Ambroise Paré as a testament to a certain idea of medicine that is at once humanist and humane.[4] The gradual development of medical humanities has kept the figure of this renowned surgeon at the forefront of historical studies.[5] Among other things, Paré is recognised for his early advocacy against cauterisation,[6] and for the many editions of his complete works that followed their initial publication in 1575 and continued until the seventeenth century.[7] Yet another new edition, published in 2019, now confirms the importance of his scientific contributions for both the history and the practice of medicine.[8]

The humanity that Ambroise Paré displayed in a variety of everyday situations, towards soldiers, women in labour, and victims of the plague, is evident throughout his writings. This remarkably humane disposition arises more generally from a context of a new kind of attention given by sixteenth-century medical practitioners to the suffering of their patients. A foundational maxim summarising the opinion of the Roman physician, Aurelius Cornelius Celsus, and its many citations and reformulations during the sixteenth century helped to establish the idea that the potential for pity shown towards a patient constituted a danger for the success of the medical act: a momentary distraction, an unsteady hand, or a hasty movement could quickly ruin an operation. Starting from the repeated occurrences of this proverb, this article will trace the emergence of a heightened sensitivity to the distress of the patient and his familiars, at a time when general anaesthesia was still unheard of. Holding the potential to disrupt the orderly unfolding of a surgery, the pity of the doctor becomes a subject of

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[3]See, for example, Augustin Cochin, 'Le service de santé des armées avant et pendant le siège de Paris', *Revue des Deux Mondes (1829-1971)*, 90, 1, (1870), pp. 58-80 and esp. Joseph-François Malgaigne, *Histoire de la chirurgie en Occident depuis le VIᵉ jusqu'au XVIᵉ siècle et histoire de la vie et des travaux d'Ambroise Paré*, (Paris: Baillière, 1870).

[4]Examples can be found in Bondy, Boulogne-Billancourt, Marseille, Mons, Neuilly-sur-Seine, Thionville, and Toulouse.

[5]See, among others, Jean-Pierre Poirier, *Ambroise Paré : un urgentiste au XVIe siècle*, (Paris: Pygmalion, 2005) and Jean-Michel Delacomptée, *Ambroise Paré, La main savante*, (Paris:Gallimard, 2007).

[6]Ambroise Paré, *Méthode de traiter les plaies faites par les arquebuts et autres bastons à feu, et celles qui sont faites par la poudre à canon*, (Paris: Arnoul L'angelié, 1552 (re-ed.)).

[7]*Les oeuvres de M. Ambroise Paré conseiller, et premier chirurgien du Roy avec les figures & portraicts tant de l'Anatomie que des instruments de Chirurgie, & de plusieurs Monstres*, (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1575).

[8]Ambroise Paré, *Les Œuvres,* (eds.) Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore, Jean Céard, Guylaine Pineau, (Paris: Garnier, 2019).

medical ethics, especially when the medical practitioners themselves must inflict pain. Many texts insist on the thin line dividing compassion and pity, while the editors of Celsus's work stumble over the sense of the paradoxical expression 'pitiless pity'. In their theoretical reflections and medical practice, Charles Estienne (1504-1564), Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564) and Ambroise Paré all bear witness to the ambivalence of this paradoxical form of empathy. The way their writings engage with the commonplace of a doctor seized by pity, shows how the culture of medicine during the 16th century conferred on the emotions of both the doctor and the patient an unprecedented role in the administration of care.

In Renaissance literature the figure of the doctor was often abused for his supposed incompetence, his lack of integrity, and the illegitimacy of his authority. His arrogance, his esoteric vocabulary, his charlatan's remedies, and his cupidity made up the principal charges brought against him in popular literary and theatrical works.[9] Reversing what many perceived as an illegitimate hierarchy, these accusations brought the 'bad doctor' down to the level of his patients among the public and exposed his fraudulent behaviour. Yet beyond the arena of literary satire, another debate took place, this time centring on the 'good doctor' – the doctor who, neither neglecting nor deceiving his patients, threatened nevertheless to aggravate their injuries through his reluctance to cause them pain. Indeed, in many wisdom compilations published during the Renaissance, a common proverb reminds the reader that the good doctor must know how to refrain from pity: '*Médecin piteux fait la playe venimeuse*' ('the pitying doctor leaves a festering wound'). In other words, a doctor who, overtaken by emotion, loses his nerve and hesitates to make the necessary incision, therefore risks obstructing his patient's recovery.

Being of a general character, the proverb also found itself easily applied to the faintheartedness of those who, in their capacity as family members, friends, or colleagues of the patient, had difficulty remaining steadfast in the face of the doctor's operations. The saying's many different versions attest to its wide circulation from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Thus Gomes de Trier's *Le jardin de Recreation* – a French translation of the *Giardino* of Giovanni Florio – offers the variant, '*Médecin piteux fait la playe rogneuse*' ('the pitying doctor leaves a rankling wound')*,* while Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye reports the form, '*Médecin piteux fait une mortelle playe*' ('the pitying doctor leaves a mortal wound').[10]

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[9]See Marie Miguet-Ollagnier and Philippe Baron, *Littérature et médecine*, (Bensançon: Presses universitaires franc-comtoises, 2000). Patrick Dandrey, *La médecine et la maladie dans le théâtre de Molière: Sganarelle et la médecine, ou, De la mélancolie érotique*, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1998).

[10]Gomes de Trier, *Le jardin de Recreation, au quel croissent rameaux, fleurs et fruicts, tres beaux, gentilz, et souefs. Soubs le nom de six mills Proverbes*, (Amsterdam: Paul de

Doctors themselves referred to the proverb and commented upon it as a way of defining the professional qualities of the 'good' surgeon. Their prescriptive discourses paint an ideal portrait of a wise man, master of his emotions and his actions alike, whose virtues guarantee the course of the doctor-patient relationship. If compassion constituted, by common accord, the first and most essential quality of the doctor, it remained up to him to recognise and practise it with moderation: too much or too little would risk the ethical balance necessary for proper treatment. Indeed, it was held that if the compassion of the doctor grew excessive then it would restrict his operations to procedures that were painless, limiting at the same time the scope of medicine in general. On the other hand, denial of compassion was thought to transform treatment into a kind of violence that ran roughshod over the body and the emotions – indeed the very person – of the patient. How, then, should one distinguish the necessary professional detachment of the 'good doctor' from an inhumane indifference to another's suffering? The thoughts and practices of doctors, as recorded in their writings, echo a series of confused debates around this topic, ranging from discussion of the ideal doctor and his will to overturn established scientific authority to expressions of a desire to build a relationship of confidence and respect between doctor, patient, and medical attendants.

Overall, it would seem that the attention accorded in modern times to the dangers of a care-giver's emotional involvement in the suffering of the patient continues a tradition of reflection shared by doctors and patients during the Renaissance. By examining the commentaries, learned sources, and instances of the proverb pertaining to a small number of early modern doctors, this article proposes to follow the development of a line of ethical inquiry centring on the doctor's 'necessary cruelty' – a concept which *a priori* would appear difficult to reconcile with the prevalent idea of Hippocratic compassion – and to identify the different modes of its practice. The imperative of impassivity dictated to medical practitioners certain strategies for distancing oneself from one's emotions: whether by reducing the suffering subject of a surgical operation to silence, by the calculated employment of humour as a diversion, or by a professionalisation of treatment outside the household sphere, occupied by midwives and the patient's friends and family. At the end of the discussion, it shall also be seen how equivocation among sixteenth-century philologists over the correct reading of a passage from the ancient Roman doctor, Cornelius Celsus, represents, as it were, 'backstage' the ambivalence of the medical discourses of the Renaissance towards the compassion of the doctor: does not the kind-heartedness of the care-

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Ravestteyn, 1611), [Siiijv°, unpaginated]; Giovanni Florio, *Giardino di Ricreatione*, (Londa [London]: T. Woodcock, 1591); Jean-Baptiste de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, *Dictionnaire historique de l'ancien langage françois ou glossaire de la langue françoise, depuis son origine jusqu'au siècle de Louis XIV*, (Paris: Champion, 1875), vol. 8, p. 319.

giver effectively include the capacity to inflict, without an excess of empathy, a salutary suffering? In the context of the doctor-patient relationship, do not empathy and callousness change places?

Beware of Pity's Trembling Hand

The proverb poses the question of a pity that is paradoxically dangerous to the very person it seeks to spare. Wanting to protect the patient from the pain of an operation, the doctor risks aggravating the patient's injury and the pain that he had intended to avoid. The idea is an old one and the saying, with its several variants, embodies a widely diffused medical tradition on the necessary moderation to be observed in cultivating one of the essential attributes of servants of Aesculapius – compassion. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as satires, farces, comedies, and *fabliaux* ridiculed fraudulent doctors, the repeated warning against a form of pity that is dangerous because misplaced contributed to the delineation of the role and responsibilities of the doctor in the administration of care. Briefly put, the proverb's circulation accompanied an ethical meditation on the impassivity of the care-giver in the face of inflicting pain. In this way, a certain definition of professionalism is seen to form around the central idea of *misericordia* ('kind-heartedness').

Doctors often turn to our proverb in order to articulate the respective responsibilities of the care-giver, the 'invalid', and of the injury itself. For example, in his *Questions naturelles et curieuses: contenans diverses opinions problematiques, receuillies de la Medecine, touchant le regime de santé*, Pierre Bailly distinguishes between the competence of the doctor and the possible faltering of his actions, interpreting the maxim as follows:

> If a Doctor, taking pity, aggravates the injury of the sick person?
> It is not by his gaze, as it is said of the Basilisk, which by its look kills those it gazes upon. It is that, where it is necessary to cauterise, to scrape, to tear, or to cut something out that might bring the sick person harm, he must not show himself to have pity. One must firmly and promptly carry out what the medical art and the injury command, for fear that the hurt should worsen and grow more troublesome.[11]

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[11]Pierre Bailly, *Questions naturelles et curieuses: contenans diverses opinions problematiques, recueillies de la Medecine, touchant le regime de santé*, (Paris: Jean Petit-Pas, 1628), pp. 430-431: 'Si un Medecin piteux envenime la playe du malade? Ce n'est pas de son regard, comme l'on dict du basilic qui de sa veuë tuë ceux qu'il regarde. C'est que où il est necessaire de cauteriser, railler, dechiqueter et extirper quelque chose qui peut endommager le malade, il ne faut pas qu'il se montre piteux. Il faut hardiment et promptement parfaire ce que l'art et la maladie commandent, crainte que le mal

Bailly apportions to the doctor, the patient, and the injury their respective roles and responsibilities in accordance with the 'Hippocratic triangle' which they form amongst themselves.[12] To begin with, Bailly announces his subject with a reference to the legendary basilisk: it is not pity, felt by the doctor and visible in his eyes, that is harmful *per se*; it is only when this pity passes into the doctor's actions that a surgery is put in jeopardy, even while 'the medical art and the injury command' its execution. As soon as the doctor's emotions disturb his decisions and his actions, as soon as compassion in his eyes translates into compassion in his hands, the doctor fails in his necessary duty, displaying through the care that he gives the emotion which earlier was expressed in his look alone. The debate is dramatized as if in outline: an accumulation of infinitives describe the actions that inflict pain – 'to cauterise, to scrape, to tear, or to cut'. Immediately afterwards, Bailly names the precise object of this brutality: it is not in fact the body of the patient, but rather 'something that might bring the sick person harm'. His advice concludes with an encouragement addressed to the doctor who stands to be repelled by such violence: 'firmly and promptly' insists on the firmness, unsqueamish and unhesitating, required for the medical act. The response to the problem of pain consists in that pain's attribution: its cause is referred to the 'something' and not to the operation. In short, the doctor cannot do harm unless it is in order to do good. The 'invalid' remains perfectly passive throughout the entire paragraph, both a victim of the injury and an object of the doctor's care.

Prescriptions of Impassivity
The injured person, by definition ignorant of his own illness and best interest, may turn out to prefer a 'compassionate' doctor to the one who will cause him suffering. (And so the proverb has something to teach patients as well!) Thus, M. de Bellievre compares the ignorant sick to members of provincial assemblies who oppose austerity measures:

> Yes, but this edict is issued, or that harsh decree, or again that variety of force is used: yet consider first, before you complain, that the illnesses of the State are quite often such that they do not want pitying Doctors, who make their patients laugh, when what they need is cautery and fire.[13]

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n'empire, et se rende plus venimeux.' All English Transl. David Douglas, except where noted.
[12]Danielle Gourévitch, *Le triangle hippocratique dans le monde gréco-romain. Le malade, sa maladie et son médecin,* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1984).
[13]'Harangue à l'ouverture des Estats de Provence l'an 1586 (M. de Bellievre, Chancellier de France)', in *Harangues et actions publiques des plus rares esprits de nostre temps*, (Paris: Adrian Beys, 1609), p. 938: 'Ouy, mais on fait un tel edict, une telle ordonnance rigoureuse, l'on use de telle contraincte: considerez auparavant que de

True, the roles had been well distributed in the Hippocratic triangle: the patient, who suffers in all cases, suffers for his own good when the doctor counters the pain of the injury with that which he inflicts. It remains possible, however, for the doctor's emotions to disrupt this ideal operation. That is, as long as the doctor's duties seem to contradict one another, the line dividing beneficent violence from actual cruelty may not be so clearly discernible.

By the Renaissance, compassion for the patient had already long been one of the fundamental qualities of the 'good' care-giver. The *Introductio ad medicinam,* a medieval medical anthology transmitted in Latin and attributed to Soranus, repeatedly evokes the duty of the doctor to practise empathy, linking it to the Hippocratic treatise *On Good Manners*.[14] And Soranus himself, in his *Gynecology* (1.3), advocates that the midwife be gentle and sympathetic.[15] Moreover the proverb also seems to summarise a paragraph from the seventh book of Celsus' *De Medicina*. But where the Roman doctor too recommends the inclination to pity (*misericordia*) he cautions the surgeon against the vagaries of this emotion when it is allowed to soften the judgement and cause the hand to tremble or lead to the postponement of an operation. The imperative of impassivity, in guaranteeing firmness and rigour, thus forestalls an immoderate compassion which, if permitted to influence the doctor-patient relationship, might detract from proper care. Celsus' definition of the 'good surgeon' furnishes an exemplary account of this tension between the professional virtues of pity and detachment:

> A surgeon must be young, or at least on the younger side; he must possess a strong and firm hand that never trembles, and he must be competent with his left no less than with his right; he must possess sharp and clear vision; in his heart he must be fearless, and compassionate so that he wishes to heal the one whom he takes in his care, and so that he be not moved by his patient's cries, nor hasten in his work more than the facts demand, nor cut less than is necessary; rather, all in all, he must do everything as if unaffected by the crying of the other.[16]

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vous plaindre, que les maladies des Estats bien souvent sont telles, qu'elles ne veulent pas des Medecins piteux, et qui facent rire leurs malades, lesquels ont besoin de cauteres et de feu.'

[14]Gourévitch, *Le triangle hippocratique*, pp. 268-271.

[15]Ibid., pp. 272-274.

[16]Celsus, *De Re Medica,* VII, praef. 25-50: 'Esse autem chirurgus debet adolescens, aut certe adolescentiae propior; manu strenua, stabili, nec umquam intremiscente, eaque non minus sinistra, quam dextra promptu; acie oculorum acri claraque; animo intrepidus, misericors sic, ut sanari velit eum, quem accepit, non ut clamore ejus

This counsel of impassivity is found again as one of the four conditions necessary for good surgical practice in the *Chapitre singulier* of Guy de Chauliac's *Grande chirurgie*, where it is attributed to the medieval commentator on Galen, Ali Ibn Ridwan (Halyrhodoam), in his *Liber Tegni de corporibus* (often known simply as the *Tegni*):

> Thirdly, let him be clever, possessing a good judgement and a good memory. This is what Halyrhodoam says in the third book of the *Tegni*: It is necessary that the doctor have good powers of recollection, good intentions, good eyesight, and a clear understanding, and that he be well formed physically: so that he has agile fingers, firm and untrembling hands, sharp eyes etc. Fourthly, I have said that he must have good manners. He must also be determined in matters that are certain, wary in cases of danger, and must avoid the wrong cures and techniques. He must be gracious to the sick, have goodwill towards his companions, and be wise in his predictions. He must be chaste, sober, kind-hearted and compassionate: he must be neither covetous nor inclined to extort money.[17]

The chapter of *La grande chirurgie* in question proceeds to construct a new triangle in place of the Hippocratic model, one formed by three points representing the doctor, the patient, and the assistants:

> The necessary conditions for the sick person are three: that he be obedient to the Doctor, like the servant is to his master, as in the first book of the *Therapeutic*; that he be confident in himself, as in the first book of the *Prognostics*; that he possess patience, for patience conquers malice, as it is said in other

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motus, vel magis, quam res desiderat, properet, vel minus, quam necesse est, secet; sed perinde faciat omnia, ac si nullus ex vagitibus alterius affectus oriatur.'

[17]Guy de Chauliac, *La grande chirurgie*, (ed.) E. Nicaise, (Paris: Alcan, 1890), p. 19: 'Tiercement, qu'il soit ingenieux, et de bon iugement, et bonne memoire. C'est ce que disait Halyrhodoam, au troisième du Techni: Il faut que le medecin ait bonne souvenance, bon iugement, bonne intention, bonne veue, et sain entendement, et qu'il soit bien formé: comme, qu'il ait les doigts gresles, les mains fermes et non tremblantes, les yeux clairs etc. Quatriemement i'ay dit, que faut qu'il soit bien morigeré. Soit hardy aux choses seures, craintif és dangers, qu'il fuye les mauvaises cures, ou pratiques. Soit gracieux aux malades, bienveillant à ses compagnons, sage en ses predictions. Soit chaste, sobre, pitoyable et misericordieux: non convoiteux ni extorsionnaire d'argent...'

writings. The conditions for the assistants are four: that they be calm, gracious or agreeable, faithful, and discreet.[18]

The presence of this chapter, and more particularly of these extracts, in *Les Fleurs du grand Guidon*, collected by Jehan Raoul in 1554, confirms the pertinence ascribed to them by doctors and surgeons during the Renaissance:

Fourthly, it is necessary that the Surgeon be of good manners, which is to say that he must be honest, gracious to the patient, amiable to his companions, determined in matters that are certain, without pity that might cause him to leave things out that are needed to counter threats to the patient, for as Cornelius Celsus says at the beginning of his book: The doctor must be merciless, lest he be moved by the clamour of the sick person and cease his operation; and he must do everything boldly and carefully, as if he were moved by no cries.

The conditions necessary for the patient are three. The first is that he must be obedient to the Surgeon as the subject is to his lord. The second is that he must have full confidence in himself, for as Galen says in the first book of the *Prognostics*, That doctor or Surgeon who is trusted by more people heals more of the sick. The third is that he must be patient with his illness, for as our master Galen says, *Patientia vincit malitiam*.

What are the conditions required from the servants? Four: that they be sensible, calm, loyal, and discreet.[19]

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[18]Guy de Chauliac, *La grande chirurgie*, p. 19: 'Les conditions requises au malade sont trois: qu'il soit obéïssant au Medecin, comme le serviteur à son maistre, au premier de la *Therapeutique*, qu'il se fie bien en luy, au premier des *Prognostics*, qu'il ait en soy patience, car patience vainc la malice ainsi qu'il est dit en autre escriture. Les conditions des assistans sont quatre, qu'ils soyent paisibles, gracieux, ou agreables, fidelles et discrets.'

[19]Jehan Raoul, *Les Fleurs du grand Guidon*, (Paris: Jehan Ruelle, 1554), fol. 11 r°-v°: 'Quartement il faut que le Chirurgien soit de bonnes mœurs, c'est à dire, qu'il soit honnest, gratieux au patient, amiable entre ses compagnons, hardy aux choses seures, non pitoiable en delaissant a faire les choses necessaires pour menaces du patient car comme dit Cornelius Celsus au commencement de son livre: *Oportet medicum esse immisericordem: ne infirmi motus clamoribus mminisque, operatio cesset, sed omnia audacter et solicite agat, ac si nullis vagitibus moueretur*. Les conditions requises au patient, sont troys. La premiere qu'il soit obeissant au Chirurgien comme subiect au seigneur. La seconde, qu'il se confie du tout en luy, car comme dit Galien primo pronosticorum, Le medecin ou Chirurgien guarist plus de malades, auqel plus de gens se confient. La

Here again the point is to define and to apportion the roles of each participant in the triangle: the injured person is the 'patient' who places his trust in the doctor and accepts his care. The attendants are serene and silent. The doctor alone must navigate the shoals of ambivalence and paradox, remaining compassionate and kind-hearted when, at the same time, he must strive to be steadfast and determined in his decisions and actions. In his *Annotations sur toute la Chirurgie de M. Guy de Chauliac*, published for the first time posthumously in 1584, Laurent Joubert invokes Celsus' chapter to insist on the paradox of these two apparently contradictory demands. His translation elaborates on the concision of the Latin text with a set of explanatory interpolations[20]:

> Let the surgeon have a brave heart free of pity, so that he be careful that the person he takes in his charge is healed, so that be not moved by the patient's crying, nor hastens in performing his operation more than the facts demand, nor cuts less than is necessary: let him be thus, so as to do all things no more and no less than as if the pleas and cries of the other affected him not at all and caused him no emotion.[21]

As an 'emotion' and an 'affection', pity introduces an element of disorder into care-giving at times when it disrupts the doctor's calm. Similarly, in his courses at the Faculty of Medicine of Paris, given between 1578 and 1587, Germain Courtin cautions against the power of the emotions. Again, in the form of a translation of the same paragraph from Celsus, he comments on Chauliac's *Chapitre singulier* from *La grande chirurgie*:

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tierce qu'il soit patient en son mal, car comme dit nostre maistre Guidon, *Patientia vincit malitiam*. *Qui sont les conditions requises aux serviteurs ?* Quatre, à scavoir qu'ils soyent sages, paisibles, loyaux et discrets.'

[20]Laurent Joubert, *Annotations de M. Laurens Joubert, sur toute la Chirurgie de M. Guy de Chauliac*, (Lyon: Borde, Arnaud et Rigaud, 1659), p.10: 'Les paroles de Haly Rhodoam sont telles: Pource il faut que le Medecin soit mémoratif, bien formé, de prompte habilité, de sain entendement, de bonne veue. Celse au proëme de son septiesme Liure, dépeint plus élégamment les conditions du Chirurgien, disant: Le Chirurgien doit estre adolescent, ou pour le moins prochain de l'adolescence, ayant la main roide, forme, qui ne tremble iamais, et non moins habile de la gauche que de la droite, la voue aiguë et claire...'

[21]'[que le chirurgien ait] le cœur hardy et non-piteux, de sorte qu'il veille que celuy qu'il prend en sa charge guerisse, non pas qu'esmeu de son crier, il se haste plus que la chose ne le requiert, ou qu'il coupe moins qu'il ne faut: ains fasse toutes choses ne plus ne moins, que si les plaintes et cris d'autruy n'esmouuoient en luy aucune affection.'

> Let him be courageous and pitiless if he intends to heal the sick person whom he has in his hands without being overcome by his cries and pleas; let him not hurry more than is needed, and let him not cut less than he should, going about his business no more and no less than as if no effect were produced by the cries of the patient.[22]

The prescriptions of Celsus and Chauliac are combined together in a set of stage-directions for the performance of a surgery, thereby complementing one another: the good doctor's detachment in both Courtin and Joubert stands alongside the duty of *misericordia*, among other necessary virtues such as chastity, sobriety, and disdain for worldly goods. Above all, it is incumbent upon the doctor to maintain order during an operation, ensuring its efficacy and a peaceful atmosphere for its execution. Through his impassive demeanour, the doctor makes sure that the patient in his charge is healed, and his calm is in turn an assurance to the patient that he intends to heal him. His indifference, whether sincere or feigned, to all cries and pleas reminds the patient how to play his part – with obedience, confidence, and patience. In the end, only the actions of the doctor are effective: his part is not to listen, but to do. But here his emotions come into play: he who is master of the cure, of the patient, and of the attendants must also remain master of himself. He must make sure that nothing is able to produce an impression on him or break his composure. The inner stability of the director of the surgical performance is defined as his capacity to ignore the patient's expressions of pain, just as he controls the expression of his own feelings of commiseration: the adverbial phrase 'no more and no less' sets the doctor's decisions and actions in isolation, leaving him perfectly insensible to the emotions of the other players in the surgical operation. Moreover, the insistent recommendation of this impassivity, taken up from Celsus, would seem to 'correct' the distribution of roles articulated by Chauliac. In effect, the juxtaposition of two apparently contradictory prescriptions invites us to consider the specificity of the doctor's 'pity'. And it attests simultaneously to the difficulty of sustaining this emotional imperviousness in the very moment when the cries and wails of the patient invade the scene of the operation – just as they do the text itself. Impassivity is not insensibility, and the tradition of these

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[22]Germain Courtin and Estienne Binet, *Leçons anatomiques et chirurgicales de feu Mr Germain Courtin*, *Docteur Régent en la Faculté de Médecine à Paris. Dictées a ses escholiers estudians en Chirurgie, depuis l'année mil cinq cens septante huit, jusques à l'année mil cinq cens octante sept recueillies, colligées, et corrigées sur plusieurs Copies et Manuscrits, & reduictes par Traitez & Chapitres. Par Estienne Binet, Chirurgien Juré à Paris*, (Paris: Denis Langlois, 1612), p. 18: 'Qu'il soit courageux, sans pitié, s'il a l'intention de guerir le malade qu'il a entre les mains n'étant point ébranlé par ses cris et ses plaintes; Qu'il ne dépêche point plus qu'il ne faut, et qu'il ne coupe point moins qu'il ne doit, continuant sa besongne ne plus ne moins que s'il ne devoit rien arriver des crieries du patient.'

classic passages, like the success of our proverb, bears witness to the tension between these ethical imperatives.[23]

The Operating Theatre
The imperative of detachment thus professionalises the expression of the doctor's emotions: the surgeon must be simultaneously '*pitoyable*' – that is to say, capable of pity – and '*sans pitié*' (pitiless) not only in his mastery of emotion but also in his knowledge of the qualities necessary for one in his position. The doctor's *misericordia* is clearly distinguishable from the pathetic condolence of the patient's familiars, who are not professionals; but it is also distinct from the *philanthropia / humanitas* recommended by Hippocrates. Effectively, *misericordia* resides neither in an overflow of compassion nor in the abstract generality of the virtues; rather it is embodied in a situation structured by the relationship between doctor and patient that, from the beginning, is defined as 'professional'.[24] The insistence of our sources on the compassion of the doctor thus introduces both 'a personal relationship that unifies two beings, the one who suffers and the one who suffers in seeing another suffer', and an ethical obligation for one of the two participants (the doctor) to control that relationship.[25] Already Scribonius Largus had required that the doctor possess both *philanthropia* and *misericordia*, not for the sake of elegant variation, but as an affirmation that compassion takes different forms according to whether it defines the role of medicine for the human race or whether it describes the correct conduct of the doctor in the face of the suffering to which he is exposed.[26]

As soon as the pain of the patient, accompanied by wailings and '*crieries*', enters upon the scene of the surgery, so too do his familiars, who are present along with the doctor's attendants to offer their support. According to Murdry:

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[23]See Richard Morton, *Opera medica in tres tom. distributa*, (Amsterdam: Donatus Donati, 1696), p. 81: 'Nonne Medicus misericors gemitu, et lachrymis Aegrorum tangitur, cum iis, prae artis nostrae defectu, subvenire haud possit?' ('Does not the Doctor take pity on the moaning of the Sick, is he not touched by their tears, when he, through defect of our art, finds himself unable to help them?')

[24]See Celsus Spick, 'La Philanthropie hellénistique, vertu divine et royale', *Studia Theologica* 12, 1, (1958), pp. 169-191. Also Philippe Mudry, 'La médecine antique aujourd'hui: questions éthiques', *Medicine: Philosophy and History*, 3, 9, (2009), pp. 105-113.

[25]Mudry, 'La medecine antique aujourd'hui', p. 111: 'un rapport personnel qui unit deux êtres, celui qui souffre et celui qui souffre de voir souffrir'.

[26]Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones*, praef. 3: '*plenus misericordiae et humanitatis animus*' ('the heart full of compassion and humanity'), cited by Mudry, 'La medecine antique aujourd'hui', p. 110.

> If the term *humanitas* corresponds, as is very likely, to Hippocratic philanthropy... the term *misericordia* does not, in that case, constitute a rhetorical variation with respect to *humanitas*. Unlike *humanitas*, it does not signify a general attitude of well-wishing and kindness towards humanity, but rather implies, according to the definition given by Cicero, a personal relationship that unites two separate beings, he who suffers and he who suffers from seeing another suffer. As has been shown by J. Pigeaud, in the first century after Christ we see a distinctive sensibility among Roman doctors that is absent in earlier Greek medicine – a sort of medical sympathy that turns a new page in the history of Western civilisation and modes of thought. It is the fact that Scribonius is not the only one to turn *misericordia* into the first duty of the doctor in the practice of his art, an art that is henceforward understood as a minister of love to the other[27]

In their presence, within the spheres of friendship, family, and household, the Hippocratic triangle becomes distorted: pain gives the patient a role that is much more than that of the silent, immobile mannequin existing solely to receive care without active participation. Like the emotions of the entourage, the emotions that the surgeon's work inspires in the patient – fear, anger, grief – put the operation at risk. At the same time, the impassivity of all participants remains the responsibility of the doctor – as Celsus, the proverb, and other sources all tell us.

In his capacity as stage-director of the medical drama, the doctor makes sure that each player sticks to his role. He demands from both his assistants and the familiars of the patient a restrained commiseration, an agreeable temper, equanimity, and an unquestioning obedience to his requests. As the printed book began to facilitate the circulation of medical treatises among an audience no longer limited to a specialist readership, the doctor's assistants, ignorant of the medical art but instrumental as intermediaries between surgeon and patient, received more and more attention in

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[27]Mudry, 'La medecine antique aujourd'hui', p. 111: 'Si le terme *humanitas* correspond très probablement à la philanthropie hippocratique… le terme *misericordia* ne constitue pas en l'occurrence un doublet rhétorique par rapport à *humanitas*. Il ne signifie pas comme *humanitas* une attitude générale de bienveillance et de philanthropie envers l'humanité, mais il implique, selon la définition qu'en donne Cicéron, un rapport personnel qui unit deux êtres, celui qui souffre et celui qui souffre de voir souffrir. Comme l'a relevé J. Pigeaud, on voit apparaître au 1er siècle ap. J.-C. chez les médecins romains une sensibilité propre, absente de la médecine grecque antérieure, une sorte de pathétique médical qui ouvre une page originale et nouvelle dans l'histoire de la civilisation et des mentalités en Occident. C'est que Scribonius n'est pas le seul à faire de la miséricorde le devoir premier du médecin dans l'exercice de son art, un art désormais entendu comme ministère d'amour envers l'autre.'

ethical prescriptions for a kind-hearted detachment. Thus Jean Van Horn, in the preface to his edition of Marcus Aurelius Severinus, declares that '*[il] entend […] par ces Operations manuelles, non seulement celles du Maitre, mais aussi celles des compagnons et serviteurs*' ('he understands by manual Operations not only those of the Master, but also those of his companions and servants').[28] Similarly, Rodericus a Castro recommends the following:

> For the rest, let the patient's entourage be chosen from people who are familiar and agreeable to him, who will speak or keep silent at his wish, who will give him only good news, and who will never mention in the patient's presence those whom they know to be insensible… Let them be always of good humour, whatever the sick person might command, and let them bear his groans and complaints, never wearied or morose, carrying everything out in a timely manner…[29]

As servants of the sick person, the members of the entourage must imitate the doctor, forgetting the movements of their emotions and suppressing the disorder caused by empathy: in accordance with the orders they are given, they put aside all that might act to the patient's detriment. In their role as the doctor's helpers, they too must cultivate a detachment from emotion that leaves them ready to behave professionally.

Practice on a Razor's Edge: the Work of Charles Estienne

Charles Estienne, who was the first author in France of an illustrated anatomical treatise *in folio*, besides being the brother, son, and son-in-law of a printer, and a bringer of Italian humanist culture to Paris, only discusses the ambivalence of *misericordia* in passing.[30] He briefly describes the entourage's exercise of emotional control in the chapter entitled '*Comment il fault tirer hors du corps l'enfant mort, estant la mere encor en vie* (How to remove a dead infant from its mother's body while she is

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[28]Jean Van Horn, 'Introduction méthodique à la chirurgie par Jean Van Horn D.M. et Professeur en Anatomie à Leiden', in M.-A. Severin, *De la Medecine efficace ou La Manière de guérir les plus grandes et dangereuses maladies tant du Dedans que du Dehors, par le Fer et par le Feu*, (Geneva: for Pierre Chouët, 1668), p.[*1v°].
[29]Rodericus a Castro Lusitanus, *Medicus Politicus*, (Hamburgi: Ex Bibliopolio Frobeniano, 1614), p. 158: 'Caeterum eligantur assistentes languenti familiares et grati, quique pro ipsius aegrotantis arbitrio loquantur aut taceant, bonaque semper ipsi nuncient, nec nominent coram aegro eos, quos ipsi esse insensos norunt… hilari semper animo praestent, quae ab aegroto imperantur, placideque ferant ipsius gemitus et querelas, impigri semper nec morosi, singula tempestive exequentes...'
[30]On Estienne as an exponent of Italian humanism see Hélène Cazes, 'Translation as Editorial Mediation: Charles Estienne's Experiments with Knowledge Dissemination', *Renaissance Studies,* 29, 1, (2014), pp. 36-54.

still alive) from *La Dissection des parties du corps humain*. Following Celsus' advice relative to the doctor's mastery of his actions, the members of the entourage must be deaf to the patient's cries in order to keep her still:

> This being done, let us bend the woman backwards and set her on her back: then let us appoint two helpers who will hold her thighs on either side, so that she may move them neither this way nor that: and let us select helpers and ministers of care who are of such a character that they may not easily be moved to release their hold, either hearing the cries and lamentations of the patient or because of the sight of things to which they are unaccustomed.[31]

The violence of the attendants' emotions corresponds to their inexperience and their lack of medical knowledge of the body – they see only its suffering. On the other hand, the surgeon called to this same woman's bedside, if he has received the right training, will be able to rely on his knowledge of dissection to make sense of what he sees and resist an excess of sympathy.

> But as to the labour and the industry of the surgeon during an operation or a dissection, let us not desire him to be at all slow or negligent in his work. For there is nothing that more ill befits a true anatomist. Neither must he be inclined to pity nor have a shaking hand, but rather one that is gentle and firm and well practised in many surgical openings of the body.[32]

Detachment is indeed the professional prerogative of the doctor, who is the only person around the sickbed to wear the gown of authority. The ethical attribute of impassivity that is proper to the surgeon stands in a relation to habit that is here obscured: the habituation to 'openings of the body' that lessens the emotional shock of the unusual, unnatural spectacle of an open wound or dissection. Moreover, Charles Estienne is not only the body's 'stage-director' in the imaginary theatre of human

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[31]Charles Estienne, *La Dissection des parties du corps humain,* (Paris: Simon de Colines, 1546), p. 287: 'Quoy faict courbons la femme en arriere & la posons sur le dors: puis eslisons deux aydes qui luy tiennent de costé & d'aultre les cuisses qu'elle ne les puisse varier ca ne la: et prenons lesdictz aydes et ministres de telle qualité qu'ilz ne se puissent esmouuoir si facilement pour lascher leur prinse soit en oyant les criz ou lamentations de ladicte patiente ou soit pour la veue des choses qu[i] ne leur sont accoustumées.'

[32]Estienne, *La Dissection*, p. 289: 'Mais quant a l'ouurage & industrie que doibt auoir ledict chirurgien en operant & dissecant ne vouldrions qu'il feust aulcunement lent ou negligent a son affaire. Car il n'y a rien qui plus messaye a vng vray anatomiste. Ne fault aussy qu'il soit pitoyable ou qu'il ayt la main tremblante mais bien seure et bien legiere & fort exercité en plusieurs ouuertures de corps.'

anatomy represented by his book: he is equally the mastermind behind the treatise, which he constructs as the 'shadow of dissection'. Concordantly, the so-called 'Sensible' anatomists of the Renaissance, beginning with Jacopo Berengario da Carpi, insistently prescribe to future doctors frequent practice in a hospital or in the dissection room.[33] The de-sensitisation of the emotions brought about by repetition sets the doctor apart from those who happen to be his assistants on any given occasion. Hence the reading of books on anatomy, in the absence of an '*occasion de corps*', is at once an exercise in remembering the names of the different parts of the body and also a form of training for dissection.[34] Just so, the book also provides a methodical training in mastery of the emotions: here the reader finds, at a safe distance, both familiarity with and detailed descriptions of dissection. Above all, the mannerist illustrations included in the text (more than 60 pages of plates, 10 of which focus on female anatomy) allow for a paradoxical detachment from the subjects they represent. Showing a glorified human body, washed clean of blood and presented in its full vigour in select poses and settings, these woodcuts are designed to please the eye: '*Car si les escriptz contentent l'esprit et la memoire, aussy pouvons nous dire que la peinture contentera l'oeil et la veue de la chose absente, aultant ou a peu pres comme si elle estoit presente*' ('For if writings please the spirit and the memory, then we might also say that painting will please the eye, as will the sight of that which is absent, depicted

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[33]For further discussion of what is meant by 'Sensible' in this context see *inter alia* Mirko D. Grmek (ed.), *Histoire de la pensée médicale en Occident*, vol. 2 'De la Renaissance aux Lumières', (Paris: Seuil, 1997); Rafael Mandressi, *Le Regard de l'anatomiste*, (Paris: Seuil, 2003); Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, Medicine, and the Traditions of Renaissance Learning*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2007).

[34]Estienne, La Dissection, preface, p. i: 'affin que quand n'aurez le corps en main, pour vous contenter de quelque doubte, puissiez avoir recours a ceste umbre' ('so that when you will not have a body to hand, in order to satisfy some doubt, you may resort to this shadow'); and p. 6: 'Et ou l'occasion desdictz corps si tost ne s'offreroit, en ce cas, doibt le medecin ou chirurgien avoir son recours aux escriptz de ceulx qu'il jugera avoir bien et duement traicte ceste matiere: en attendant la commodite d'ung corps laquelle par quelque occasion souvent peult echeoir.' ('And when the occasion given by these bodies does not present itself, then in that case, the doctor or the surgeon must resort to the writings of those whom he judges to have well and duly treated the matter: while waiting for the convenience of a body, which can often, for one reason or another, fail to arrive.') See further Hélène Cazes, 'Anatomie de l'image répétée chez André Vésale et Charles Estienne', in Le Conférencier, L'image répétée: Imitation, copie, remploi, recyclage, conference proceedings for the 2, 3 and 4 June, 2011, University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada, http://revue-textimage.com/conferencier/01_image_repetee/cazes1.html accessed November 2012.

as if, or almost as if, it was in fact present').[35] Everything is summed up in the nuance of an '*a peu près*' ('almost as if'): the book offers its readers an experience of the body 'almost as if it was in fact present'. As a textual and pictorial mediation of the violence done to dead bodies (or even to the live body of a mother) Estienne's treatise claims to show that which has been seen, while producing an unaffecting, bloodless spectacle where the real cruelty of true carnage is effaced by a baroque aesthetic of form and posture, as well as by the constant praise of the Dignity of Man. The plates of *La Dissection*, founded as they are upon an epistemology of *autopsia* – a subtext implying that they reproduce, in the body of the text, the bodies witnessed in the dissection hall – and inspired by popular works from the period 1520-1540 (in particular, where women are concerned, by the collection of erotic images, *Les Amours des dieux*), establish as much an abstract familiarisation with human anatomy as they do a safe distance between the reader and the gory cadaver.[36] Recognition of the human model being parodied is, for the reader, the first step towards mastery of the emotions. The beauty of the anatomical etchings forms part of his tranquillity, which habituation will maintain and reinforce up to the point of replicating it in a real-world situation. Repetition and habituation via the mediation of the book and a pedagogy of self-mastery – such are Charles Estienne's offerings to the students of medicine.

Joyous Cruelty: the Poses and Provocations of Andreas Vesalius
In his *De Fabrica Humani Corporis* Andreas Vesalius, a friend and rival of Charles Estienne, suggests quite a different strategy. Posing provocatively as a young rebel defiant of his teachers and tradition, he employs the cruelty of the dissector to valorise his own 'merciless' independence.[37] The young anatomist, rendered famous even before the appearance of the *Fabrica* by his talent and his use of the celebrated drawings of Jan Stephan van Calcar, makes 'observation' the watchword both of his epistemology and of his theory of medical apprenticeship in general. The book on anatomy, presented as an object for memorisation, is but a pale shadow of the lived experience of human dissection. The silent corpses of anatomical science do not trouble the actions of the dissector with their wails and '*crieries*'. When, in the chapter

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[35]Charles Estienne, *La Dissection*, p. 6.

[36]See C.E. Kellet, 'Perino del Vaga et les illustrations pour l'anatomie d'Estienne', *Aesculape* 37, (1955), pp. 74-89; C.E. Kellet, 'A Note on Rosso and the Illustrations to Charles Estienne's *De Dissectione*', *Journal of History of Medicine*, 12, (1957), pp. 325-336; David O'Frantz, *Festum Voluptatis, A study of Renaissance Erotica*, (Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press, 1989), pp. 123-124.

[37] Andreas Vesalius, *De Humani corporis fabrica libri septem*, (Basel: Oporinus, 1543) (henceforth cited as simply the *Fabrica*). See also Hélène Cazes, 'Vesal, "for what he Represents": Vesaliana in William Osler's Collections', Rinaldo Fernando Canalis and Massimo Ciavolella (ed.), *Andreas Vesalius and the Fabrica: Art, Anatomy, and Printing in the Italian Renaissance*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2018), pp. 180-220.

on investigative and demonstrative vivisections, the anatomist operates on a living body – as it happens, the body of a dog – Vesalius first has the animal immobilised with bonds and begins the operation with the severing of its vocal chords – a procedure designed to ensure that the suffering subject, already deprived of its free movement, will also be reduced to silence.[38] The paragraph on 'examination of the vocal chords and of the suppression of the voice by their severance' suggests an extreme solution to the problem of the patient's pain, namely neutralising it by depriving the motionless body of its voice.

Never addressing the question of *misericordia* or impassivity directly, Vesalius also avoids any mention of compassion towards the corpses he opens and dismembers before our eyes. Furthermore, he represents through anecdotes and the visual constructions of his book the absence of compassion in himself and his companions. Behind the volume's ornate prose runs a curious troupe of *putti* playing at macabre games – body-snatching, abortion, the exsanguination of dogs, the boiling of skulls – whose exploits cannot but recall those of Vesalius' actual students, ready to defy both laws and taboos to provide their master with a body for his anatomical demonstrations.[39] Salacious anecdotes and the record of crimes perpetrated by the author advertise a supreme indifference to the horrific pathos of the injuries inflicted upon the bodies of the dead, and an equal disdain for all observance of custom and authority. Thus, in the course of the *Fabrica,* Vesalius relates with complaisance how

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[38]Andreas Vesalius, *Fabrica*, p. 661: 'Primum igitur animal ut supinum iaceat, anterioremque colli sedem, et liberum corporis truncum porrigat, asseri ita quam poteris ualidissime alligabis, quemadmodum hic modo interiecta tabella proponit...' ('As soon as the animal is lying on its back and the base of its neck and the front of its torso are freely accessible, bind it to a plank as tightly as you are able, as is shown in the plate below.'); and, p. 658 (= p. 662)**:** 'id enim cito et citra insignem sanguinis fluxum expenditur, ac pulchre auditur, quam ualidam efflationem animal citra uocem moliatur, recurrentibus neruis cultello diuisis. Hinc ad abdomen uenio...' ('For this may be done quickly and without any great flow of blood, and we hear perfectly how heavily the animal breathes, but without making any sound, since the vocal chords have been severed. I come now to the abdomen...').

[39]Katharine Park, *Andreas Vesalius / De Humani Corporis Fabrica / Basel, 1543* and *Historiated initials,* text accessible online on the site *In Octavo,* http://www.anatomiaitaliana.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/About_Fabrica_Web2.pdf (accessed 18 June 2020)
See also Hélène Cazes, 'L'ABC de la *Fabrique du Corps Humain* (1543, 1555) ou les bambins anatomistes', in Lucie Desjardins (ed.), *Les figures du monde renversé de la Renaissance aux Lumières*, (Paris: Hermann, 2013), pp. 57-86.

he was forced to profane burial places in the name of anatomical learning.[40] Elsewhere he narrates in detail the theft of a corpse from a gibbet at Louvain and the harvesting of its skeleton,[41] which he proceeds to offer to the local Rector.[42] By contrast with the aestheticization of pain in the *Dissection* of Charles Estienne, Vesalius laughs at the cheery profanation of a dead woman's body, intended to render her unidentifiable:

> Then when the comely mistress of a certain monk died here suddenly, as if due to a strangulation of the uterus or some other unexpected illness, the students of Padua snatched her body from its tomb and brought it to a public dissection, removing all of the skin with marvellous dedication, lest she be recognised by the monk, who, along with the parents of the mistress, was complaining to the prefect of the city that her body had been stolen from the tomb.[43]

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[40]Vesalius, *Fabrica*, p. 159: 'uel Parisijs etiam in Innocentum coemiterio. Vbi, si modo alibi, quamplurimos ossium quae e terra fodiuntur, habes aceruos: qui mihi quando primum ossa cum MATTHAEO TERMINO... adeo nobis uberem suppeditarunt copiam, ut longo indefessoque spectandi usu edocti...' ('...or in the cemetery of the Innocents in Paris. Where, more than anywhere else, you will find piles of bones that have been unearthed from the ground: it was there that I first began my study of bones with MATTHAEUS TERMINUS... the place yielded us such an abundance of bones that we informed ourselves thoroughly through long and tireless observation...')

[41]Vesalius, *Fabrica*, p. 161: 'Lutetiae nanque ob belli tumultus Louanium reuersus, atque una cum GEMMA PHRYSIO, aeque celebri Medici ac paucissimis conferendo Mathematico, ossium uidendorum nomine ad eum locum quo magna studiosorum commoditate omnes ultimo affecti supplicio in publica uia rusticis proponi solent, obambulans, in eiusmodi indici assicatum cadauer, quale latronis erat, quod Galenus se spectasse commemorat.' (After the tumult of the war had caused me to leave Paris and return to Louvain, I went out walking with GEMMA PHRYSIUS, a celebrated doctor and a mathematician with few peers, in the hope of seeing a few bones. We visited that place where, to the great profit of students, all those who have received the punishment of death are exposed near a public road as an example to the peasants. And there I stumbled upon a corpse of a bandit that was just like the one that Galen recalls having seen.')

[42]Vesalius, *Fabrica*, p. 162: 'Atque id sceleton adeo præpropere paraui, et manum ac pedem, duasque patellas non minori labori et industria aliunde conquisiui, ut omnibus persuaserim id me Lutetia aduexisse, quo omnem subreptorum ossium suspicionem delerem.' (I prepared the skeleton so rapidly, very carefully replacing the hand, the foot, and the kneecaps with some harvested from another source, that everyone believed that I had brought it from Paris. Thus, I averted all suspicion of my having stolen the bones.')

[43]Vesalius, *Fabrica*, p. 538: 'Deinde monachi cuiusdam diuo Antonio hic sacri elegans scortum repente uelut ex uteri strangulatum, aut attonito morbo, ortuum, Patauij

Vesalius proudly boasts of his disregard for the laws, for burial, for the integrity of the body and for the grief of the woman's family, depicting himself as a vicious hero possessed of merciless cruelty. Most of all, he silences both living and dead. Suggesting the triviality of a complaint which, thanks to Vesalius' own account, the reader knows to be legitimate, he suppresses both the voice of justice and the doubts that, in the minds of his audience, threaten to tarnish his glory. What violence! To insult is added injury – to the silence of the dead woman is added the disfigurement of her body. The silence of the monk, unable to recognise his mistress, whose identity has been stolen from her, transforms the mutilation into a satiric jab against the hypocrisy of the clergy. The reader knows not what to think. And yet all these silences serve to amplify the silence of another figure who is also left without a voice: the one who, in the medical context, suffers and is known as the 'patient'. Such detachment, at once ostentatious and provocative, seems to inspire the frescoes now conserved as works of art in the *salles de garde* of French hospitals, where the suffering body of the Other is tamed by an exultant and scandalous absence of compassion.[44]

With the Patient: The Iron Pity of Ambroise Paré
Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), who began his career serving in the army and went on to become court surgeon, defines his practice and his legacy in terms of a professional compassion which he explores and formulates on several different occasions.[45] Designating pity as the source of the '*volonté de panser*' ('the will to treat'), he contrasts the inhuman behaviour that he observed during the time of the plague with a lesson in civic ethics and the *misericordia* of the surgeon:[46]

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studiosi ex monumento ereptum ad publicam sectionem attulere, mira industria cadauer uniuersa cute liberantes, ne a monacho dignosceretur, qui id e monumento ereptum cum scorti parentibus apud urbis prefectum conquerebatur.'

[44]See François Béguin, 'En salle de garde, des fresques obscènes intouchables', *Le Monde*, 17 November, 2017; Quentin Bruet-Ferréol, 'La tradition des fresques obscènes des salles de garde des hôpitaux parisiens', *Slate*, 20 January, 2015, consulted on 18 June, 2015 http://www.slate.fr/grand-format/fresques-hopital; Emmanuelle Godeau, 'Les fresques de salle de garde', *Sociétés & Représentations*, 28, 2 (2009), pp. 13-30.

[45]See Evelyne Berriot-Salvadore (ed.), *Ambroise Paré (1510-1590): Pratique et écriture de la science à la Renaissance*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2003).

[46]For Paré's '*volonté de panser*' see his 'Voyage d'Allemagne 1552', in *Œuvres choisies de Bernard Palissy. Voyages d'Ambroise Paré,* ed. by Eugène Muller, (Paris: Delagrave, 1890), p. 249: 'Ému de pitié, je lui dis qu'il pourrait encore guérir s'il était bien pansé; plusieurs gentilshommes de la compagnie le prièrent de le faire mener avec le bagage, puisque j'avais cette volonté de le panser'. ('Moved by pity, I said to him that he could still

As soon as the Plague descends upon a Region, everything is interrupted and left off: for no one wants to risk bringing anything to that place where the Plague is present, for fear of losing their lives. Often the merchants are chased away by arms, by the shots of muskets, crossbows, and by stones, so that they are not allowed to approach, and in some cases they are even killed and inhumanly massacred, in place of the help that they ought to receive in their time of need. For the same reason, others do not wish to go either… And if there is someone who, being moved by pity and Christian charity, or for the sake of kinship, wishes to approach in order to help or to visit a sick person, afterwards he will have neither family nor friend who will want to see or come near him. Such a case has been observed at Lyon, where only the Physicians, Surgeons, and Barbers elected to treat the sick may be seen in the roads, and everyone runs after them throwing stones in order to kill them like rabid dogs, saying that they should only go at night, for fear of infecting the healthy.[47]

At a time when the human laws of commerce and hospitality are forgotten, Christian values also fall under threat: nothing seems to be left of the ties of family and friendship that structure society. Only the 'Physicians, Surgeons, and Barbers', risking their own lives, maintain the *lien social* and visit the sick – not, however, because of their Christian charity, but because of their professional duty. Either in the personal form of pity or in the professional form of *misericordia*, compassion is at the root and occupies the centre of the medical art. As early as the preface to his first book on surgery, Paré already poses, in all its pointedness, the paradox of the doctor's 'cruel pity'. After

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recover if he were well treated; several gentlemen of the company prayed him that he be led with the baggage, seeing as I had this will to treat him'.)

[47]Ambroise Paré, *Traicté de la peste* [1568], in Ambroise Paré, *Les Œuvres d'Ambroise Paré,… divisées en vingt huict livres avec les figures et portraicts, tant de l'anatomie que des instruments de chirurgie*, (Paris: Gabriel Buon, 1585), p. 898: '… aussitost que la Peste est en quelque Province, tout… vient à estre interrompu et delaissé: car nul ne se veut hazarder de venir rien apporter au lieu où est la Peste, de peur de perdre sa vie. [… les marchants] souvent en sont dechassez par armes, et à coups d'hacquebutes, arbaletes, et de pierres, pour ne les laisser approcher, tant que quelquesfois ils sont tuez et massacrez inhumainement, au lieu du secours qu'on leur devroit donner en leurs necessitez. De là vient que les autres n'y veulent aller… Et s'il y a quelqu'un qui meu de pitié et charité Chrestienne, ou pour la consanguinité vueille s'avancer pour secourir et visiter un malade, il n'aura apres parent ny amy qui le vueille frequenter ni approcher. Qu'ainsi soit, on a veu à Lyon, lors qu'on appercevoit seulement es ruës les Medecins, Chirurgiens et Barbiers esleus pour penser les malades, chacun courir apres eux à coups de pierres pour les tuer comme chiens enragez, disans qu'il falloit qu'ils n'allassent que de nuict, de peur d'infecter les sains.'

enumerating the operations that restore to the mutilated body its perceived human integrity,[48] the surgeon describes at length the pain inflicted by these corrective procedures:

> Yet, in truth, such operations cannot be accomplished without pain: for how would it be possible to cut an arm or a leg, to cut or to make an incision in the neck of the bladder, to introduce several surgical instruments, without causing an extreme pain? Or to relocate a dislocated joint, where one must hold, pull, and push the part of the body where pain is already felt? Or to open abscesses, to sever properly a nerve or a tendon that is already half cut, to prick with a needle, sewing up the edges of a wound, to apply burning hot irons, to pull a dead and rotting infant out of a mother's belly, or other procedures that can never be carried out without causing great and sometimes extreme pain? However, without the help of the Surgeon, in such cases one often dies suddenly or wastes away in misery.

> Yet, as for me, I am of Celsus' opinion, who admonishes the Surgeon to be sure in his work, and not to be fearful or to take pity, so that when he operates with his hands, he is not slowed any more than is necessary by the clamour of the sick person or by that of the assistants, and so that he is no more hasty than is called for: rather he must accomplish his task without regard for the talk of those who, by their ignorance, mistrust the Surgeon: for it is said, after a

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[48]Paré, *Œuvres*, p. 4: 'Comment adjouster une oreille, un œil, un nez, une, ou plusieurs dents, une platine d'or ou d'argent, ou une tente pour estoupper quelque trou du palais, à cause que la verolle auroit corrodé ou corrompu l'os, de façon que le malade ne pourroit estre entendu par sa parole sans ayde de ces mouens, une langue artificielle en defaut d'une portion qui auroit esté coupée à quelque personne, à une main, un bras, une jambe, un corps de fer, ou un pourpoint contrepointé, afin de tenir le corps droict et menu, un soulier relevé à une personne boiteuse, un chausson attaché d'une lisiere à la ceinture, pour faire marcher une personne droict: toutes lesquelles operations seront amplement deduites en ce present œuvre.' ('How are we to add an ear, an eye, a nose, one or several teeth, a gold or silver plate, or again some implement to fill up a hole in the palate – where pox would have corroded or corrupted the bone so that unless helped by these means the sick person would not able to be heard when speaking – ? How to insert an artificial piece to replace the part that would have been cut from a person's hand, arm, or leg? How to adjust a corset – that is a tight iron shell that will keep the body erect and contained –, or a heightened shoe for the lame – that is a slipper tied to the belt by a ribbon that will allow the person to walk straight? All these operations will be lengthily addressed in the present book.' Transl. Hélène Cazes)

common proverb, that the Surgeon who has a pitying face gives leaves his patient with a rankling wound.[49]

In order to show the 'truth' of his art, Paré gives his reader a series of precise details illustrating the cruelty of surgical operations that themselves give the patient hope of a return to the fullness of life. Moreover, in a declaration that sounds rather like a profession of the surgeon's faith, he makes sure, first and foremost, to avoid isolating the doctor from his patient: the perspective is shared across several incomplete, subjectless sentences that describe both surgical techniques and the experience of the patient, who at the end of the first paragraph becomes the first grammatical subject – '*on meurt*'. It is above all the evocation of the hopeless alternative represented by death that constitutes the justification for the surgeon's ruthlessness: medical violence is the only method of sparing the patient a much more painful – and surely terminal – fate.

After this justification of means by ends, Paré speaks again in his own voice, citing Celsus' recommendation and linking it to the '*playe venimeuse*' of the previously discussed proverb. Yet he substitutes for the pejorative term '*crieries*' the more noble-sounding '*clameur*'. Above all, he sets up a community of emotion between the surgeon and his patient: the doctor too might be 'afraid' and hesitate in his actions. In practice, Paré's book, printed in French, changes the participants in the debate on medical compassion: the patient is no longer the passive object of care and surgical discourse but rather an autonomous subject who, through his injured condition, hopes for treatment, and indeed takes part in it. Paré's work explains medical operations and the pain they cause, not so that the surgeon may be made deaf to his patient's cries, but in order to create a collaboration between the two of them in carrying out the

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[49]'Or telles operations à la verité, ne se peuvent accomplir sans douleur: car comme seroit-il possible couper un bras ou une jambe, couper et dilacerer le col de la vessie, y mettre plusieurs instruments sans une extreme douleur? Aussi reduire une luxation où il faut tenir, tirer et pousser la partie qui est ja esprise de douleur? ouvrir les asposthumes, parachever de couper un nerf ou tendon à demy coupez, faire poincts d'eguille, cousant la chair pour reünir les levres des playes, appliquer fers ardans et bruslans, tirer un enfant mort et pourry hors le ventre de la mere, et autres œuvres, lesquelles iamais ne se peuvent faire sans grandes et souvent extremes douleurs: et toutesfois sans l'ayde du Chirurgien en tels cas on meurt subitement, ou miserablement en languissant. Or quant à moy, je suis de l'Advis de Celse, qui admonneste le Chirurgien d'estre asseuré en ses œuvres, et non piteux et craintif, en sorte que quand il opere de ses mains, il ne soit pour la clameur du malade, ni moins des assistans, retardé plus qu'il n'est de besoin, et qu'il ne se haste point plus qu'il faut: mais qu'il accomplisse son œuvre sans avoir esgard au dire de ceux qui par leur ignorance mesprisent le Chirurgien: car on dit en commun proverbe, que le Chirurgien ayant la face piteuse, rend à son malade la playe venimeuse.'

surgery. His explanation thus includes the secondary figure who, in the traditional Hippocratic triangle, was unable to break his silence without disrupting the course of treatment.

All the same, it is the surgeon alone who is able to listen to the groans of the sick person without losing his nerve at the crucial moment. Being the only one bound by the duty to remain impassive, he is therefore in charge of the scene of the surgery, from which he excludes the patient's familiars, in order to ensure that their emotions do not interfere with the operation. Thus, for the painful procedure of relocating a dislocated joint, Paré asks the patient's friends and family, who risk taking pity on his condition, to leave:

> Of relocation done from behind
> Now while we shall perform these violent reductions by the use of machines, the loved ones and the friends of the sick person must, if possible, not be present, as it is an odious spectacle to behold: and it is just as odious to hear the patient cry. And also it is needful that the Surgeon be assured, without pity, and fearless when he performs the relocation, and he must be not at all moved by the clamour of the patient, nor by that of the assistants: and for this he must not hurry any more than he needs, for it would be a great dishonour to him not to have been able to relocate the bone, and also a great shame for the patient.[50]

Because it is unbearable for those whose profession is not medicine and who are in attendance simply as spectators of their loved one's pain, medical operation is always reserved for the doctor and his assistants. The doctor therefore chooses his collaborators for their capacity to control their emotions and their understanding of medical procedure. Generally speaking, he advises against the presence of those whom 'blind friendship' might prevent from taking part in the necessary treatment:

> Moreover, the Surgeon too will take care that when he applies the hot iron in cautery or when he performs any other great work of Surgery, such as cutting an arm or another part of the body, or such as making some kind of opening, or generally any cruel operation, he must, if possible, never allow any of the familiars or friends of the sick person to attend, except only the servants or

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[50]Paré, *Œuvres*, p. 590: 'De la luxation faite en derrière. Or cependant qu'on fera ces reductions violentes par machines, ne faut que les parens et amis du malade soient presens, s'il est possible, comme estant un spectacle odieux à veoir: et ouïr crier le malade: et aussi que le Chirurgien soit asseuré, non piteux, ne craintif, lors qu'il fera la reduction, et ne soit nullement esmeu par la clameur du malade, ny moins des assistans: et que pour cela il ne se haste point plus qu'il ne doit, pource que ce luy seroit grand des-honneur n'avoir peu reduire l'os, et aussi grand dommage au malade.'

those who can reason and understand well. For those who have a blind friendship for the patient and who reason little, far from praising your work, they will on the contrary revile it, and they will call you not a Surgeon, but an executioner: because science is never held in contempt unless it is by the ignorant and empirical, who are without reason.[51]

Deprived of their judgement by affection and pity. the patient's loved ones are ignorant of the good that some hurt will do him and intuitively oppose the necessary and salutary suffering entailed by the surgical operation. In effect, poor attendants will behave as the patient's doubles, fomenting his clamour and fear, as they privilege their emotions over rational reflection. Accordingly, the surgeon's authority, founded on his medical knowledge, also becomes that of the foreman or the master architect who chooses 'reason' as opposed to sentimental commiseration, deciding who will be permitted upon the scene of the surgery. Thus the invocation of 'blind friendship' gives rise to the opposite idea of a 'friendship within reason' – a relationship of confidence and respect between the doctor and the patient that obtains even while the competence and the responsibility of the former exclude from the context of care-giving the reciprocity implied by the Erasmian adage of *Amicitia Aequalitas*.[52] For Paré, the goal is no longer that the doctor silence the patient's cries, but rather that he address him directly.

The professionalisation of the doctor-patient relationship therefore rests, not on a voluntary deafness to the patient's expressions of suffering, but on a medical pact which is both explicit and consensual and which authorises the doctor to inflict harm in order to do good. In giving instructions for a lithotomy (*i.e.* the removal of kidney- or gallstones), Paré enlists the help of four men who will hold the patient immobile under his bonds:

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[51]Paré, *Œuvres*, p. 612: Davantage, le Chirurgien aussi aura égard que lors qu'il appliquera la cautere, ou fera quelque autre grande œuvre de Chirurgie, comme couper un bras, ou autre partie du corps, ou faire quelque ouverture, et generalement, toute operation cruelle, jamais ne doit, s'il est possible, permettre y assister aucuns des parens et amis du malade, fors seulement les serviteurs, ou ceux qui puissent bien ratiociner et entendre, que tels actes se font selon l'art, afin de luy donner aide et secours pour la guerison de sa maladie. Car ceux qui portent folle amitié au patient, et qui peu ratiocinent, tant s'en faut qu'ils donnent loüange à ton œuvre, qu'au contraire la vitupereront, et t'appelleront non Chirurgien, mais bourreau: pource que la science n'est jamais contemnée, si ce n'est par gens ignares, empiriques, et sans raison.
[52]Erasmus' second Adage, (I, 2).

> The patient being thus bound, there is need for four strong men, neither fearful nor timorous, two to hold the patient's arms and two others who will hold, with one hand, a knee and, with the other, a foot, and ably so, so that the patient will be unable to move his legs or raise his buttocks, but rather will remain stable and immobile, in order for the work to be better done.[53]

As it happens, Ambroise Paré invokes less the ambivalence of *misericordia* than the fear of harm that is shared by the patient, his loved ones, and the doctor himself: being in all cases noble and professional, compassion is never put into question. On the other hand, the medical act requires from the patient the courage to confront the pain to which he will be subjected; it demands from the doctor the determination necessary to inflict this pain; and it further requires that the patient's loved ones not oppose the violence to which he has consented. In Paré's *Livres de chirurgie,* control of the patient's movements and emotions is therefore not a dismissal of his cries and efforts to avoid pain as small inconveniences, but rather it becomes a true collaboration between the surgeon and his subject. Whether in the case of cauterisations, blood-lettings, relocations, or other operations, Paré does not envisage the patient's passivity, but rather his '*volonté d'endurer*' ('will to endure') or, failing that, the possibility of his efforts to avoid the scalpel.[54]

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[53]Paré, *Œuvres*, p. 638: 'Estans le patient ainsi lié, faut avoir quatre hommes forts, non craintifs, ni timides, à sçavoir deux pour lui tenir les bras, et les deux autres qui luy tiendront d'une main un genoüil, et de l'autre le pied, si bien et dextrement qu'il ne pourra remuer les jambes ny hausser les fesses: mais demeurera stable et immobile, afin que l'œuvre soit mieux faite.'

[54]Paré, *Œuvres*, p. 610: 'De Ungula, Ayant situé le patient sur un banc à la renverse, à demy couché, et tenu ferme par un serviteur, luy faut ouvrir les paupieres, et les tenir stables par l'instrument, dit Speculum oculi [...] et [au cas] que le patient voulust endurer, on doit user de cautere actuel, lequel je loüe plus que le potentiel, pource que son operation est plus prompte et seure, et puis bien asseurer qu'à plusieurs je l'ay appliqué avec heureuse issuë […] Et alors qu'on l'appliquera, on doit bander l'œil sain, de peur que le malade ne voye le feu. Et luy sera tenu la teste ferme, de peur qu'il ne la tourne de costé ny d'autre.' ('Having placed the patient backwards and half reclined upon a bench, he being held by a servant, one must open his pupils and hold them stable with an instrument called the *Speculum oculi* […] and in cases where the patient has a will to endure, one must use an iron for cautery, which I approve more than a chemical agent, because its effect is quicker and more certain, and which I can assure you I have applied to many patients with positive results […] And when it is applied, one must cover the healthy eye, lest the sick person sees the fire. And his head will be firmly held, lest he turn it to one side or the other.'); and p. 662: 'empoignera le bras du malade avec sa main senestre, si c'est le bras droict: et si c'est du bras senestre, le prendra de la dextre, mettant le poulce un peu plus bas que le

The recognition of the fear of pain that arises on the patient's part, from imagining and anticipating the reality of surgery, is thus accompanied by strategies for limiting the effects of that emotion in the future. First, one must realise that the patient's terror of harm is not a characteristic that is necessarily consubstantial to his position as patient: it affects only certain patients and certain attendants. Many in fact either have a '*volonté d'endurer*' or the strength and the presence of mind to sustain their friend through the operation. Paré's book offers them arguments and encouragements for this kind of fortitude. However, when reason is not enough to master the emotions, the patient's friends are sent out of the operation room and Paré, in order to spare the patient any dangerous and counter-productive anxiety, resorts to subterfuge. After the book and medical consultation have provided their explanation and justification of the doctor's violence, if fear still obstructs the serene calm necessary for operation, the surgeon must resort to another kind of 'wrong for the sake of good' – deception. Thus, when draining a phlegmon, Paré recommends a brief illusion act accompanied by a sleight of hand:

> For where the patient is fearful and unwilling to endure the iron, you will use rather a chemical agent for the purpose. There are some patients who are so afraid of an incision, that they faint at the mere sight of the lancet, from fear of pain, even before the incision is made. Or they will pull back and turn away the part of their body, which will lead to the incision being made in the wrong place or to its being smaller or larger than it need be. For which reason, the Surgeon must make his incision before the patient has had the chance to think, without being seen, off to the side, or by some other subterfuge, having the blade of a lancet attached to the middle of a penny or some other piece of money, which will be placed on a plaster or a poultice. And the point of the lancet will be so well covered in unguent or cataplasm that neither the patient nor the assistants will be able to see it: being thus prepared, it will be applied to the spot where an opening must be made, and then the Surgeon will press suddenly on the penny or the coin, just enough so that the point will have pierced the abscess.[55]

vaisseau, à fin qu'il le tienne, et ne vacille çà et là […]' ('He will grip the arm of the patient with his left hand, if it is the right arm: and if it is the left arm, he will take it with his right hand, placing his thumb a little lower than the vessel, so that he may hold it and so that it shifts neither to this side nor that [...]').

[55]Paré, *Œuvres*, p.190: 'Car où le malade seroit craintif, et ne voudroit endurer le fer, tu useras plustost d'un ruptoire, c'est à dire cautere potentiel. Il y a des malades qui craignent tant l'ouverture, qu'ils s'évanouissent seulement voyant la lancette, de la crainte de douleur, avant que l'incision soit faite: Ou ils retireront et destourneront la partie, qui fera que l'incision ne sera faite au lieu qu'elle doit, ou moindre, ou plus grande qu'elle ne devroit. Parquoy faut que le Chirurgien face l'ouverture, avant que

Akin to a deceptive stage-trick, the surgeon's foul play is characterised as a 'merciless *misericordia*' which allows the patient the bliss of ignorance while the cruel procedure of the incision is carried out. Here indeed is a new way of posing our initial question of the doctor's compassion: because he is in a position of responsibility for the smooth execution of the operation, the doctor must have conquered his fear of inflicting pain. But he must equally take charge of the fear of the other players on stage – his patient and his assistants. Duty-bound to remain impassive himself, it further falls to him to ensure the impassivity of all present.

Misericors or Immisericors?
In 1538, readers of the preface to Giuncti's edition of the works of Iohannes de Vigo would have found a citation of our passage from Celsus on the 'merciless pity' of the doctor. In its context, this citation was intended as nothing more than a reminder of a commonplace already well known to specialist readers. However, the editor – either because he had overlooked a misprint or because he was confused over the paradox entailed by the question of medical pain – cut right to the ambiguity of the text: he changed the word *Misericors* to *Immisericors*: 'the doctor must be fearless and merciless'. [56] The correction was kept in the textual tradition of Celsus' work, smoothing out the passage with a notion of professionalisation and denying to the doctor any feeling of compassion or reluctance to cause his patient suffering:

> A surgeon must be young, or at least not too advanced in age. He must have a firm hand that is also deft and never trembling, whether he uses his left or his right; he must have good vision, clear and sharp; he must be intrepid and pitiless, so that he wants to heal the one who puts himself in his hands, being shaken neither by his cries nor his pleas; and so that he hastens in his work no more and no less than is needful; rather he must perform his operation without emotion and as if the pleas of the patient made no impression on him. [57]

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le malade aye loisir d'y penser en l'abusant comme faisant une fomentation ou autre chose à la dérobée, ayant une pointe de lancette, laquelle sera attachée au milieu d'un getton ou autre pièce d'argent, laquelle sera mise sur une emplastre ou cataplasine: et la pointe d'icelle si bien couverte d'onguent ou du cataplasme, que le malade ny les assistans ne la pourront appercevoir: et estant accommodée, sera appliqué sur l'endroit où l'on doit faire l'apertion, et lors le Chirurgien subit pressera en l'endroit dudit getton ou piece, tant et si peu que ladite pointe soit entrée en l'aposteme.'
[56]*Opera domini Io. de Vigo in chyrurgia excellentissimi*, (Venundantur Lugduni: per Jacobum Giuncti, 1538), fol. 2: '...animo intrepidus, misericors sic'.
[57]Henri J. Ninnin, *Traduction des ouvrages d'Aurelius-Cornelius Celse, sur la médecine*, (Paris: Desant et Saillant, Briasson, Thiboust, 1753), p. 114: 'Un Chirugien doit être jeune, ou du moins peu avancé en son âge. Il faut qu'il ait la main ferme, adroite et

The textual 'variant' thus added to the tradition is quite revealing with respect to the inquiries of the sixteenth century, and poses concisely a question that is attested by both the success of our proverb and by the medical discourses of doctors on the ethics of their profession. But Giuncti's emendation by itself remains silent as to the issues arising from the idea of a 'merciless pity' – the importance of this idea for the roles of the patient and the doctor, its implications for the consensual pain inherent in the process of treatment, and its injunction to remain impassive in the face of emotions threatening to destabilise the medical relationship. On the contrary, Giuncti's variant opens the way to further ethical problems, such as the problem of the degree to which the patient should be informed of his condition, or the problem of asserting control over the patient's entourage.

There can be no doubt that the large number of references to, as well as reflections upon Celsus' prescriptions bear witness to a desire during the Renaissance to redefine the roles of the participants in medicine and to imagine a doctor who remains non-violent. During a period of growing general enthusiasm for medicine, both the wide circulation of more and more detailed treatises popularising medical science and the attribution of a participatory role in treatment to both the patient and the doctor's assistants offer some reply to the cruelty of the surgeon. Moreover, the trajectory of a proverb and philologists' uncertainty about a single Latin adjective and its antonym support the various strategies prescribed by our sources for detaching oneself from the pathos of surgical pain: all take part in a movement for greater recognition of the emotions experienced by the physician, the patient, and their assistants. Across varying descriptions of the 'compassionate' physician, kind-heartedness, fear, and denial sweep away the protagonists of the medical drama.

Compassion is a dangerous emotion when the distribution of roles in a medical context denies to the patient all reason, collaboration, and agency in the process of his treatment. By displacing the irresolvable paradox of a 'pitiless pity' from its station next to the doctor and onto the shared relationship of the doctor and the patient, Ambroise Paré inaugurates an ethical reflection on the participation of all those present at a surgery in the on-going medical act. Cruelty and violence are consented to by everyone involved, thus becoming collective activities sanctioned by the professional *misericordia* of the presiding doctor.

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jamais tremblante, qu'il se serve de la gauche, comme de la droite: qu'il ait la bonne vue claire, perçante; qu'il soit intrépide, impitoyable, de façon qu'il veuille guérir celui qui se met entre ses mains n'étant point ébranlé par ses cris et ses plaintes; Qu'il ne dépêche point plus qu'il ne faut, et que, sans être touché de ses cris, ils ne se presse point trop, et ne coupe pas moins qu'il ne faut; mais qu'il fasse son opération sans s'émouvoir, et comme si les plaintes du patient ne faisaient aucune impression.'

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The Wages of Fear: Fear and Surrender in the 16ᵗʰ and 17ᵗʰ Centuries

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ABSTRACT
In early modern times fear played a central role in combat. Victory often belonged to the side that best managed the moral economy of the engagement. If the balance of power obviously played its role, the management of the combatants' emotions could be equally decisive in the outcome of the engagement. Men of war therefore sought to fight their own fears, through prayer, alcohol or harangues. On the contrary, they tried to instil fear in their opponents through threats, summonses or terroristic strategies. Fear was so decisive that states come to criminalize it, charging certain unfortunate officers with cowardice and treason.

Fear, wrote Charles Ardant du Picq in *Études sur le combat*, was the driving force behind the conduct of a man under fire. Between 1850 and 1870, this officer had seen combat in the Crimea, Syria, Algeria and in the Vosges. For him, psychology was what motivated the behaviour of soldiers facing death. Discipline, training and building unit cohesion were tools as important as tactics or equipment; acquiring these would reassure the combatant, allow him to overcome his fear, and avoid defeat – for defeat was the product of moral failure, which generated disorder, confusion, panic, flight or surrender. In sum, he defined tactics as 'the art, the science of getting men to fight at their maximum outputs – a maximum which, in the face of fear, only order can provide.'[1]

Well before Ardant du Picq, captains and officers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were acutely aware of the role of fear in combat, though they did not formally theorise on it. They knew from experience how much this 'passion of the

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[1]Charles Ardant du Picq, *Études sur le combat*, (Paris: Hachette-Dumaine, 1880), p. 8. This and all subsequent citations trans. N. Charley unless otherwise mentioned.

soul' influenced the soldier and 'made him fear that which might endanger him'[2] on the battlefield, during a siege or operations of *petite guerre*.[3] They knew the impact of such an emotion on decisions to cease fighting, retreat or surrender, or on the contrary to pursue resistance, at times for fear of unfavourable treatment. Memoirs and correspondence written by these professionals of violence are silent on the subject of fear except in occasionally socially accepted circumstances, such as fear of drowning. However, this did not mean that they ignored or minimised the effect of fear on fighting men.

Noblemen did not readily admit to their own fear in combat, but they sometimes described the emotion in others – brothers in arms, subordinates and, of course, the enemy. Early Modern warfare was not only an economy of means, a balance of material forces, but also a moral economy in which fear played a central role. And when fear was victorious, it could trigger combatants to retreat – or to surrender if the first option were not possible. Combat was much more a psychological struggle than a physical one.[4] He who feared the most would lose ground to his enemy. In fact, Clausewitz considered the destruction of enemy morale, of his will to fight, to be the supreme goal of all military operations.[5]

Historians of war have long been interested in fear, following in the tradition of seminal works written by Jean Delumeau.[6] Inspired by the lines of thought opened by their

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[2]Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire Universel*, (La Haye Rotterdam: Arnout and Reignier Leers, 1690), vol. 3, 'peur', p. 113.

[3]It is worth noting that 'small wars' is not an entirely accurate translation of *petite guerre*. The English term encompasses all of the operations of irregular warfare, including guerilla, which is not the case in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century texts and not how French historiography understands it. Cf. Beatrice Heuser (ed.), *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Special Issue: *The Origins of Small Wars: From Special Operations to Ideological Insurgencies*, 25, 4 (August 2014).

[4]Charles Joseph Ligne, *Préjugés militaires*, (Paris: H. Charles-Lavauzelle, 1895), p. 13.

[5]Carl von Clausewitz, *De la Guerre*, (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1955), p. 70.

[6]Jean Delumeau, *La peur en Occident (XIVᵉ-XVIIIᵉ siècles). Une cité assiégée*, (Paris: Fayard, 1978). On the military history of fear, see John Keegan, *The Face of Battle: A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1976), p. 28; Fernand Gambiez, 'Étude historique des phénomènes de panique', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 20, 1 (1973), pp. 153-166; André Corvisier, 'Le moral des combattants, panique et enthousiasme, Malplaquet, 11 septembre 1709', *Revue Historique des armées*, 3 (1977), pp. 7-32; Jean Chagniot, 'Une panique, les Gardes Françaises à Dettingen (27 juin 1743)', *Revue d'Histoire moderne et contemporaine*, 24 (1977), pp. 78-95; Olivier Chaline, *La bataille de la Montagne Blanche, 8 novembre 1620, un mystique chez les guerriers*, (Paris: Noesis, 2000); Benjamin Deruelle, 'Contrôler l'incontrôlable:

reflections, and with perspective gained from the historical anthropology of combat emotions, this article will discuss the manner in which stakeholders, including soldiers, attempted to tame, manage and weaponise fear.[7] What relationship did fighting men have with fear in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? How did they express or confront fear? How was it deployed during operations to shorten battles and force surrender? How did states and military justice criminalise it?

Soldiers mobilised any number of resources in the struggle to surmount their own fear. Alcohol, harangues, collective prayer before a battle, clamour and battle cries all aided the individual to overcome his feelings of isolation and gave him a sense of the community to which he belonged. But above all, soldiers sought to make fear change sides, to instil it in the adversary through speech (summonses and threats), images (emblems, mottos, uniforms, equipment, reputations), and practice (exaction, collective executions, bombing attacks, etc.). These are some of the many terror related strategies which relied on emotion to hasten the end of hostilities, frighten the enemy and press him to surrender. Moral foundering carried potentially dramatic consequences for the survival of the state. To prevent such a risk, authorities began to criminalise and 'judicialise' fear. It was transmuted into cowardice and likened to the moral and political crime of treason. Military criminal courts attempted to 'ward off fear' and its adverse effects through repressive measures, to inspire a still greater fear of the punishment reserved for 'cowards' and 'traitors', which brought dishonour and shame.

Confronting fear
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, men of war euphemised or stifled mention of fear in their writings. Still, it remained a harsh reality of warfare and was evoked in some memoirs. La Colonie, an engineer during the siege of Charleroi in 1693, described its impact on the shock troops preparing to mount an assault of the breach:

Perception et contrôle du sentiment de la peur au combat chez les hommes de guerre du XVIe siècle', in Laurent Vissière and Marion Trevisi (ed.), *Le feu et la folie. L'irrationnel et la guerre de la fin du Moyen Âge à 1920*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016), pp. 113-133; Benjamin Deruelle, '"Touteffois la crainte est radoulcye par ce remède", perception et gestion de la peur dans les armées du roi de France au XVIe siècle', in Jean Baechler and Michel Battesti (ed.), *Guerre et santé*, (Paris: Hermann, 2018), pp. 141-159.
[7]Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, *Combattre. Une anthropologie historique de la guerre moderne, XIXe-XXe siècle*, (Paris: Seuil, 2008); Stéphane Audoin-Rouzeau, 'Vers une anthropologie historique de la violence de combat au XIXe siècle; relire Ardant du Picq ?', *Revue d'histoire du XIXe siècle*, 30 (2005), http://journals.openedition.org/rh19/1015. Accessed 16 April 2019

Each one of us set to work to examine his conscience in a most contrite manner, for it was accepted by all concerned in this assault that nothing short of a miracle could prevent our total destruction. It was necessary, in the first place, to defile the full length of the glacis to get at the gorge, at the mercy of the fire of the enemy occupying the covered-way, who would not be lying in fear of our shells; and, secondly, there were the works of the main fortification supporting the half-moon, which would certainly bring a terrific fire to bear upon us. These difficulties surmounted, there would yet be the garrison itself to be reckoned with, besides mines to send us skywards if we ever got inside. Nature suffers cruelly under such a strain – no one cares to talk, each being occupied with his own reflections and the thought of the death he is courting.

We remained in this painful state till three o'clock in the afternoon, without signal or even information of any sort. A little later the grenades were served out to the grenadiers, who were ordered to light their quick matches. We then had no doubt at all that the time for the signal was near at hand, and this state of tension brought on a renewed access of mental agony, or at all events it appeared so, judging by the faces of all concerned.

After all the signal did not come, and I took it into my head to examine the bearing of those in my immediate vicinity, wishing to see if I could discern their inmost thoughts, and the different degrees of anxiety as shown in their physiognomies. I looked them over most carefully, and the more I examined them the more it seemed to me that they were no longer the same persons I had known previously. Their features had become changed in a most extraordinary manner; there were long drawn-out faces, others quite twisted, others again, were haggard, with flesh of a livid hue, whilst some had a wandering look about the eyes; in fact, I saw but a melancholy set of sinners apparently under sentence of death.[8]

The men understood the considerable risks of such an attack. The fear they felt explains why they were often so ready to offer terms of an honourable surrender to those they besieged: to be spared the torments of an assault. These undertakings were the acme of warlike brutality and frequently resulted in huge losses in the ranks of the assailants. The governor of the besieged town would also be concerned with obtaining favourable conditions of capitulation; his objective was to convince his adversaries that the garrison was capable of causing considerable loss should they attempt an assault on the breach.

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[8]Jean-Martin de La Colonie, *The Chronicles of an Old Campaigner: M. De La Colonie, 1692-1717,* trans. Walter C. Horsley, (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1904), pp. 32-33.

FEAR AND SURRENDER IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES

Explicit mention of the effects of fear on troops was still rare. Its existence must be gleaned by reading between the lines of the strategies developed to confront fear or hold it in check: group prayer, the consumption of alcohol, harangues, war cries. Training and experience also played a significant role since recruits were clearly more likely to succumb to panic than the 'seasoned troops' so prized by war chiefs.

To ward off fear at the approach of a battle, many soldiers and noblemen turned to God.[9] Prayers and sermons often preceded an engagement, just as it had in 1525, on the field of battle at Pavia, where the soldiers had knelt in prayer.[10] Boyvin du Villars also relates that in 1554, the Sieur de la Roche, killed on the ravelin during the assault of Casale, Monferrato, 'had prepared himself for the assault in a Christianly manner'.[11] Jean de Serres describes Condé praying before the charge at Jarnac in 1569, while across the field, the Duke of Anjou received Holy Communion.[12] Likewise Henri de Navarre organised a collective prayer for his troops before the battle of Coutras in 1587.[13] Psalm 118:24 arose with a clamour throughout the ranks of the Huguenots there: 'This is the day which the Lord hath made; we will rejoice and be glad in it'.[14] Monluc confessed that he, too, turned to God to confront his fear:

> Neither was I ever in any action whatever wherein I have not implor'd his Divine assistance, and never passed over day of my life, since I arriv'd at the age of man, without calling upon his Name, and asking pardon for my sins. And many times I can say with truth, that upon sight of the Enemy I have found myself so possest with fear, that I have felt my heart beat, and my limbs tremble […] but so soon as I had made my prayer to God, I felt my spirits and my strength return.[15]

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[9]Hélène Germa-Romann, *Du 'bel mourir' au 'bien mourir': le sentiment de la mort chez les gentilshommes français (1515-1643)*, (Geneva: Droz, 2001), pp. 56-57.

[10]Jean-Marie Le Gall, *L'honneur perdu de François Ier, Pavie, 1525*, (Paris: Payot, 2015), p. 100.

[11]François de Boyvin, baron du Villars, *Mémoires du sieur F. de B. sur les guerres desmelées tant en Piedmont qu'au Montferrat et duché de Milan, par feu messire Charles de Cossé, comte de Brissac*, (Paris: J. Houzé, 1606), Vol. 2, p. 264.

[12]Jean de Serres, *Mémoires de la troisième guerre civile*, ([Genève: Jean Crespin], 1570), Vol. 1, p. 79.

[13]Simon Goulart, *Mémoires sur la Ligue,* (s.n, s.l, 1604), Vol. 2, p. 264.

[14]Arlette Jouanna et al. (ed.), *Histoire et dictionnaire des guerres de religion*, (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1998), p. 324. For the English bible reference, see https://www.kingjamesbibleonline.org/Psalms-Chapter-118/.

[15]*The commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc, Mareschal of France wherein are describ'd all the Combats, Rencounters, Skirmishes, Battels, Sieges, Assaults, Scalado's, the Taking and Surprizes of Towns and Fortresses, as also the Defences of the Assaulted and Besieg'd,* (London: Printed by Andrew Clark for Henry Brome, 1674), p. 398.

Cardinal Richelieu relates in his own memoirs that in 1638, Maréchal de Créqui, filled with a sense of foreboding, confessed before going into battle. He would shortly after be blown away by a cannon ball.[16] The need to deal with fear experienced by soldiers explains the constant efforts of authorities to provide a framework of religious support. In the Early Modern army, religion was not so much a tool to galvanise the troops or to call a holy and violent crusade against the non-believer. It was more a means of reassuring combatants, who needed assurance of their salvation when their lives were at risk.[17] Religion was also a means to discipline the troops. Faith offered similar succour to populations under siege, who often organised processions to call on divine protection. Rites such as these, meant to reassure the inhabitants and prolong resistance, took place throughout Lille during the siege of 1667.[18]

Alcohol was also a way of confronting fear. Blaise de Monluc and his companions downed 'eight or ten flasks of wine' before the assault on Rabastens in July 1570. The men who stormed the breach were no doubt quite tipsy, if not completely intoxicated. A short harangue accompanied the drinking bout: 'Let us drink Camrades: for it must now soon be seen which of us has been nurst with the best milk. God grant that another day we may drink together; but if our last hour be come, we cannot frustrate the decrees of Fate.'[19] In 1669, the besieged in Candie also resorted to alcohol to

[16]Armand du Plessis Richelieu, cardinal de, *Mémoires*, ed. by Michaud and Poujoulat, (Paris: Éd. du commentaire analytique du Code civil, 1838), Vol. 9, p. 276.

[17] Ariane Boltanski, 'Forger le soldat chrétien. L'encadrement catholique des troupes pontificales et royales en 1568-1569', *Revue historique*, 316, 1, (2014), pp. 51-85; Ariane Boltanski, 'Une langue religieuse de la guerre: de quelques manuels jésuites à l'intention des soldats dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle', in M.-M. Fontaine and J.-L. Fournel (ed.), *Les mots de la guerre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, (Geneva: Droz, 2015), pp. 169-196; Laurent Jalabert, Stefano Simiz, *Le soldat face au clerc. Armée et religion en Europe occidentale, XVe-XIXe siècle*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016); Laurent Jalabert, 'Face à face, côte à côte? Les aumôniers des armées d'Empire entre coexistence, ignorance et affrontement au XVIIe siècle', in Julien Léonard (ed.), *Prêtres et pasteurs. Les clergés à l'ère des divisions confessionnelles (XVIe-XVIIe siècles)*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2016), pp. 57-73; Pierre-Jean Souriac, 'La prédication protestante dans un contexte de révolte contre le roi au temps de Louis XIII', in Bruno Bethouart and Jean-François Galinier-Pallerola (ed.), *La prédication dans l'histoire*, *Les Cahiers du Littoral*, 16, (2017), pp. 115-132.

[18]Pierre-Ignace Chavatte, *'Chronique mémorial des choses mémorables par moy Pierre-Ignace Chavatte', 1657-1693, Le mémorial d'un humble tisserand lillois au Grand Siècle, Pierre-Ignace Chavatte*, ed. by Alain Lottin, (Bruxelles: Commission royale d'histoire, 2010), p. 168.

[19]*The commentaries of Messire Blaize*, p. 366.

recover from a failed sortie during the night of 24 June. And, in a letter addressed to Colbert on 30 June, *aide-major* Soisigny admits that he found the strength to sound the retreat amid a debacle only after he had taken a 'stiff glass of wine'.[20]

Before combat, captains often addressed their men to rouse their spirits and give them heart. But the context largely eludes historians, who must contend with what remnants were set down on paper. Such sources were principally memoirs or correspondence – post facto written testimonies, polished and self-valorising. They often project a belief in the performativity of speech and the effectiveness of a commander's oratorical abilities. But in reality, over what distance could an orator be heard? And who would be within earshot?[21] Harangues employed recurrent themes to motivate men, help them surmount their fear and give meaning to the risks they undertook. To encourage emulation, they frequently insisted upon the honour to be gained. Honour was symbolic capital, a reward, the true wages of fear. In an 'economy of honour', risk in war was weighed against potential gain in honour.[22] The speeches also insisted on avenging fallen brothers in arms and defending the faith; that theirs was a defensive war, or one to be waged on the transgressions of a criminalised and disgraced enemy. These measures sought to gain the ideological adherence of the troops and give meaning to the conflict. At Rabastens, Monluc thus gave his men a short Remonstrance in these words:

> Friends and Companions, we are now ready to fall on to the Assault, and every man is to shew the best he can do. The men who are in this place, are of those who with the Count de Montgommery destroyed your Churches, and ruined your houses; You must make them disgorge what they have swallowed of your Estates. If we carry the place, and put them all to the sword, you will have a

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[20]De Soisigny à Colbert, 30 June 1669, de Candie, in Ozkan Bardaky and François Pugnière, *La dernière croisade, Les Français et la guerre de Candie*, *1669*, (Rennes: PUR, 2008), p. 144.

[21]Emmanuelle Cronier and Benjamin Deruelle (ed.), *Argumenter en guerre: discours de guerre, discours sur la guerre, discours dans la guerre de l'Antiquité à nos jours,* (Lille: Presses du Septentrion, 2019), in particular Xavier Le Person, 'Haranguer ses soldats? Le Duc de Guise chef de guerre et stratège de mots à Châlons-en-Champagne (26 mars 1585)', pp. 271-290; Xavier Lapray, 'Argumenter en plein combat: formes et fonctions de la harangue du général romain dans les batailles rangées d'époque républicaine', pp. 195-212; Laurent Cuvelier, 'La voix des autorités militaires dans la "Révolution armée": cris, harangues et discours des généraux à l'armée des Pyrénées orientales (1793-1795)', pp. 195-212.

[22]Benjamin Deruelle, *De papier, de fer et de sang, chevaliers et chevalerie à l'épreuve de la modernité ca. 1460-ca. 1620)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 359-374.

good bargain of the rest of Bearn. Believe me they will never dare to stand against you. Go on then. I will follow anon.[23]

Though written down, it is impossible to say if this harangue was indeed pronounced or is a product of pure literary fiction. The historian will still find it useful for the clues it reveals about the values, motives and arguments that could be deployed to make soldiers overcome their fear, risk their lives, and focus on the battle at hand and the accomplishments which would lead to a decisive victory.[24]

Like the harangue, the two main functions of the war cry were motivation and confronting fear. They were meant to extract the soldier from his bubble of dread and remind him that he belonged to a collective, a unit of strength. At times, the rallying cry was religious, such as the 'Santiago' of the Spanish *tercios* at Mühlberg in 1547, or the 'Santa Maria' of Imperial and Bavarian troops at White Mountain in November 1620.[25] But the war cry was not merely meant to reassure, encourage and motivate those who raised it. When assailants roared promises of death, they meant to terrorise their enemy. And so, in 1688, the French troops shouted 'Kill! Kill!' as they assaulted a redoubt during the siege of Philipsburg. And in 1701, Forbin bellowed the same as he rushed to board an English vessel.[26] These murderous cries were a promise of carnage. Some who heard them simply fled and did not return for their wages. Others tried to ask for quarter – a risky undertaking in the 'heat of the battle' as it more frequently ended in their execution.

Striking Terror in the Enemy
The fight against one's own fear went hand in hand with attempts to instil fear in the heart of one's enemy. Victory was as much a matter of moral and psychological factors as it was of material and human resources. The latter determined the balance of

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[23]Adapted from *The Commentaries of Messire Blaize de Montluc*, p. 366.

[24]Herman Hansen Mogens, 'The Battle Exhortation in Ancient Historiography: Fact or Fiction?', *Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, 42, (1993), pp. 161-180; William Kendrick Pritchett, *Ancient Greek Battle Speeches and a Palfrey*, (Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben, 2002); Richard F. Miller, *In Words and Deeds. Battle Speeches in History*, (Lebanon: University of New England, 2008); Edward Anson, 'The General's Pre-Battle Exhortation in Graeco-Roman Warfare', *Greece and Rome*, 57, (2010), pp. 304-318.

[25]Chaline, *La bataille de la montagne Blanche*, p. 172; Jean-Marie Le Gall, *Les guerres d'Italie (1494-1559), une lecture religieuse*, (Geneva: Droz, 2017), p. 20.

[26]Service Historique de la Défense (SHD), GR, A1 826, fol 47, Vertillac, major general of the army of Germany to Louvois, from Philipsburg, 21 October 1688; Claude de Forbin, *Mémoires du comte de Forbin*, (Paris: Mercure de France, 1993), p. 343.

power, but combat was still perceived in terms of a 'geometry of fear'.[27] From this perspective, to secure victory, fear must be directed toward the adversary, through threats and summons, terror inducing strategies like bombardments, sackings, pillages and military executions or through a folklore of terror used by some units.

The summonses sounded by trumpets, heralds and emissaries to cities under siege were often very threatening. Without doubt, their role was to frighten the enemy to surrender and bring the battle to a quicker end. In so doing, the lives, supplies and ammunition of the besiegers would be spared as much as possible. The choice was one of economics. Customary law also allowed the assailing side to do as they wished with a city they took by assault. Pillage, looting and associated violent acts could last up to three days in this case.[28] The *Mémoires* of Maréchal de Vieilleville relate the summons of Lumes, a small town near Sedan, in 1552. The account attests to the role of threats to strike fear in the besieged:

> De Vieilleville had the trumpet summon Malberg to surrender. Should he wait until the first cannon volley, he would be shown no mercy, nor would all who dwelt within. [De Vieilleville] knew the count; there were none but valets and women left in the town. Other strongholds such as Montmedy had surrendered before a single cannonade had fired. Was it not unreasonable for such an ill-fortified town such as theirs to make the enemy wait upon their submission?[29]

During the siege of Le Havre in 1563, the French addressed a similar warning to the English defenders, who had rejected an initial summons:

> Prepare, presently, to die; for we have in our army more than one hundred captains and six thousand French soldiers who are of your own religion. Thus, they know your every secret and have sworn to the king their sovereign to return unto him what they caused him to lose, or to die trying. On their oath and on pain of the hangman's noose, they are to give mercy to none, but run every last one of you through with their swords.[30]

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[27]Alain Joxe, *Voyage aux sources de la guerre*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1991), pp. 320-325.

[28]John Lynn, 'Honourable Surrender in Early Modern European History', in Holger Afflerbach and Hew Strachan (ed.), *How Fighting Ends: A History of Surrender*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 103.

[29]*Mémoires de la vie de François de Scepeaux, sire de Vieilleville et comte de Durestal, mareschal de France*, (Paris: Éd. du commentaire analytique du code civil, 1838), p. 148.

[30]Ibid., p. 350.

D'Andelot and his former Protestant rebels, now rallied to the king, raised the ante, shouting that should the city be taken by force, 'you will perish one and all, for on pain of death we are ordered no quarter shall be given, as the Mareschal made you very well aware.'[31] This polyphonic challenge sapped the courage of the defenders, and they capitulated as soon as the wall was breached. Such menacing summonses persisted throughout the seventeenth century. According to the critic Antoine Adam, Théophile de Viaux had written his sonnet on Clairac, which promised ruin to the city, to terrorise the defenders besieged by the troops of Louis XIII in August 1621.[32] In 1672, Turenne also exploited fear in his summonses to minor enemy posts during the invasion of the Dutch Republic. 'I shall see if the forts of Wort and Saint-André wish to know fear,' he wrote to Louvois before sending a few detachments of troops to escort the trumpeters charged with sounding a sturdy summons. The forts surrendered immediately without fighting.[33]

Mere threats did not systematically produce the desired result, however. On 27 March 1674, outside Arbois in Franche-Comté, Aspremont summoned the defenders with threats of rape for all girls, women and nuns, and the whip for all men.[34] But the approach of a column of rescuers did not give him the time to make good on his threats, revealing that his attempt at intimidation had very much been a bluff to secure victory through fear alone. This disconnect between language and the ability to act is found elsewhere: on 30 June 1689, Conrad de Rosen, commander of the Franco-Jacobite forces, who had been milling about the walls of Derry since 18 April, promised hell to the besieged if they did not surrender by the next day. It was a textual echo of the 'ravages' committed in the French sack of the Palatinate: the surrounding countryside would be thoroughly pillaged and razed; the inhabitants transported just outside the walls, whence their loved ones in the city would watch them starve to death.[35] The defenders would not be allowed to surrender, and no quarter would be given should the city fall. In the context of a civil war opposing two pretenders to the throne of England, and marked by denominational alterity, such radical discourse

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[31]Ibid., pp. 349-350.

[32]Adam Antoine, *Théophile de Viau et la libre pensée française en 1620*, (Geneva: Slatkine reprints, 2000), p. 263.

[33]Letter from Turenne to Louvois, camp of Bexel-sur-Wahal, 21 June 1672, in Henri Griffet (ed.), *Recueil de lettres pour servir d'éclaircissement à l'histoire militaire du règne de Louis XIV*, (The Hague: Paris, Antoine Boudet, 1760), vol. 1, pp. 51-53.

[34]Maurice Gresset, Pierre Gresser and Jean-Marc Debard, *Histoire de l'annexion de la Franche-Comté et du Pays de Montbéliard*, (Le Coteau: Horvath, 1988), p. 240.

[35]SHD, GR A¹ 895, fol 94, *Sommation de la ville de Derhy*; Émilie Dosquet, *Le feu et l'encre: la 'désolation du Palatinat'. Guerre et information politique dans l'Europe de Louis XIV (Angleterre, France, Provinces-Unies, Saint-Empire)*, (PhD diss., Université Paris 1 Panthéon-Sorbonne, 2017).

became a stopgap for situations of operational impasse.[36] Indeed, these threats were never carried out. The besiegers were poorly equipped and poorly fed, and were inexperienced and weakened by outbreaks of disease. They had no choice but to lift the siege, though Rosen's letter had wrought scandal.[37] James II, who wished to project the image of a protective father figure to his subjects despite their 'rebellion', disavowed the terror laden rhetoric of Louis XIV's Maréchal Général of the army in Ireland.

Because military summons were substantiated by terror practices that were periodically revisited, they were often quite efficient. Victors unleashed what might seem like disproportionate violence on a few unlucky victims, whether in civil war or in external conflicts. There was, however, a rationale behind this violence. Its military function was, precisely, to terrorise and intimidate. Terror was a strategic tool to shorten military operations by precipitating the surrender of neighbouring territories. Emotion became a weapon.[38]

Occasionally crossing the line of violence was rationalised in terms of political, economic and military gains. Resorting to a strategy of terror could indeed sap the enemy's aggression. Repressive acts made good deterrents. They softened the enemy, easing the way for the military operations that would follow, saving time, gunpowder and the lives of the troops.

Artillery attacks were a form of military terror, but the target was the entire urban community. Bombardments removed the distinction between combatant and non-combatant; the fires, death and destruction they caused were a direct threat to the lives and property of the population. The aim was to cause dissension in the besieged city, to transform the bourgeoisie into a fifth column, thereby forcing the garrison to hold siege against the enemy within as well as the one outside the walls. The inhabitants might then demand that the governor surrender and, if he refused, threaten insurrection. In *Treatise on the art of war (Travaux de Mars)*, published in 1672, Allain Manesson-Mallet warns defenders of a besieged town:

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[36]The notion of alterity incorporates the process of the social fabrication of the 'other', repeated in the discourses which forge an image of a repulsive other. To name a social group is to distinguish it from the 'self'. Christine Delphy, *Classer Dominer. Qui sont les 'autres'?*, (Paris: La Fabrique, 2008), p. 19 & p. 30.

[37]Émilie Dosquet and François-Xavier Petit, 'Faire scandale. Enjeux méthodologiques et approches historiographiques', *Hypothèses,* 16, (2013), pp. 217-226.

[38]In a forthcoming essay on terrorism, John Lynn defines it as the 'weaponization of emotions': John Lynn, *Another Kind of War: The Nature and History of Terrorism*, (Yale: Yale University Press, 2019), p. 19.

> If the Enemy […], by some deep covertway, boyau or simple trench, advance, from the outset, up to the very counterscarps of the city with the intention to bombard it; if he is upon you, ready to risk everything to take cities; then should the governor of the city confine, in the Churches, Temples, prisons and other strongholds, women, children and even those among the Bourgeois who show little zeal for defence, so that sedition, tumult and revolt among the people may be avoided.[39]

A wise warning for in 1678, the inhabitants of Stralsund – besieged by the troops of the Elector of Brandenburg and facing a hail of red-hot shots which set fire to their city – revolted against the garrison, raised white flags and forced the governor to capitulate. The desire to spread fear in civilians lead to bombardments being a relatively commonplace occurrence during the later wars of Louis XIV: Liège (1691), Brussels (1695), Geldern (1703) and Ostend (1706) were all targeted. In the eighteenth century, the development of *ius gentium*, or "law of nations", and an increase in the value of human life paradoxically led to the generalisation of this pressure tactic.[40]

The sacking and pillaging of cities were two further elements of military terrorism frequently implemented to precipitate the surrender of towns wanting to avoid the same fates as their neighbours. They were often accompanied by mass executions. The word 'massacre' was not new, but its use in designating a distinct category of killing increased over the course of the period.[41] In the short term, the operational efficiency of such a pedagogy of terror was quite remarkable. For example, the sack of Melphe in 1528 provoked a chain reaction of panic-induced surrenders: 'All of the other cities, great and small, yielded in terror of what had been so furiously executed in Melphe, and no one at all in the countryside dared resist any longer.'[42] In a similar manner, following the storming of Saint-Bony in 1540, which had resulted in the execution of the garrison and the pillage of the city, neighbouring cities decided to surrender at the first challenge:

> Considering the treatment of the citizens of Saint-Bony, and in sight of that great French army which had come, unexpected, they took such a fright that they surrendered, not waiting to for the first discharge, [and] relinquished four

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[39]Allain Manesson-Mallet, *Les Travaux de Mars, Troisième et dernière partie*, (Paris: Fréderic Léonard, 1672), p. 264.

[40]Hervé Drévillon and Olivier Wieviorka (ed.), *Histoire militaire de la France*, (Paris: Perrin/Ministère des armées, 2018), vol. 1, pp. 402-405.

[41]David El Kenz (ed.), *Le massacre, objet d'histoire*, (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), pp. 1-23.

[42]*Mémoires de la vie de François de Scepeaux, sire de Vieilleville et comte de Durestal, mareschal de France*, (Paris: Éd. du commentaire analytique du code civil, 1838), p. 11.

hundred men, every one as well armed and as good a soldier as there ever was in Italy.[43]

On the whole, the military execution of one city translated into enormous gains in terms of the time, effort and energy expended in war. 'Massacres' were used to set an example; in war, ignoring such a lesson meant feeling the full weight of the sovereign's vengeful sword. Such military and political reasons justified the harsh treatment of protestants cities and fortresses at the end of the Huguenots rebellion in 1628-1629. On 20 July 1629, Louis XIII, in his Edict of Grace (*Edit de Grace de Nîmes*), explained that assault, sack and massacre of Privas, in the Vivarais, were justified to re-established the obedience of the other Protestant strongholds. Refusing surrender and ending lives were efficient methods, as we see in the following:

> This punishment made others more prudent. Not only did upper and lower Vivarais swear fealty to us and meet their duty, several other cities and forts did the same. Their rebellions were pardoned, letters of remission drawn up, and their fortifications and walls, which had given them hope but were the cause of their suffering, demolished.[44]

Louis XIII believed that the exactions demanded by the royal troops encouraged the more expeditious surrender of other Protestant centres, which capitulated one after the other. Such behaviour was even encouraged, in the second half of the seventeenth century, by Montecuccoli, who coined the principle that one should 'treat those well who surrender and ill [those] who resist'.[45]

On the field, executions were conducted by a category of soldiers who summoned all sorts of fearful imaginings. They sourced their tactics – which some observers judged transgressive – from particularly warlike cultures. Some units provoked such panic in the imagination that adversaries would turn tail at the mere rumour of their approach. Born from their tactics and a refusal of the accepted codes of war, their reputations and their image preceded them. Indeed, they rebuffed practices normally held in high esteem, such as sparing the life of a vanquished enemy or taking prisoners. This refusal to follow the norms of a 'good war' was meant to spread fear in the enemy. The mottos, 'outfit', and equipment of these units all promoted violence; violence was their

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[43]Martin Du Bellay, *Mémoires des choses advenues depuis l'an mille cent treize…,* (Clermont-Ferrand: Paleo, 2002-2003), Vol. 4, p. 80..

[44]Quoted by Hervé Drévillon, *Les rois absolus,* (Paris: Belin, 2011), p. 14..

[45]Raimondo Montecuccoli, *Mémoires de Montecuculi, généralissime des troupes de l'empereur…,* (Paris: Savoye, 1746), p. 87. English trans. source: Beatrice Heuser, *Strategy Before Clausewitz: Linking Warfare and Statecraft, 1400-1830,* p. 154.

'identifier'.[46] They cultivated a 'culture of carnage', understood as the sum of the attitudes and behaviours of defiance toward the dominant culture of chivalry. It was characterised by a more frequent denial of surrender and by the pursuit of violence as an end in itself. The displays of 'cruelties' were not gratuitous, but a form of discourse. The bodies of their victims were the medium.

Figure 1: Nicolas Guérard, *L'art militaire ou les exercices de Mars ca. 1693*.[47]

Lightly armed troops were specialists in *la petite guerre* – the irregular, everyday operations of a campaign: going on reconnaissance patrols, capturing prisoners, ambushing enemy convoys, levying contributions. These troops built an image deliberately designed to strike fear in the adversary.[48] This was especially the case of

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[46]Rémi Masson, *Défendre le roi, la maison militaire au XVIIe siècle*, (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2017), p. 284.

[47]*Livre à dessiner*, Paris, N. Guérard, ca. 1693, plate 11; https://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/guerard_art_militaire/0026. Accessed 2 April 2020.

[48]Bertrand Fonck and George Satterfield, 'The Essence of War: French Armies and Small War in the Low Countries (1672-1697)', in *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, pp. 767-783; George Satterfield, *Princes, Posts and Partisans*, *The Army of Louis XIV and Partisan Warfare in the Netherlands (1673-1678)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2003) chapter III; Sandrine Picaud-Monnerat, *La petite guerre au XVIIIe siècle*, (Paris: Economica, 2010); see also the

hussars, whom La Colonie described as 'bandits on horseback'.[49] Hussar regiments were initially composed of cavalry mainly originating from Central Europe, and particularly from Hungary and Germany. Some had defected from the Imperial army. Their numbers were rapidly augmented with local troops, but they preserved their 'Oriental' appearance despite the subsequent disconnect with their geographical origins. Their appearance rapidly became part of wartime folklore. The dreaded units were singled out and marginalised; the transgressions of war could be ascribed to these reputedly foreign warriors, thus absolving the regular troops.[50]

Everything, from their uniform (a shako topped with a plume which added to the height of the combatant, the wolf skin they wore on their shoulders) and their weapons (the sabre and axe reputed to facilitate the decapitation of their adversaries) to their tactics, drew on an oriental mythology which conjured images of the dreaded Ottoman, Mongolian, and so-called 'Croat', 'Albanian' or 'Cossack' light cavalry, or again the *stratioti*, *jinete* or *sipahi*. The horsemen reputedly took no prisoners. They embodied the presumed savagery of a war fought *à la turque, à l'orientale*, and largely wrought from fancy. In his *Livre à dessiner* published in 1693, Nicolas Guérard depicts them as savage steppe horsemen in wolf skins, a feathered headdress and a moustache. His engravings show predators hunting in packs, decapitating their foes and displaying the heads of their hapless victims on the points of their sabres. These post-mortem mutilations evoked images of the war as a hunt. The enemy was animalised, a butcher's carcass from which one carved proof of successful slaughter.[51] The collecting and exhibiting of these macabre trophies, if only in a drawing book, shows how widespread this notion was in the eyes of the public and tells of the fear it instilled in the enemy. Their performativity seemed uncontested and their image and the associated topoi had a measurable effect on the behaviour of combatants: in 1704, La Colonie threw himself in the Danube despite barely knowing how to swim in order to escape imperial

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contributions of Benjamin Deruelle, Bertrand Fonck, Guillaume Lasconjarias and George Satterfield in the studies on 'La petite guerre', *Revue historique des armées*, p. 286, (2017).

[49]Jean-François Martin de La Colonie, *Mémoires*, p. 235.

[50]André Corvisier (ed.), *Les hussards et la France*, (Paris: Musée de l'Armée/Complexe, 1993); Raymond Boisseau, 'La petite guerre et les hussards du roi', in Yves-Marie Bercé, Philippe Contamine and André Corvisier (ed.), *Combattre, gouverner, écrire, Mélanges Jean Chagniot*, (Paris: Commission Française d'Histoire Militaire, Institut de Stratégie Comparée Paris 1 Sorbonne and Éd. Économica, 2003), pp. 161-181; Raymond Boisseau, *Histoire des officiers de hussards de l'Ancien Régime*, (Paris: Archives et culture, 2017).

[51]Christian Ingrao, *Les chasseurs noirs. La brigade Dirlewanger*, (Paris: Perrin, 2009), p. 186.

hussars.[52] Indeed, their frequent refusal to allow surrender set these troops apart; they valorised a form of honour that was – if not paradoxical – at the very least un-chivalric. It was based on a macabre sort of economics measured in murders, a grisly benchmark of bravery and military prowess. Early one morning in July 1711, the hussars of the Comte de Gassion discovered an allied encampment between Goeuzlin and Douai. Villars reported the operations to Louis XIV and seemingly vaunting the slaughter of the surprised and unarmed men, related that

> most had not time to reach for their arms and in general were taken or killed. We gave very little quarter; our hussars claim they each killed five or six men and since they carry their sabres with such agility, one cannot but think that they have strayed little from the truth.[53]

Executions such as these were the basis of their reputation as 'crazy butchers'.

Like the hussars, shock or assault troops were rarely inclined to give quarter to the enemy. It was a consequence of their mission: these troops were tasked with the bloody, risky operations of storming a breach – the ultimate phase in siege operations and the acme of wartime brutalities. Physically eliminating an adversary nullified the chances that he could attack his capturer if the tide turned during battle, while killing allowed a soldier to exact vengeance for the death of fallen brothers in arms. The accumulation of losses in the initial phases of the assault also provoked the fear that drove defenders to cede terrain. The close-quarter arsenal of assault troops was not designed to take prisoners. Grenades, pistols fired at contact range, and bladed and edged weapons, were used to kill or to force the enemy into flight. Operational necessities, a vendetta principle and internalised violence all came together when these troops entered the battlefield. The mounted grenadiers and the Grey Musketeers, elite troops of the Maison du Roi, specialised in these assaults. They emphatically proclaimed a culture of universal rejection of surrender and destruction of the enemy. Even their heraldic devices reflected this. Grenadiers – recruited purely on merit and almost exclusively among commoners – overturned the codes of true chivalric warfare and boasted that they never took prisoners. They adopted the bone-chilling *Undique Terror, undique Lethum* ('Terror everywhere, death everywhere') and, like the hussars, invested their uniform with 'Oriental' folklore. They were meticulous about their appearance, sporting high fur hats, moustaches and braiding, all intended to inspire

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[52]Jean-François Martin de La Colonie, *Mémoires,* pp. 276-277.
[53]Letter from Villars to the king, camp of Prieuré Saint-Michel, 12 July 1711, ed. by Jean-Jacques Pelet and François-Eugène Vault, *Mémoires militaires relatifs à la succession d'Espagne* …, (Paris: Imprimerie royale, puis nationale et impériale, 1835-1862), Vol. 10, p. 623.

fear.[54] The Musketeers adopted a motto that was every bit as terrifying: 'Death and destruction'. Their standard figured a bomb blasting a city, in echo of their specific role in siege warfare.[55] Every one of their engagements ended in a blood bath and their reputations as killers proceeded them. In Valenciennes, in 1677, the simple fact that they appeared was enough to paralyse the enemy. Quarré d'Aligny relates the assault of the musketeers, the guard and the mounted grenadiers, which turned into a slaughter of the petrified defenders:

> We were killing people who put up no defence, […] the enemies were fleeing through the Noir Mouton Gate. The grenadiers of the Maison du Roi who were mixed in with our detachment killed such a great number of soldiers that the entrance was clogged with the bodies of the dead, and the ditch was filled so that there were no longer means to pass except by the sluice gate. I attempted to enter, knowing that the king's musketeers, of which I am one, had been first to enter and had my back.[56]

In a like manner, in Namur in June 1692, musketeers, mounted grenadiers and infantry grenadiers launched an attack on one of the citadel's redoubts: 'Though great in number, the enemy put up no defence. Having discharged once, they took flight. It was then that many perished by the sabre or the sword.'[57] Fear did its duty: panic overtook the enemy, who then yielded. Such assaults would be periodically repeated. Their goal was to terrify the enemy, destroy his moral, and expedite the surrender of neighbouring towns.

Criminalising fear
But if surrender allowed the soldier to avoid the fury of an assault, it offered no guarantee to the unfortunate governor who had ordered the drums to beat a parley. A breach of the signed agreement of capitulation was always a possibility, but the even greater risk was of judicial action. The political leaders who had entrusted the governor with the defence of a fortification might feel that the decision to cease fighting had been unjustified. The unfortunate captains faced the likelihood of dishonour and of standing trial for 'cowardice and treason'.[58]

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[54]Masson, *Défendre le roi…*, pp. 286-290.

[55]Rémi Masson, *Les mousquetaires ou la violence de l'État*, (Paris: Vendémiaire, 2013), pp. 86-90.

[56]Pierre Quarré d'Aligny, *Mémoires des campagnes,* (Beaune: A. Batault, 1886), p. 98.

[57]Letter from Barbézieux to the maréchal de Lorges, Namur, 13 June 1692, ed. by Henri Griffet, *Recueil de lettres,* vol. 8, pp. 162-163.

[58]Paul Vo-Ha, *Rendre les armes, le sort des vaincus, XVIe-XVIIe siècles*, (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2017), pp. 243-284; Yves-Marie Bercé, 'Les capitaines malheureux', in Yves-Marie Bercé (ed.), *Les procès politiques (XIVe-XVIIe siècle)*, (Rome: EFR, 2007), pp. 35-60.

Giving way to fear in this way made the unfortunate captains vulnerable to loss of honour. As we see in the passage below, the surrender of Montmedy in 1552 ruined the symbolic capital of the imperial captains charged with defending it.[59]

> The captains who found themselves within Montmedy, frightened by the fall of Damvilliers and Yvoy, which they had thought impregnable, offered themselves up for surrender before the summons was even sounded. They were denounced as lily-livered cowards, for they had been roughly two thousand well-armed men of war. Signalled by a single hoisted standard and one beating drum, they surrendered the city to save their own lives, arms and baggage; they abandoned the artillery and military stores.[60]

This controversial surrender was judged hasty and unjustified. It ruined the reputations of the men who had thought to gain much when they had accepted the mission of defending the city. '[When] this foolishness was related to the king […], he said that the Queen of Hungary must have given the charge to some beer brewer in order to please her nursemaid.'[61] The captain charged with the city's defence had failed in his duty: fear was a sentiment that, when unmastered, was unbefitting a gentleman. In refusing to pay the blood price, in giving in to fear, he was symbolically stripped of his nobility. No longer a gentleman but a vile commoner, who practised a menial craft, prospered because of a woman's favour and – worse still – because of a foreigner. This threefold transgression created the image of a world turned upside down and exposed the unfortunate governor to his social downfall.

In addition to dishonour – by definition a public sanction – there might also be judicial consequences. Fear became a criminal offense when transformed into an accusation of cowardice and treason. The judicialisation of surrenders judged too hasty was already well established. Since the sixteenth century, several affairs had resulted in convictions following profoundly political proceedings of extraordinary justice. Such cases often found scapegoats to punish. In 1523, for example, Captain Fanget was stripped of his noble title on a scaffold in Lyons for the crime of ceding Fontarabie to the Spanish.[62] In the same manner, Jacques de Coucy-Vervins was condemned to death

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[59]Paul Vo-Ha, 'L'honneur du gouverneur, XVIᵉ-XVIIᵉ siècles', in Nicolas Le Roux and Martin Wrede (ed.), *Noblesse oblige, Identités et engagements aristocratiques à l'époque moderne,* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2017), pp. 163-182.

[60] *Mémoires de la vie de François de Scepeaux, sire de Vieilleville…*, p. 148.

[61] Ibid, p. 148.

[62]Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF), ms. fr. 18428, fol. 85: *Peines ordonnées contre ceux qui ont perdu les places fortes par lâcheté et faute de courage ou par leur négligence.*

for surrendering Boulogne to the English in 1544.[63] Vervins' father-in-law, Maréchal Oudard du Biez, was a collateral victim in the affair. Abandoned by the houses of Montmorency as well as Guise, who had both been his patrons, and out of favour with Henry II, he was tried for treason and misappropriation of public funds. Some of the key witnesses in the trial were close to the new king and bitter enemies of the Maréchal.[64]

The crime of lese-majesty was a conveniently pliant offence. It was used to sentence to death the two accused, judged by *commissaires* in a 'chambre de la Reine'.[65] Vervins was beheaded in 1549 and while Oudar du Biez was pardoned he died disgraced in 1553. The government of Richelieu was marked by the rationalised banality of an extraordinary justice adapted to the 'necessities' of war.[66] The campaign of 1636, with Spanish parties advancing to the fringes of Paris, was a decisive moment in the process of the criminalisation of fear. It ended in the trial of three governors of the towns of La Capelle, Le Catelet and Corbie. Jurists in the pocket of the regime, eager to create a framework for the crime of precipitate surrender, introduced a significant shift in the definition: cowardice, a condition of moral bankruptcy, was morphed into treason, which was a crime against the state. Under Séguier and Richelieu, jurisprudence was created to establish the crime.[67] Prior to this, temporary special courts had ruled on a case-by-case basis with little foundation. But the exceptional procedures would rapidly become formalised and codified. In particular, the commission of governors now required that the besieged wait for the opening of a breach and make an attempt repel at least one assault before considering surrender. A permanent state of

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[63]Ibid., *Reddition de la ville de Boulogne-sur-mer*, fol. 90 and 137.

[64]David Potter, *Un homme de guerre au temps de la Renaissance: la vie et les lettres d'Oudart du Biez, maréchal de France, gouverneur de Boulogne et de Picardie (vers 1475-1553)*, (Arras: Artois Presses Université, 2001); David Potter, 'A Treason Trial in Sixteenth-Century France: the Fall of Marshal du Biez, 1547-1551', *English Historical Review*, 105 (1990), pp. 595-623.

[65]Benjamin Deruelle, 'Au préjudice de la fidélité, du droit et de la nature. Les usages de la lèse-majesté dans le discours monarchique à la noblesse de France (1560-1598)', *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, 67, 1, (2020) pp. 153-179; Mario Sbriccoli, *Crimen laesae maiestatis: il problema del reato politico alle soglie della scienza penalistica moderna*, (Milano: Giufre, 1974).

[66]Hélène Fernandez-Lacôte, *Les procès du cardinal de Richelieu. Droit, grâce et politique sous Louis le Juste*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2010).

[67]BnF, Cangé, Rés F. 167, fol. 32, *Pour montrer que la Loy des armes veut que ceux qui commandent aux armées ou dans les places meurent plutost que de faire une Lacheté, une mort honteuse leur estant reservée pour les obliger à en rechercher une plus glorieuse en se deffendant*, n.d.; fol. 64, *Peines imposées contre ceux qui commettent à la guerre quelque lacheté ou trahison*.

emergency became the normal state of affairs in war and cases of surrender naturally fell under the jurisdiction of the *conseils de guerre*. These special courts, documented in the early 1630's, gathered army or provincial *intendants* and members of the military hierarchy to act as prosecuting officers (*commissaires*).

This system condemned and dishonoured in compliance with the regime, as evidenced by the trial of Dupas, governor of Naerden, accused of cowardice and treason for precipitate surrender in 1673. His defence of the city had lasted a mere four days, far from the 48 recommended by Vauban in his *Traité de la défense des places*.[68] In an attempt to defend his reputation, Dupas tried to justify his surrender in a small printed *Mémoire*, putting his case before the public.[69] After recalling his long spotless career in the king's army, he explained, just as he did in front of the *conseil de guerre* that the fortifications were crumbling and that his garrison was composed of inexperienced soldiers who lacked everything. He then accused Marshal Luxembourg of letting him down, arguing that he could have rescued the place, and finally presented himself as a scapegoat for the fall of the French position in the Netherlands, a victim of Luxembourg's plot and favour. But this strategy of publication did not save him. Degraded, humiliated and imprisoned in Grave, Dupas would volunteer to take part in a sally. He restored his honour by dying in the operation, a genuine protest suicide to demonstrate the iniquity of the judgement handed down by the *conseil de guerre*.[70] His heroic sacrifice was even mentioned in the *Gazette de France*, the court journal. Like Dupas, dozens of unfortunate captains and governors from all over Europe fell to the mercy of royal or State special courts between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Pain-et-Vin was a scapegoat executed in 1673 on orders of the Prince of Orange, following the French invasion in the beginning of the Dutch war. At the start of the War of the Spanish Succession, Arco, the governor of Breisach, was beheaded by order of the emperor.[71] Lally-Tollendal was accused of treason following the surrender of Pondicherry during the Seven Years' War.[72] These unfortunate commanders were invariably condemned to shaming punishments and, periodically, to death. Recourse to such a 'spectacle of the scaffold' established fear as a tool of the

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[68]Sébastien Le Prestre Vauban, *Traité de la défense des places*, in Michèle Virol (ed.), *Les oisivetés de Monsieur de Vauban*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2007), pp. 1361-1362.

[69] BnF, Cangé, Rés. F. 167, fol. 176, *Mémoire servant à la justification de Philippe de Procé, sieur Dupas…*, 1673.

[70]Paul Vo-Ha, 'Trahir le Prince: la reddition de Naerden (1673)', in Laurey Braguier-Gouverneur and Florence Piat (ed.), *Normes et transgressions dans l'Europe de la première modernité*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013), pp. 159-172.

[71]Saint-Simon, *Mémoires,* ed. by Yves Coirault, (Paris: Gallimard, 1987-1990), Vol. 2, p. 429.

[72]Pierre-Antoine Perrod, *L'affaire Lally-Tolendal. Une erreur judiciaire au 18ᵉ siècle*, (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1976).

government: the spectator, principal protagonist in these public executions, must shake with fear and always keep in mind the cost of disobedience.[73]

Conclusion

Practitioners and theoreticians of war in the Early Modern era were highly conscious of the role fear played in combat. To win the clash of emotions that would ensure victory in battle, they attempted to limit the fear felt by their own men and amplify it in the enemy. States penalised fear and punished surrender when judged unjustified or premature. The dishonour and death that awaited officers in the case of moral failure was to be feared far more than the honourable death that they might meet in doing their duty.

Like war or governance, fear was an art. It became a tactical, strategic and political tool to be summoned or banished as needed. But coercion was only one aspect of fear management. Its opposite, bravery, was also well rewarded: after his lengthy defence of Lille in 1708, Bouffers received a hero's welcome at court and was granted titles, offices and pensions for his bravery – a virtue which did not consist in denying fear, but in surmounting it.[74] Officers who overcame their fear with courage were handsomely recompensed with the 'wages of war', which took the form of honours as well as gold. The rank and file might occasionally be awarded such promotions and pensions, or even induction into the Invalides at the end of an illustrious career but they were still largely excluded from such rewards. A gulf divided the officer from the common ranks; the reign of Louis XIV did not yet acknowledge the 'honour of simple soldiers'.[75]

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[73]Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 51-58; Pascal Bastien, *L'exécution publique à Paris au XVIIIe siècle. Une histoire des rituels judiciaires*, (Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2006).

[74]Saint-Simon, *Mémoires*, vol. 3, pp. 317-322.

[75]Arnaud Guinier, *L'honneur du soldat, Éthique martiale et discipline guerrière dans la France des Lumières*, (Ceyzérieu: Champ Vallon, 2014).

SUBMISSION GUIDELINES (March 2020)

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The British Journal of Military History (the BJMH or Journal) welcomes the submission of articles on military history in the broadest sense, and without restriction as to period or region. The BJMH particularly welcomes articles on subjects that might not ordinarily receive much attention but which clearly show the topic has been properly researched.

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Articles should be a minimum of 6000 words and no more than 8000 words in length (including footnotes) and be set out according to the BJMH Style Guide which is based on the Chicago Manual of Style.

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The reviewer's name, and an institutional affiliation if relevant, should be appended at the bottom of the review, name in Capitals and Institution in lower case with both to be right aligned.

Reviews of a single work should not contain any footnotes, but if the text refers to any other works then their author, title and year should be apparent in order for readers to be able to identify them. The Editorial Team and Editorial Board may on occasion seek to commission longer Review Articles of a group of works, and these may contain footnotes with the same formatting and standards used for articles in the Journal.

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Use Gill Sans MT 10 Point for all article and book review submissions, including footnotes.

Text should be justified.

Paragraphs do not require indenting.

Line spacing should be single and a single carriage return applied between paragraphs.

Spellings should be anglicised: i.e. –ise endings where appropriate, colour etc., 'got' not 'gotten'.

Verb past participles: -ed endings rather than –t endings are preferred for past participles of verbs i.e. learned, spoiled, burned. While is preferred to whilst.

Contractions should not be used i.e. 'did not' rather than 'didn't'.

Upon first reference the full name and title of an individual should be used as it was as the time of reference i.e. On 31 July 1917 Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig, Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force (BEF), launched the Third Battle of Ypres.

All acronyms should be spelled out in full upon first reference with the acronym in brackets, as shown in the example above.

Dates should be written in the form 20 June 2019.

When referring to an historical figure, e.g. King Charles, use that form, when referring to the king later on in the text, use king in lower case.

Foreign words or phrases such as *weltanschauung* or *levée en masse* should be italicised.

STYLE GUIDE

Footnoting:
- All references should be footnotes not endnotes.
- Footnote numeral should come at the end of the sentence and after the full stop.
- Multiple references in a single sentence or paragraph should be covered by a single footnote with the citations divided by semi-colons.

Quotations:
- Short (less than three lines of continuous quotation): placed in single quotation marks unless referring to direct speech and contained within that paragraph. Standard footnote at end of sentence.
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- Punctuation leading into quotations is only necessary if the punctuation itself would have been required were the quotation not there. i.e. : ; and , should only be present if they were required to begin with.
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- Michael Howard, 'Men against Fire: The Doctrine of the Offensive in 1914', in Peter Paret (ed.), *Makers of Modern Strategy*, (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), pp. 510-526.
- The UK National Archives (TNA), CAB 19/33, Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Sclater, evidence to Dardanelles Commission, 1917.
- Shilpa Ganatra, 'How Derry Girls Became an Instant Sitcom Classic', *The Guardian*, 13 February 2018 https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2018/feb/13/derry-girls-instant-sitcom-classic-schoolgirls-northern-ireland. Accessed 1 January 2019.

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