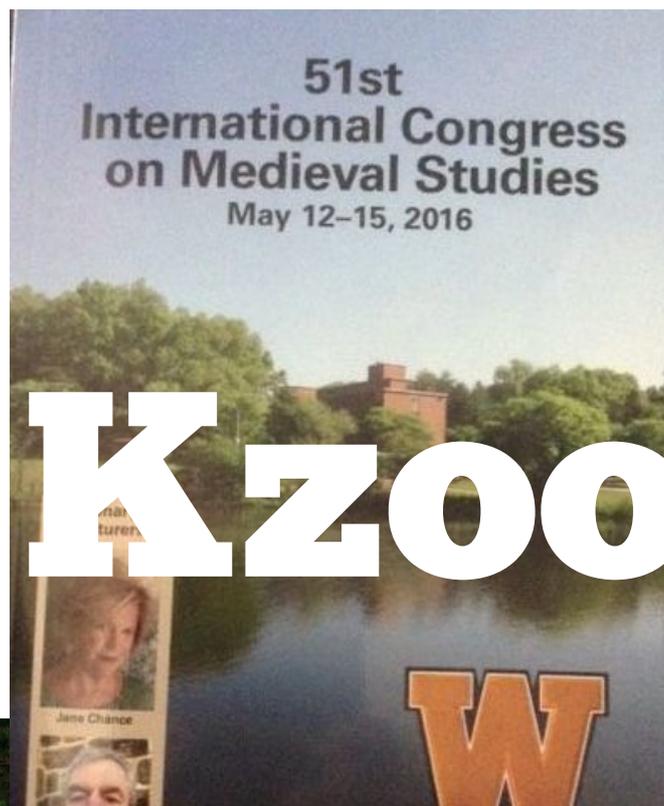


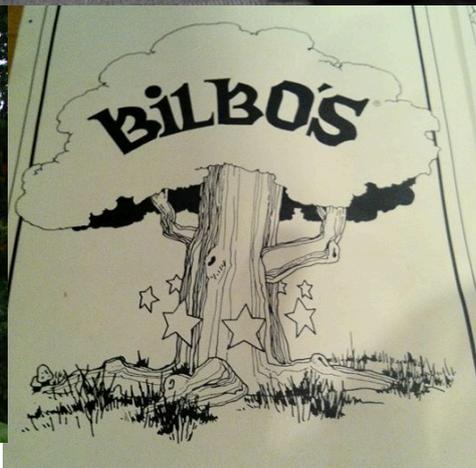
# The Medieval Magazine

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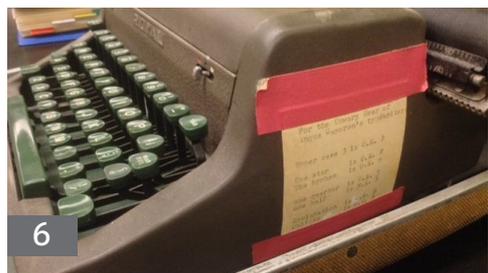
May 9, 2016



# Kzoo 2016



Dictionary of Old English



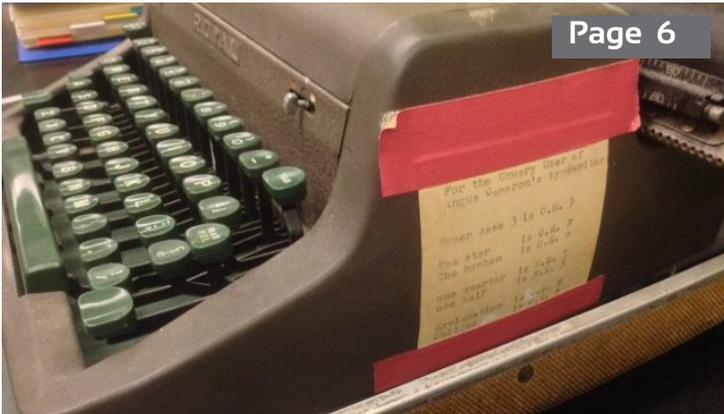
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Anne of Brittany, Queen of France



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## Dictionary of Old English gets \$160,000 in funding

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Danielle Trynoski gives us the Do's and Don'ts when attending the International Congress of Medieval Studies.



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Daniele Cybulskie remembers her first trip to Kalamazoo.



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## THE MEDIEVAL MAGAZINE

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# Medieval women better dressed than men, researcher finds

Women in the Middle Ages often wore better quality clothes than men. This is one of the conclusions drawn by Leiden archaeologist Chrystel Brandenburgh, who studied textile remnants from the period from 400 to 1000 A.D. She will be defending her PhD dissertation this month at the University of Leiden.

Apart from differences in the clothes worn by men and women, Brandenburgh also found many regional variations in textile use. Women in Rhenen and Wijchen, for example, were mostly buried in linen cloth, whereas Brandenburgh found twill cloth in the graves of men in the region. In Lent-Lentseveld, on the other hand, she found no traces of linen in women's graves, but linen was found in the graves of men and children.

## Searching in museums and archives

In other countries, research on textiles has really taken off in recent decades, but no comparable development has been seen in the Netherlands, Brandenburgh explains. For her PhD research she searched in museums and archives for textile remnants from burial grounds and settlements spread over the Netherlands. The textile remnants from sites that have already been excavated have in most cases not been described at all or only described very summarily. 'In the collection at the Museum of Antiquity, for example, I found two pieces of clothing that people didn't even realise existed.'

## Cloth disintegrated

There was generally very little left of the material that she found. 'You have to imagine that people were put into their graves completely clothed. In many cases, they were buried with all kinds of gifts that were also wrapped in cloth, and then sometimes there was even another cloth on top of that. Of all that material, you might find just a couple of remnants of about a square centimetre.' The cloth has often completely disintegrated and all you can see is the impression left by the cloth in the worn layer on metal accessories like clasps and pins.



15h century Book of Hours Genève, Bibliothèque de Genève, Ms. lat. 33, p. 4r –  
Book of Hours - Image: e-codices / Flickr

## Reconstructing garments

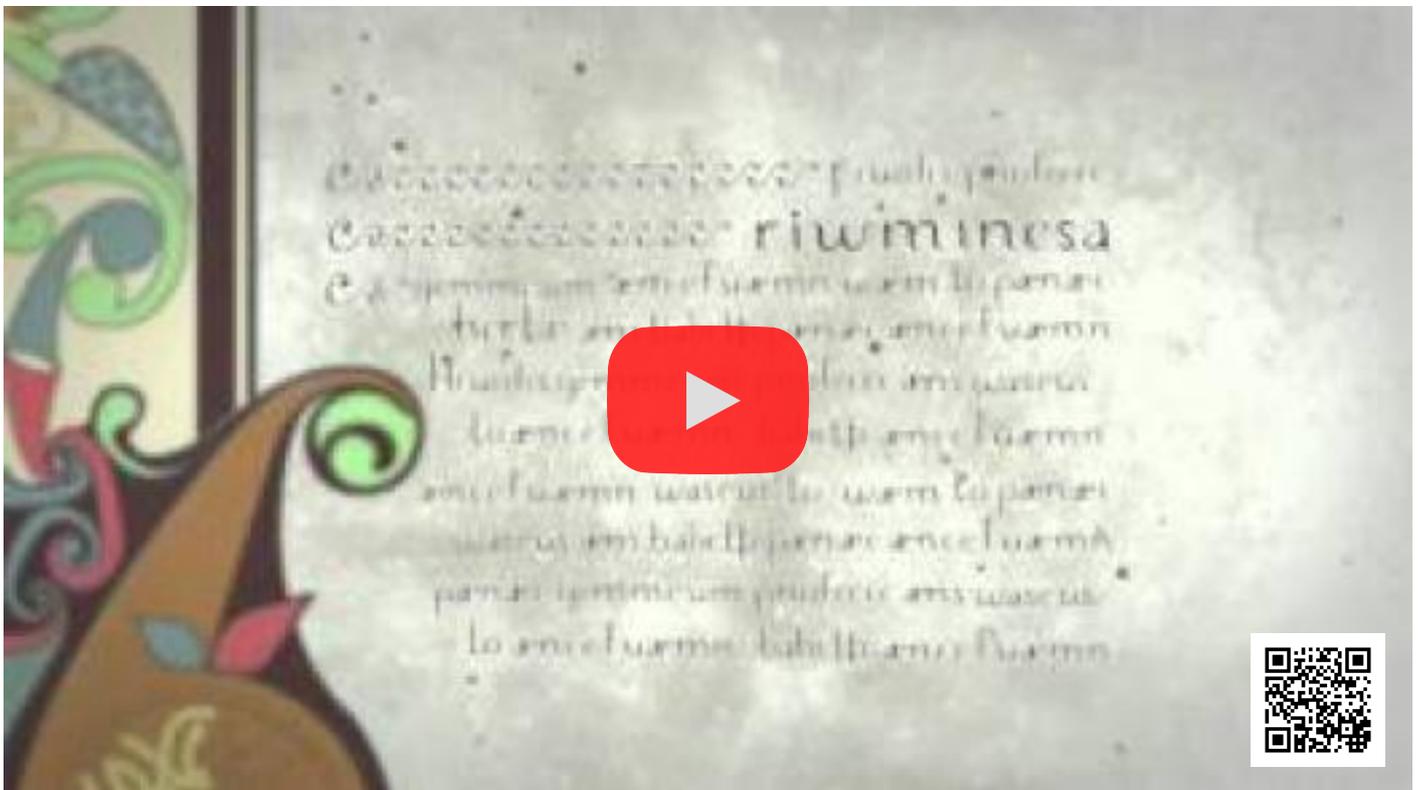
The people buried in the graves often wore several layers of clothes over one another, Brandenburgh concludes after analysing the textile remnants. 'But I generally have to hazard a guess at the shape and cut of the garments: there isn't enough information available to be certain.' She did carry out some experiments on the material, from which she was able to determine the type of material and for a limited number of the samples she could also determine the colour. What she discovered was that the red colour found in clothes from burial mounds in the northern Netherlands came from the common madder plant and the dark brown colour came from other sources. 'I discovered, for example, that a brown hat was made of brown wool that had been dyed even darker. I was able to see this because there was some decorative stitching on the hat that hadn't been dyed.'

## Clothes have meaning

Clothing provides valuable information about people, according to Brandenburgh. 'It's functional, but it also expresses the identity or position of the wearer.' She regards her research as the starting point for further studies on textiles. 'I have concentrated only on the textile remnants found because so little research has been done in this field. But there is more information to be gained from the other contents of the grave, which can add to our knowledge.' New excavation techniques like CT and 3D scans and isotope research make it possible to draw further conclusions about clothing.

# Dictionary of Old English gets 160,000 in funding

The Dictionary of Old English, a project aimed at collecting and defining all the words from Old English texts written between the years 600 and 1150, has received \$160,000 in funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) earlier this spring, enough money to keep the project going for two years.

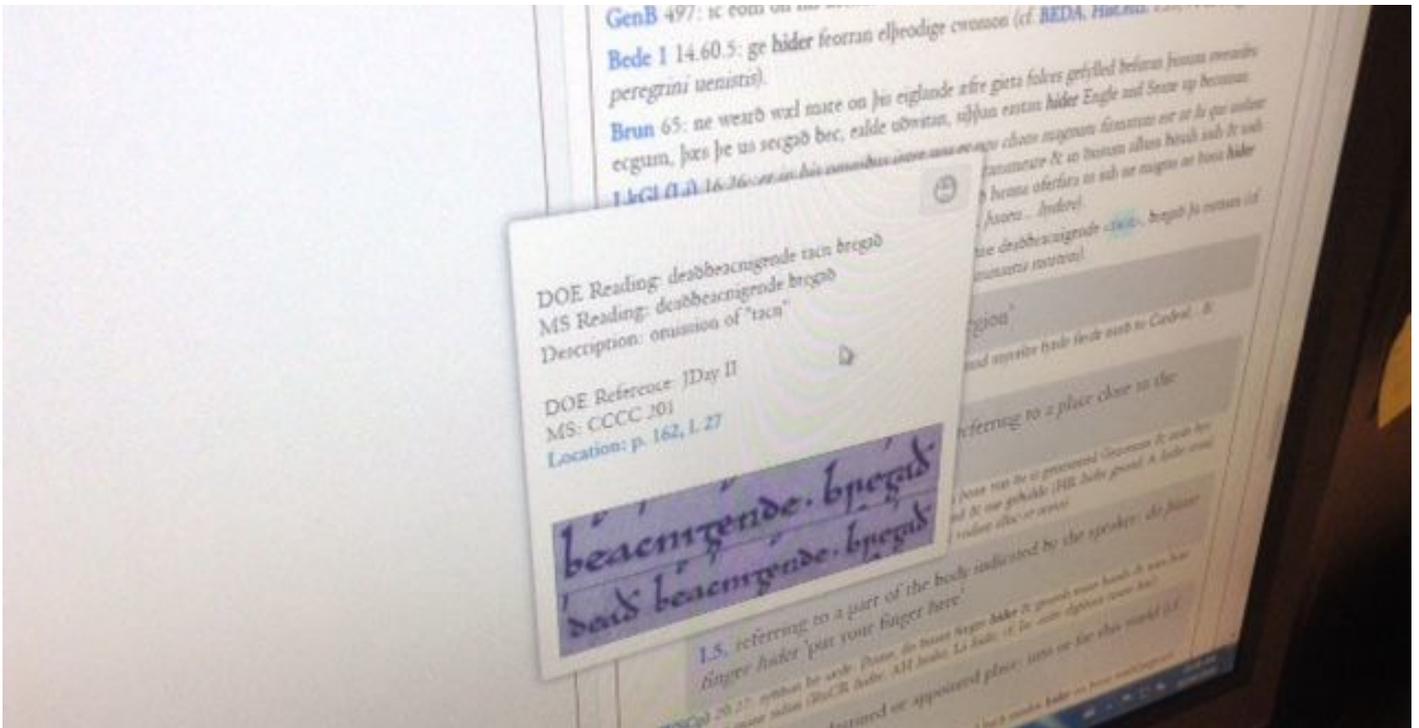


In March the NEH announced \$21.1 million in grants for 248 humanities projects, but this is the only money being given to an institution in Canada. Operating out of the University of Toronto, the Dictionary of Old English began about 35 years ago to provide a standard reference work for scholars of the language.

The project has now completed two-thirds of the words, and this year will be publishing the entries beginning with the letter H, one of the most important in the language.

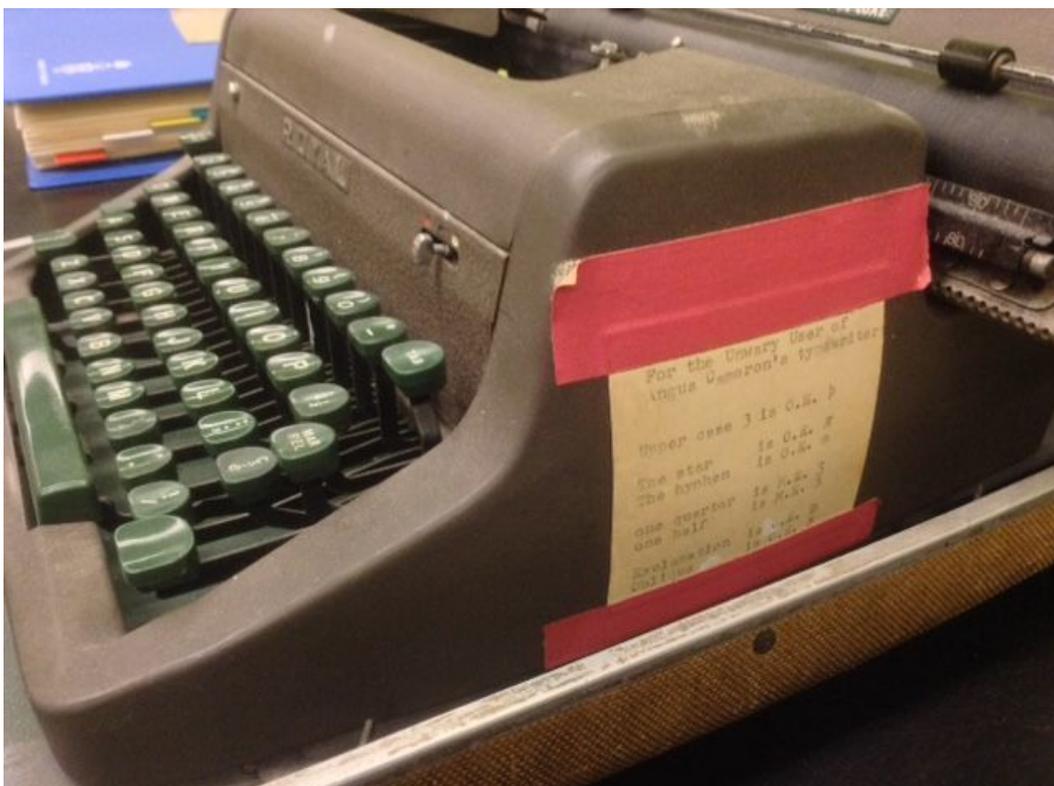
Members of the project team have been working on this letter for seven years, since there are about 3,000 words beginning with H.

Besides offering invaluable information to scholars of Old English, the project has been extremely useful to understanding the history of the English language. The Dictionary of Old English also works with the Middle English Dictionary as well as the Oxford English Dictionary.



**The Dictionary of Old English will also be unveiling a new website this summer, with even more features for users.**

The \$160,000 grant from the NEH is divided into two parts - \$80,000 automatically, and another \$80,000 contingent on receiving matching donations. The Dictionary of Old English is now looking to fundraise this money, and contributions can be provided through their website <http://doe.utoronto.ca/>



**A typewriter belonging to Angus Cameron, one of the founders of the DOE, with instructions on how to type Old English letters.**

# A Word from the Dictionary of Old English

## hand-ge-writ

Alternative spelling: handgewrit, handgewryt | hondgiwrit (DurRit) || handgewrite  
12 occurrences

### 1. signature, autograph

Bede 5 17.460.10: Wilfrið Gode se leofa bysceop Eoforwicceastre... for eallum norðdæle Breotone & Hibernia þam ealande... soðne geleafan & rihtgelyfedne wæs andettende, & mid his handgewrite getrymede (cf. BEDA. Hist.eccl. 5.19, 524 et cum subscriptione [var. scriptione] sua corroborauit).

Ch IWM (Douglas 7) 59: we gefæstnodan eac þas kartan mid uran agenum handgewrite and mid ures insigeles onðryste to þam þat þara foresprecenan stowe freedom on ecnysse þurhwunie (cf. BL, Harley 76, fol. 140 manus nostre subscriptione cartam hanc decreuimus roborare et sigilli nostri impressione firmare).

### 2. document in one's own hand, deed, contract; also by extension: bond

ÆCHom I, 30 435.190: sum man wæs mid drycræfte bepæht swa ðæt he Criste wiðsoc. & awrat his handgewrit þam awrygedan deofle. & him manrædene befæste.

ÆLS (Basil) 423: ða cwæð se dædbeta, þa deoflu cumað to me, and me swiðe geegsiað, and eac swylce torfiað, and habbað him on hande min agen handgewryt (cf. Vit.Basil. 11.75 tenentes manuscriptam meam).

ÆLS (Basil) 445: ne sohte ic na hine, ac he sylf com to me, her ic habbe his handgewryt þæt ic hit gehealde mid me to þam gemænelican dome on þam mycclum dæge; ða cwæð se halga wer, we clypiað to ðam hælende... oð þæt þu þæt handgewryt agife (cf. Vit.Basil. 11.99 ecce manuscriptum habeo... donec reddas manuscriptum).

HomU 35.1 208: and drihten sende his agen handgewrit on Sanctus Petrus heahaltare <in> his circan, þær mæst manna færð, þæt he get wolde his mildheortnesse on us gecyðan (HomU 35.2 171 handgewrit).

HyGl 2 51.3: precamur ergo subditi redemptione liberi, ut eruat a saeculo, quos solvit a cyrographo we biddað, s. Christum, eornostlice underðeodde alysednysse, s. & frige þæt he generige, s. nos, fram worulde þa ðe he tolysdæ fram handgewrite, s. diaboli (HyGl 3 handgewrite; cf. Col 2:14).

DurRitGl 1 32.21: repelle domine conscriptum peccati lege chyrographum eft adrif driht' giwritt' synnes æe hondgiwrit.

### 3. glossing manufactum 'something made by hand' (ref. to the idols of Egypt), ? as if manuscriptum 'something written by hand', ? or in error for a form of handgeweorc (given as an alternative gloss)

AldV 13.1 3710: manufacta, s. simulacra handgeweorce, handgewrite (AldV 1 3599 manufacta handgeweorthe simulata; from ALDH. Pros.virg. 38, 287.6 ecce dominus... veniet in Aegiptum et commovebuntur manufacta Aegiptiorum a facie eius [cf. Is 19:1 (vet.lat.); cf. Vulgate simulacra Aegypti]; cf. handgeweorcsense1 cit. 7).

Lat. equiv. in MS: chirographum

# Plans underway to build a home for Sutton Hoo Ship Replica



**Artist's impression of the proposed boatshed. Photo by Phil Lee / Flickr**

The Woodbridge Riverside Trust has launched a campaign that will see a fullscale replica of the Sutton Hoo Anglo-Saxon burial ship constructed in Woodbridge, a town in Suffolk, East Anglia.

With planning permission granted for the £8 million Whisstocks development, the Woodbridge Riverside Trust has launched its

campaign to raise funds for the community boat shed which forms part of the development.

The 32 metre boat shed – known as the Long Shed – will be home to a full-scale replica of the Sutton Hoo Anglo-Saxon burial ship. The ship is the focus of an international living history research project headed by world

Anglo-Saxon expert Professor Martin Carver. The construction programme will be community driven.

The Long Shed will also be home to an ongoing maritime heritage boat building training programme, and recreational programmes such as the construction of rowing skiffs to be used by local rowing teams.

Woodbridge Riverside Trust will be taking on the new boat shed, leased from Woodbridge Town Council, in spring 2017. The handover will be marked by a specially composed musical gala involving local schools and musicians.

Before then, the Trust needs to raise around £70,000 through donations, sponsorship and grants for fitting out the building.

Andrew Fitzgerald, leader of the Trust, commented: "Having negotiated for four years for our own community Long Shed and the use of the existing public space and waterfront, we now look forward to developing our projects. It's been our dream to rebuild the Sutton Hoo ship in Woodbridge and I'm delighted that it's finally going to happen in such an exciting new space."

Further details can be seen on the Woodbridge Riverside Trust website at <http://www.woodbridgeriversidetrust.org> - you can make donations through the site or find out about events that will help fundraise for the project.

## The Sutton Hoo ship burial: excavation

Archive footage of the excavation of the Sutton Hoo ship burial in Suffolk, in the east of England in 1939.



# Leonardo da Vinci's DNA: Experts unite to shine modern light on a Renaissance genius

The Leonardo Project: Illuminating the art, life, characteristics, talents, and brilliance of one of humanity's most extraordinary figures.

A team of eminent specialists from a variety of academic disciplines has coalesced around a goal of creating new insight into the life and genius of Leonardo da Vinci by means of authoritative new research and modern detective technologies, including DNA science.

The Leonardo Project is in pursuit of several possible physical connections to Leonardo, beaming radar, for example, at an ancient Italian church floor to help corroborate extensive research to pinpoint the likely location of the tomb of his father and other relatives. A collaborating scholar also recently announced the successful tracing of several likely DNA relatives of Leonardo living today in Italy (see endnotes).

If granted the necessary approvals, the Project will compare DNA from Leonardo's relatives past and present with physical remnants -- hair, bones, fingerprints and skin

cells-- associated with the Renaissance figure whose life marked the rebirth of Western civilization.

The Project's objectives, motives, methods, and work to date are detailed in a special issue of the journal *Human Evolution*, published coincident with a meeting of the group hosted in Florence this week under the patronage of Eugenio Giani, President of the Tuscan Regional Council (Consiglio Regionale della Toscana).

Born in Vinci, Italy, Leonardo died in 1519, age 67, and was buried in Amboise, southwest of Paris. His creative imagination foresaw and described innovations hundreds of years before their invention, such as the helicopter and armored tank. His artistic legacy includes the iconic Mona Lisa and The Last Supper.



The idea behind the Project, founded in 2014, has inspired and united anthropologists, art historians, genealogists, microbiologists, and other experts from leading universities and institutes in France, Italy, Spain, Canada and the USA, including specialists from the J. Craig Venter Institute of California, which pioneered the sequencing of the human genome.

The work underway resembles in complexity recent projects such as the successful search for the tomb of historic author Miguel de Cervantes and, in March 2015, the identification of England's King Richard III from remains exhumed from beneath a UK parking lot, fittingly re-interred 500 years after his death.

Like Richard, Leonardo was born in 1452, and was buried in a setting that underwent changes in subsequent years such that the exact location of the grave was lost.

If DNA and other analyses yield a definitive identification, conventional and computerized techniques might reconstruct the face of Leonardo from models of the skull."

In addition to Leonardo's physical

appearance, information potentially revealed from the work includes his ancestry and additional insight into his diet, state of health, personal habits, and places of residence.

Beyond those questions, and the verification of Leonardo's "presumed remains" in the chapel of Saint-Hubert at the Château d'Amboise, the Project aims to develop a genetic profile extensive enough to understand better his abilities and visual acuity, which could provide insights into other individuals with remarkable qualities.

It may also make a lasting contribution to the art world, within which forgery is a multi-billion dollar industry, by advancing a technique for extracting and sequencing DNA from other centuries-old works of art, and associated methods of attribution.

Says Jesse Ausubel, Vice Chairman of the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, sponsor of the Project's meetings in 2015 and 2016: "I think everyone in the group believes that Leonardo, who devoted himself to advancing art and science, who delighted in

puzzles, and whose diverse talents and insights continue to enrich society five centuries after his passing, would welcome the initiative of this team -- indeed would likely wish to lead it were he alive today."

## Leonardo's fingerprints

In the journal, group members underline the highly conservative, precautionary approach required at every phase of the Project, which they aim to conclude in 2019 to mark the 500th anniversary of Leonardo's death.

For example, one objective is to verify whether fingerprints on Leonardo's paintings, drawings, and notebooks can yield DNA consistent with that extracted from identified remains.

Early last year, Project collaborators from the International Institute for Humankind Studies in Florence opened discussions with the laboratory in that city where Leonardo's Adoration of the Magi has been undergoing restoration for nearly two years, to explore the possibility of analyzing dust from the painting for possible DNA traces. A crucial question is whether traces of DNA remain or whether restoration measures and the passage of time have obliterated all evidence of Leonardo's touch.

In preparation for such analysis, a team from the J. Craig Venter Institute and the University of Florence is examining privately owned paintings believed to be of comparable age to develop and calibrate techniques for DNA extraction and analysis. At this year's meeting in Florence, the researchers also described a pioneering effort to analyze the microbiome of a painting thought to be about five centuries old.

If human DNA can one day be obtained from Leonardo's work and sequenced, the genetic material could then be compared with genetic information from skeletal or other remains that may be exhumed in the future.

Organizations participating in the Leonardo Project include:

- The Institut de Paléontologie Humaine, Paris
- The International Institute for Humankind Studies, Florence
- The Laboratory of Molecular Anthropology and Paleogenetics, Biology Department, University of Florence
- Museo Ideale Leonardo da Vinci, in Vinci, Italy
- J. Craig Venter Institute, La Jolla, California
- Laboratory of Genetic Identification, University of Granada, Spain
- The Rockefeller University, New York City

Initial support comes from the Richard Lounsbery Foundation, Washington D.C.

Says Eugenio Giani, President of the Regional Council of Tuscany: "The fact that a team of eminent scholars from different academic disciplines and parts of the world has united with the common objective of furthering investigation into one of the greatest geniuses is positive and very important."

"As President of the Tuscan Regional Council, I am pleased to host in our headquarters a meeting that shows key aspects our current state of knowledge of Leonardo da Vinci. My hope, as a Florentine and Tuscan, is that all this will help outline a portrait of Leonardo as faithful as possible to reality, bringing out the true bond that he had with Florence, starting from the properties of his family in the city. Scientifically, the chance to create, through new research and technology, a new vision of the life of Leonardo starting from a study of DNA is very important."

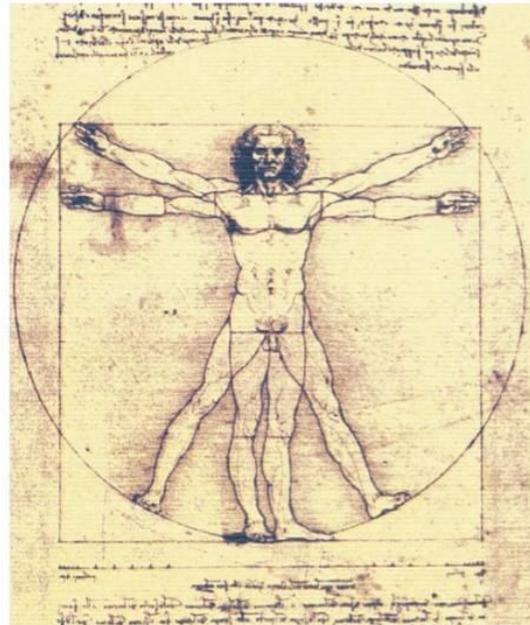
Compiled by Project collaborator Claire Stypulkowski, the collection of five journal articles trace the path Leonardo took from his Italian birthplace to his final days serving the King of France. They outline the efforts to

# HUMAN EVOLUTION

VOLUME 31

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Cover of the special issue of the journal *Human Evolution* announcing the Leonardo Project.



ANGELO PONTECORBOLI EDITORE  
FIRENZE

to date, detailing the history and evidence regarding Leonardo's life and his remains in Amboise, the research and high-tech investigation of his father's tomb in Florence, and the tracing of family descendants.

Says Brunetto Chiarelli of the International Institute for Humankind Studies and editor of *Human Evolution*: "We are proud to share with the public the details of this exciting endeavor."

And he underlined this message from the Project's introductory paper: "The search for Leonardo's remains at Amboise Castle, for the remains or traces of his family members in Florence, Vinci, and Milan, and for traces of his DNA in his works is fraught with difficulty."

"Matching Leonardo's DNA to that of his family presents puzzles that are minutely

specific to their history and circumstances, but the tools the investigators use are generic and broadly applicable. We stand to gain not only greater historical knowledge of Leonardo but possibly a reconstruction of his genetic profile, which could provide insights into other individuals with remarkable qualities."

"The last Plantagenet King of England and the author who gave us *Don Quixote* are two whose places in history are somewhat better documented now through recent anthropological study. Is Leonardo the next?"

The Leonardo Project," a special edition of the journal *Human Evolution*, is available at: <http://www.pontecorboli.com/digital1/vol-31-3-2016/>

# Why Leonardo da Vinci would have aced the internet cat craze

By Gabriele Neher

Leonardo da Vinci may have been ahead of the curve in aerodynamics, anatomy and mechanics, but he also possessed an incredible foresight for another modern staple: cat obsessions.

In some of the last years of his life, Leonardo sat down, perhaps at his desk, perhaps on the street, took out his pencil and absent-mindedly sketched a cat. The resulting drawing is of not just one, but over a dozen of them, grooming, playing and fighting each other, with a couple of stalking lions thrown into the mix and to top it all, a slinky little dragon sinuously twisting backwards and baring its teeth. Evidently he appreciated them for their personalities and characteristics: not such a jump from cat doodles to the ubiquity of cats on social media today.

In the year that the latest blockbuster exhibition on Leonardo da Vinci, **The Mechanics of Genius**, opens to great fanfare at the Science Museum, a second, much smaller show is opening in Newcastle. The Laing Gallery's exhibition showcases just ten of Leonardo's best drawings from the extensive collections at Windsor, cats included. Whereas the Science Museum showcases the extraordinary mechanical genius of this remarkable artist, these drawings offers a more playful insight into Leonardo's mind.

Cats were a commonplace sight in medieval

and early modern houses, kept as pets to curb the mouse population. They sometimes left quite unexpected traces, such as the medieval moggy who marched over the still **wet pages of a manuscript**, much to the consternation of its scribe. And clearly they featured in more of an esoteric manner too: there are countless depictions of cats within medieval manuscripts, as featured in Nicole Eddy's **fabulous post** on the "Lolcats of the Middle Ages".

So it's not so surprising to find Leonardo caught in the act of doodling. It seems as though Leonardo's cats are drawn from life, attesting to his often commented on interest in first-hand observation. He lets his imagination run riot in the process of turning his playful cats into a writhing dragon.

What makes his drawing so charming is that ultimately, what he is interested in here is nothing more significant than the playing cats. He draws cats on other occasions, such as in **some studies** for the Virgin and child (with cat), but there the cat is drawn as an attribute, becoming a subsidiary accessory to the telling of the story. In the cat doodle, the purpose of the drawing is nothing other than to record Leonardo's delight in the carefully



Leonardo da Vinci, Cats, lions, and a dragon c.1513-18. Pen and ink with wash over black chalk. Royal Collection Trust/© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2016

observed play and movement of his feline companions.

There's a rich history of associating cats with imagination and creativity, as well as more negative connotations with heresy and wilfulness. This is especially true of medieval imagery. Cats, with their noted reputation for autonomy and independence, provide a

bridge between the unruly and uncontrollable chaos of untamed nature, and the quiet, submissive, orderly domesticity of a well-ruled household. A cat can function both as a symbol for obedience (and is often depicted as such, for example as a companion to devout women) as well as a sign of heresy, in the shape of a witch's familiar.

So cats are not inherently good or evil. Instead they appear to reflect the moral character of the household they interact with: in accordance with their mercurial, quirky nature. In this light, they seem the perfect companion for a creative and scholarly owner.

Fast forward 500 years and perhaps it doesn't seem so surprising that social media has become the perfect vehicle for displaying this connection. While Salvador Dali needed to take long walks with his pet ocelot Babou to generate interest in his unusual status pet, Twitter and Facebook offer platforms for often quite witty plays on the link between cats and creativity.

My favourite example of this is the **#AcademicsWithCats** Twitter feed, which led to the annual "**Academics with Cats awards**". I like to think that Leonardo would

have entered with gusto. He definitely would have won. With a cat dressed as a dragon.

**Gabriele Neher is an Assistant Professor of History of Art, University of Nottingham**

**This article was first published in The Conversation**

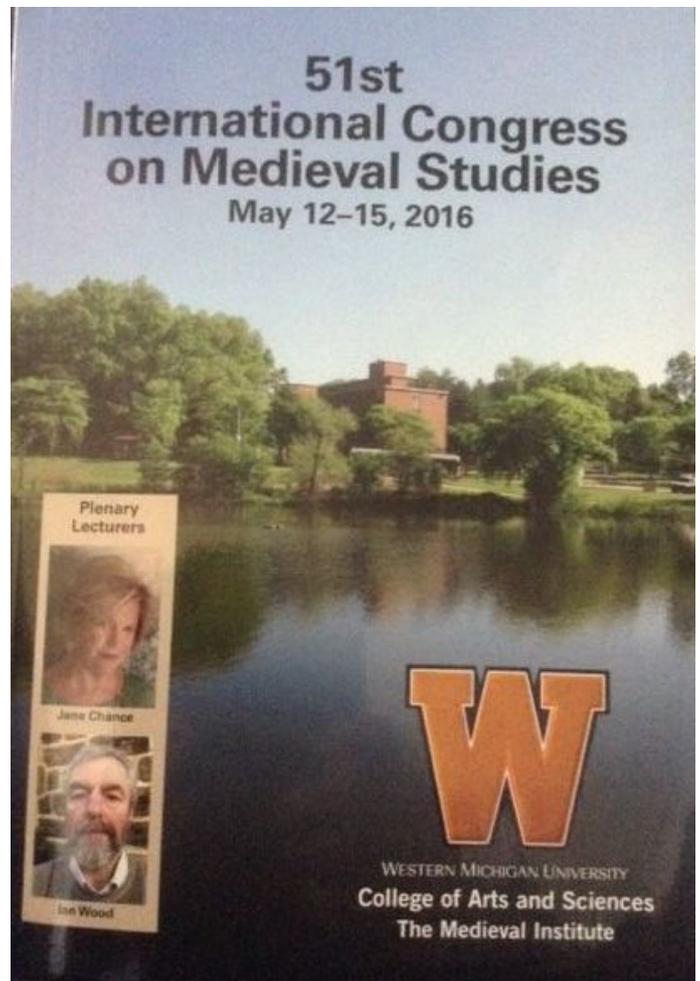
## The true face of Leonardo Da Vinci?

Leonardo Da Vinci's life and work is well known -- but his own face is not. Illustrator and activist Siegfried Woldhek used some thoughtful image-analysis techniques to find what he believes is the true face of Leonardo. Here, he walks viewers through exactly how he did it.



# KZOO2016

## The 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies set to begin



Over 3000 scholars from around the world will be gathering this week at Western Michigan University in Kalamazoo, Michigan for the 51st International Congress on Medieval Studies. It is the largest academic conference related to the Middle Ages, it draws in professors, graduate students, independent scholars, writers and other medievalists.

This year's congress will host 550 sessions that will range from the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas to *Game of Thrones*. Among the highlights will be two plenary lectures: "How We Read J.R.R. Tolkien Reading Grendel's Mother," by Jane Chance, professor of English at Rice University, and "Religion and the End of the Roman West," presented by Ian Wood, professor of early medieval history at the University of Leeds.

Dr. Jana Schulman, director of the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University, explains, "The intersection of popular culture and in-depth academic exploration always

plays a role in the congress. There are sessions that focus on how the Middle Ages are portrayed in today's popular literature and movies. But for every session focused on familiar names like Tolkien, Harry Potter and King Arthur, there are dozens that delve deeply into how architecture, gender politics, astronomy, environmentalism and a range of other topics played out around the world during the Middle Ages."

The congress is an important event for presenting research and making connections within the medieval studies community. The four-day event will include a demonstration of an Islamic astrolabe, and a performance by Corina Marti of 14th-century music using historical instruments.

For more information about the congress, visit [wmich.edu/medievalcongress](http://wmich.edu/medievalcongress). If you cannot attend, follow it on Twitter using the hashtag **#Kzoo2016**.

# Fifteen Tips for Your First Trip to The Zoo

**By Danielle Trynoski**

Every May for over fifty years, Western Michigan University has opened its campus to a horde of medievalists. The International Congress on Medieval Studies is the largest and longest running medieval history conference in North America, and draws a conglomerate of academics, artists, performers, clerics, students, authors, and craftsmen. If you've dreamed of an experience at Kzoo, or plan to attend for the first time, here are some practical tips to get the most out of this conference.

**DO** stay in the **Dorms** if you don't need a pool. If you're driving or flying with a generous baggage allowance, bring an extra blanket for a back-up but know that bed linens, towels, and a bar of soap are included. The most attractive feature of the dorms is the on-campus location. Imagine walking down to grab a coffee at the Gatehouse Café in the Valley III Exhibit Hall, then strolling down the hall to your first session. Who wants to wait for that hotel shuttle bus?

**DON'T** miss the Exhibits Hall in Valley III. This teeming riot of publishers, authors, jewelers, societies, universities, and vendors runs Thursday through 10:00 a.m. Sunday. Book sales are the King in this court. Stoke your special interest fires by browsing shiny new titles or pick up a few classics. Publishers offer discounts to conference attendees both at the event and online. Display copies are heavily discounted and are typically purchased early and reserved for pick-up on Sunday. Many vendors offer journal display copies for free; just ask first, then write your name inside the cover. Last tip: don't be afraid to haggle, bundle, and negotiate. This is a medieval market, of a sort.



**Photo by Jacob Enos / Flickr**

**DO** wear comfortable walking shoes. Ladies, if you want to wear heels then carry them and walk in flats. Even though the shuttles can get you to all the conference locations it's faster and more direct to walk between the different buildings; it's a great excuse to tag along and talk with the author of the fabulous paper you just heard.

**DON'T** buy the meal tickets offered with conference registration. Not only can you buy them on-site if needed, but you can find more variety at a better price by going to one of the campus cafes or the Bernhard Center Bronco Mall. Get a list of the on-campus options [here](#). Like in most university towns, there is an abundance of local options in all price ranges. Be advised that some restaurants close early on Wednesday and Thursday night. When meals aren't confined by the tickets-only accepted in a single cafeteria-then it's easier to connect with friends or colleagues over meal times.

**DO** get to know your suite mate in the dorms. Even private rooms share a bathroom with one other room. The lay-out of the shower, toilet and sink isn't ideal, but it's functional. There are two sinks, but no door on the single toilet stall. Work out a system like putting a towel in the common walkway, or if you're driving, bring an extendable shower rod and curtain. The same gender typically shares a suite and all the suite mates I've experienced have been friendly and courteous. You can request suite mates, but both parties must make the request on their applications and the organizers will not complete the dorm reservation until both applications are filed.

**DON'T** fret about mapping out your entire schedule in advance. With 550 sessions plus receptions, performances, and demonstrations, there are a lot of options over the four days. Unless you've brought clones of yourself it's just not possible to catch it all, and that's part of its glory. Note the highlights and make some commitments by browsing the program before you arrive, however sometimes the pressure of last-minute decisions will reveal your true colors.



**Elan Justice Pavlinich presenting for the Pseudo Society at the 49th International Congress on Medieval Studies - photo by ElanJust / Wikimedia Commons**

**DO** explore Kalamazoo outside of the Congress. Even if that only includes a few meals off-campus, it's a compact and friendly city with plenty to offer. The downtown restaurants offer a nice variety of eateries (such as the Food Dance Café), Michigan's Wine County is a short drive down the highway, and there are a good selection of museums and art galleries to browse.

**DON'T** miss the Annus Horribilis session at 8:00 p.m. on Saturday night in the Fetzer Building, organized by The Societas Fontibus Historiae Medii Aevi Inveniendis, vulga dicta, "The Pseudo Society." This Saturday evening classic is in one of the largest venues of the conference, and every seat will be full. Plan to get a take-away dinner and grab a seat in the auditorium by 6:30 or 7:00.

**DO** seek out the Experimental Archaeology sessions or demonstrations. These feature researchers and living historians who dissect medieval processes and lifestyles. You might see how Viking beads were made, hear tales recited in Old French, taste medieval barley bread, or smell pigments used in dyes or cosmetics. These opportunities engage your senses and provide unique perspectives on medieval studies.

**DON'T** sleep through the plenaries. This is your chance to see top academics speaking about their passions, and maybe provide an opening to introduce yourself and ask a few questions after their presentation. The plenaries will either be highly specialized or a strong overview of a topic, but either way you'll be glad you woke up and went!

**DO** get on the dance floor. The traditional Saturday night dance is notorious for some of the best people-watching, and you won't be disappointed. The dress code is anything but formal; some attendees come straight from their last session in suits, others change into polo shirts or cocktail dresses. No matter what the outfit, everyone has a good time.

**DON'T** limit yourself to your niche specialty. Try something new and surprise yourself. As an early medievalist with a focus on Viking metal artifacts, I attended one of the DISTAFF sessions on textile-related research (I can barely sew) and loved the innovative research methods, experimental archaeological approaches, and diverse backgrounds of the presenters.

**DO** pick up the lingo. The official title is the International Congress on Medieval Studies. Calling it the International Congress will instantly mark you as a first-timer. Try on the more comfortable K'zoo instead. Your knowledge of the Pseudo Society's existence will also build your "street cred."

**DON'T** skip out on the Sunday morning sessions, even if you danced the night away on Saturday. By staying through till noon, you'll get to keep reveling in your medieval-nerd comfort zone and catch two more sessions.

**DO** enjoy yourself. If you're attending alone then don't be anxious about being lonely. Mingle with the conference crowd. Attend the receptions, Wine Hours, and tastings. Most of the conference guests are friendly and welcoming, and you'll meet people from all over the world with diverse reasons for attending. After all, if you like medieval history then everyone at this conference is "your people." Welcome to The Zoo.

**Danielle Trynoski earned her MA in Medieval Archaeology at the University of York in England. When she's not visiting museums and historical sites, she's riding horses or reading about Vikings. She currently lives in southern California and manages the website CuratoryStory.com**



# ICMS: The Bailey of the Ivory Tower

**By Danièle Cybulskie**

This week, medievalists are headed to Kalamazoo, Michigan to attend the International Congress on Medieval Studies, as they have been doing for more than half a century. It's a pilgrimage, of sorts, bringing together great minds from all over the world who share the same love in their hearts for people and things from long, long ago. But what's amazing and wonderful about the ICMS isn't just the papers. It's the community of people who are invested in working together so that we all know more about the Middle Ages. If there's an Ivory Tower, the ICMS is the cosmopolitan, bustling bailey outside of it.

Like so many other medievalists, my first trip to Kalamazoo was when I was very green. I hadn't yet laid hands on my brand new BA, and had just moved to Toronto the weekend before to start my Master's degree the following September. I was offered a ride by my friend and mentor Sarah Larratt Keefer (who kindly brought at least one undergraduate with her to Kalamazoo whenever she could), so shared a car with her, a fellow student, and another eminent

Anglo-Saxonist, Joyce Hill. (Everyone in the car was an Anglo-Saxonist but me; they did their best to recruit me as we drove!) I knew that I would be completely out of my league in terms of scholarship at the ICMS, so I intended to stay unobtrusive and to quietly learn as much as I possibly could. Little did I know that the community of medieval scholars is one of the most welcoming groups of people I could ever have hoped to meet.



### Look for these signs at the International Congress on Medieval Studies

The International Congress on Medieval Studies is not just for the professors in tweed with elbow patches, although you will find them there. It's also a place for graduate students and even undergraduate students to test their wings. The year I first went, I watched wide-eyed as people mid-Master's gave their first papers, expecting them to have their logic and budding scholarship ripped to shreds by people who had put in thirty-plus years on the very same texts. What happened was exactly the opposite: world-renowned scholars raised their hands to congratulate the speakers, to suggest new avenues to investigate, and to offer their help. I was flabbergasted. For some reason, I had expected the all-stars to put the rookies in their place, but what I saw was initiates being welcomed into a community. I listened to, watched, and met superstar scholars who genuinely wanted to help give a newbie a leg up. I was renewed and inspired, and remember leaving Kalamazoo thinking, "I can do this."

Unexpectedly, I didn't return to Kalamazoo again until just last year – the fiftieth anniversary of the ICMS, as it turned out. This time, I was attending as someone who was firmly outside the Ivory Tower: I had finished my Master's, but hadn't followed the expected path to PhD and university professorship. Feeling like a bit of an outsider in this regard, I wondered if I would find the same warm reception, but once again, the medieval community surprised me with their warm acceptance. This time, I met lots of people who worked outside of academia, independent scholars whose love of the medieval had spurred them on to studying it in-depth, though they had no official ties to an institution. Academic scholars whose work I had admired recognized my writing, too, and greeted me with smiles and hands extended. Even the keynote speech by the renowned Richard Utz was focused on working and reading outside of academia so that medievalists could reach out to the millions of non-academic people

who share a great love of the Middle Ages. I only met a few people whose welcome was not as warm for indies as for those who had taken the traditional scholarly path (but after all, why have a keynote that preaches our worth if everyone in the room is already convinced?). The overwhelming vibe, though, was of friendly curiosity and camaraderie.

Here's the thing about the ICMS: it is a collective of the world's biggest medieval nerds. By that I mean nerds not only in the sense that we love traditional geekery (like *Lord of the Rings*, *Game of Thrones*, mead, and board games), but also in the sense that we love, love, love to study. If there's something new to learn about our favourite period, we want to learn it, and because of that, the medieval community doesn't just replace someone who's sitting in the circle, we make the circle bigger to include them.

If you're reading this, you're part of the medieval community. (Welcome! Try the mead!) That means that you might be interested in listening to some of the amazing scholars—both academic and indie—that will be speaking at Kalamazoo this year and every year. If you are, and the only thing holding you back is the worry that people won't accept you as you are (a writer, a scholar, a teacher, a fan), let me reassure you, you'll be in safe company. While it's not a convention—the only people not dressed in street clothes will be actual monks and nuns—it is a place to find out more about what we're

**Danièle Cybulskie is a weekly columnist for Medievalists.net. You can follow her on Twitter @5minmedievalist**

all learning together, and to find ways to keep learning together as a worldwide community.

Peter Konieczny and I will be tweeting and posting articles about the ICMS this week, so follow along to find out more about what it's all about. If you love learning about the medieval world as much as we do, we hope to see you at Bilbo's Pizza, Kalamazoo one lovely spring day in May.



# A Bad Medieval Road Trip

As medieval scholars prepare for the journey to Kalamazoo for the International Congress on Medieval Studies, we wanted to tell you the story of a medieval scholar who undertook his own trip for learning – a trip that did not go as planned.

Richer of Saint-Rémi (c.950 – c.1000) was a monk based at the abbey of Saint-Remi in northern France. We know about him because he wrote a work called *Histories*, which recounted events in his country from the year 888 to almost the end of the tenth century. It is largely a story of politics and war, but we get a few glimpses of Richer himself.

One of the most interesting autobiographical bits from *Histories* happened in the year 991, when Richer decided to take a trip. A knight from Chartres had arrived in Reims, where Richer's monastery was, and brought a letter to the monk. It turned out to be a message from a cleric and old friend named Heriband, who asked Richer to come to Chartres to read a book – a medical treatise known as the *Aphorisms of Hippocrates*. Richer, who was intellectual and very

interested in learning, wanted to do this, and convinced the knight to return with him back to Chartres. He would also be accompanied by a boy, but apparently his abbot wasn't very helpful and gave him only one horse for the trip.

Therefore, Richer began the trip, in his own words, "lacking in money, a change of clothes and other necessities." The journey from Reims to Chartres is over 200 kilometres long and would have taken several days. At first it went well, with the trio arriving at another monastery and being treated generously. The next day they headed out towards the town of Meaux. It is then that things started to go wrong:

*But when my two companions and I entered the winding path of the woods, we were not*

*spared the vicissitudes of ill fortune. For we chose the wrong path at a crossroads and wandered six leagues out of our way. Then, after we had passed Chateau-Thierry, the horse that up to now had seemed like Bucephalus became slower than a reluctant little donkey. The sun had already passed midday and was edging into dusk when the whole sky dissolved into a downpour, and that hardy Bucephalus, done in by his final exertions, succumbed and collapsed beneath the legs of the boy who was riding him, dropping dead at the sixth milestone from the city as if he had been struck by lightning.*

Richer then gives this wry observation:

*Those who have ever suffered similar misfortunes can judge from their own experiences how great my agitation and anxiety were at the moment.*

While the knight had his own horses, Richer and the boy now had to go on foot, carrying their baggage, all the while with the rain falling in downpour. It soon proved too much for the child, and he "lay down, completely exhausted." With the sun already setting, Richer made a tough decision – the boy and the baggage would remain behind, while he and the knight would continue on to Meaux to get help.

The monk told the boy to talk to any other travellers, and not to fall asleep, and then he set out for the town. Richer and the knight soon reached the bridge over the River Marne, with Meaux on the other side. Richer writes:

*I started out across the bridge, which I could scarcely make out in the dim light, and as I inspected it carefully I was tormented once more by new misfortunes. For it was riddled with so many and so large gaps that it was scarcely possible that those connected with the townsmen could have crossed over it on the same day. The intrepid Chartrian, who showed considerable foresight during the course of the journey, looked around*

*everywhere for a boat, but finding none, he returned to the perils of the bridge, and with God's help saw to it that the horses crossed safely. Sometimes putting a shield down under the horses' feet in the gaping holes and sometimes and sometimes running back, he successfully made it all the way across the bridge with the horses, while I accompanied him.*

They soon found a monastery where they got help, and the knight soon left to go find the boy. Our monk stayed in the monastery and waited:

*Those who have ever been compelled to stay awake at night because they are worried about those dear to them can imagine how sleeplessly I passed that night, and with what great torments I was afflicted.*

It took several hours, but finally good news came in the morning:

*Shortly after the longed for the light of the day had returned, they arrived, weak from their great hunger. Food was brought to them, and fodder and straw were set before the horses.*

Apparently, the knight had some difficulty finding the boy, but finally did so. He did not want to risk crossing the bridge again at night, so they found a cottage to stay in until the morning came. Once they arrived in Meaux, the boy was given to the monastery's abbot so he could rest a few days, while Richer and the knight continued on to Chartres. The rest of the trip was uneventful, and after reaching his destination Richer sent a horse to go collect the boy to rejoin him. He ends this little story by writing:

*After he had returned and all my worries had been put to rest, I applied myself diligently to the Aphorisms of Hippocrates with master Heriband, a man of great generosity and learning. But since I only learned about the prognosis of disease in this work and basic*

*understanding of illnesses would not satisfy my desire, I also asked to read one of his books entitled On the Concordance of Hippocrates, Galen, and Soranus. This I obtained, since the powers of pharmacology, botany, and surgery were not hidden from one so skilled in medicine.*

The *Histories of Richer of Saint-Rémi* has been edited and translated by Justin Lake in a two-volume book that is part of the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library. You can learn more about the book from **Harvard University Press**.

## Medievalverse Roundtable from Kalamazoo

In previous years we would host little roundtable talks, bringing together some of our friends, to talk about the experience at the congress. This video includes us - Peter Konieczny and Sandra Alvarez from Medievalists.net, and Kelly DeVries and Annamaria Kovacs. It was filmed five years ago, and we talk about the first day of the congress and some of the issues involved with going to such a large conference.



See more videos from the congress at our Youtube page:

**<https://www.youtube.com/user/Medievalists/>**

# The history of student loans goes back to the Middle Ages

**By Jenny Adams**

In 1473, Alexander Hardyng, who had finished his bachelor's degree at Oxford nearly two years previous, borrowed money through an educational loan service. The loan came with a one year repayment deadline.

With some of that money, he rented a room at Exeter College and offered tutoring services to college students. He soon repaid that loan. In 1475, Hardyng took out a second loan – again, in part to rent teaching space.

Then, in 1478, he was appointed as a subdeacon, a post two orders lower than a priest, likely in Durham, a city in the north of England. From all evidence, it seems that he promptly packed his robes and abandoned his teaching gig. There is also nothing to suggest that he gave a single penny to his lenders.

For students today, Hardyng's story would be too good to be true. Not only did he get his bachelor's degree without incurring debt, but also, he did not have to repay the money he borrowed.

Prompted by my own anxiety about educational debt, an anxiety that intensified several years ago with the birth of my own prospective college students, I have been researching the long history of educational loans in order to get a better context for the current student debt crisis.

With student loan growth rates spiraling out of control, it behooves us to think through the ways other time periods and cultures have monetized, funded or *not* funded student labor.

## **Loan chests, books as collateral**

The history of student loans starts with the establishment of institutions of higher learning in medieval Europe from the late 11th century.



### Later 14th century depiction of a university class by Laurentius de Voltolina

The University of Bologna, considered the first official university, was quickly followed by the University of Paris, Oxford University and Cambridge University. All of these places offered degrees to young men, training them for positions in the Catholic Church and, later, in government.

At first, scholars who needed money did not differ from other borrowers: everyone took loans from the same lenders. But in 1240, **Robert Grosseteste, the bishop of Lincoln**, used Oxford University money to launch the **first documented student loan system**. He named it St. Frideswide's Chest.

St. Frideswide's Chest was literally a chest. Bound by two different locks, with each key held by a different college magister, or faculty member, it resided at St. Frideswide's Priory,

a religious house in central Oxford, amid the city's colleges, academic halls and student apartments.

To get a loan from St. Frideswide's, a borrower had to be a scholar of modest means – and likely took an oath for proving so. He also had to have something of value to deposit in the chest as collateral. From the pledge notes I've seen in roughly 100 manuscripts and descriptions of manuscripts, it's clear that scholars hocked everything from silver spoons to gold plates.

But the most commonly collateralized items were books. Not fancy, illuminated books. Just textbooks. In the late Middle Ages, this included works by Aristotle, the Bible, law codes and medical tracts. **Here's a link to a manuscript at Balliol College that was used**

as collateral. The lines on the final page record two loans taken out by a scholar, Thomas Chace, in 1423 and 1424. The Merton College manuscript contains eight pledge notes from the same century.

These were not textbooks as we know them today. They were manuscripts made from animal skin and completed through hours of scribal labor. They fetched large sums. As in modern times, **medieval textbooks too derived part of their value** through the educational market.

Today, for example, the *Encyclopedia of International Media and Communications* (US\$305 secondhand) commands a high price because faculty use it to teach and students use it to research in one of the fastest-growing majors. Back then, it was **Peter Lombard's Sentences**, a staple of the Oxford curriculum and also the book Hardyng used for collateral.

Sadly, the pledge note in Hardyng's text, as recorded in the British Library's on-line description of its manuscripts, does not include the loan amount. But on another leaf of the manuscript one can see a scrawled "precii xl.s." or "price 40 shillings."

Hardyng almost surely did not get a loan of this amount. As noted by other scholars who have written extensively on medieval loans and debt collection, the **value of the collateral far outweighed the actual amount** of the loan. But given that a student in the early 15th century could **pay for an entire series of lectures for six shillings**, even a loan of 20 shillings, or half the book's value, would have represented a hefty sum.

## Loans for scholars

This system might sound like a pawn shop crossed with a secondhand book store. But the use of collateral meant scholars did not always feel the need to repay their loans. Once employed, they could walk away from

their debts, just as Hardyng did. If that happened, the chest manager would then put the collateral back into the market. For many borrowers like Hardyng, who had finished his education, buying back his book was simply not worth it. Now employed, he had little need for his copy of Peter Lombard's Sentences.

By the end of the 14th century, **roughly 20 more loan chests** had appeared in Oxford. The chests had also moved in 1320 from St. Frideswide's Priory to the university's congregation house, and they held the equivalent of millions of today's dollars. Most often the money came from wealthy patrons who either wanted to support scholars or liked the thought of having their name associated with a chest.

This later impulse seems to have been the case with some of the later chests, which were funded by professionals rather than the nobility. Thus, while King Edward I's consort, Queen Eleanor of Castile, founded a chest in 1293, the Guildford Chest (1314) and the Robury Chest (1321) **were founded, respectively**, by a judge and an attorney-turned-judge.

These later chests opened borrowing to all scholars, not just poor students. In short, the chests now targeted the Alexander Hardyngs of Oxford. Hardyng was not poor. He probably funded his education through parental handouts and part-time work, or received on support from a wealthy patron. But clearly by several years after his graduation, he needed money to stay afloat.

## Printing press changes the system

For 300 years, the loan chest system thrived. Then, one evening in early March of 1544, two men—Robert Raunce and John Stanshaw—armed with an "iron bar and hammer," **broke into the congregation house** and smashed all of the loan chests. Although Raunce and Stanshaw were eventually tried

and sentenced, their burglary still managed to wipe out much of the chests' wealth.

Yet even before this, the loan system had started to decline. Although the arrival of the printing press in the late 15th century didn't have an immediate effect on manuscript production, **it would eventually make books cheap and thus no longer worth collateralizing.** Even in the chests' final century of use, the use of gold plate and jewelry was increasing and by **1500 had surpassed the use of books.**

Around the same time, bankers began to make loans on the premise of future returns rather than in exchange for real property. The shift toward anticipated future earnings soon came with the England's 1624 legalization of interest-bearing loans, **which pushed even more people into this model of lending.**

With their loan chests gone, students again became just like other borrowers. And just like other borrowers, they, too, could end up in the **notorious debtors' prisons** that began to swell with inmates as early as the 17th century.

## Modern-day loans

Student loans arrived in the United States in the **mid-19th century.** Like the medieval loan chests at Oxford, these loans started through a singular university, in this case Harvard, which administered them.

This localized system changed in the mid-20th century with the creation by the Department of Education in 1965 of **federally guaranteed student loans** made by private lenders and available to students across the country.

Students were once again put into a special category. But in this case, this meant they could now collateralize their estimated future incomes (without even knowing what

those incomes might be) in order to obtain a degree.

For a long time and for many students (this writer included), this model of credit worked. Loans opened up college to many people, allowing them to pursue a career path otherwise unavailable. But now that we've entered the age of six-figure student loans, this freedom seems more like a virtual debtors' prison than a chance to economic mobility.

I would never advocate a return to the Middle Ages. Yet as we consider the current morass of educational debt, we need to think harder about historical precedent.

True, medieval universities excluded many groups – religious minorities, feudal villeins (a commoner legally tied to a feudal lord in the Middle Ages) and women were barred from entry. Yet poor young men with talent had a chance. Fees were not high. Patrons helped out. And if one needed money, one might be able to pledge a book – not a future.

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# Anne of Brittany, Queen of France

**By Susan Abernethy**

Anne of Brittany was born in the Castle of Nantes on January 25, 1477. A sister named Isabeau was born a few years later. Her father was Duke Francis II of Brittany and her mother was Marguerite, sister of the Comte de Foix. Anne's tutoring was administered by the prominent Breton noblewoman Françoise de Dinan. She was taught the usual gracious arts of embroidery, singing, dancing, and proper deportment. Anne was intelligent and quick, learning Latin and Greek in addition to French literature. She was very petite and thin with a visibly hunched back. She suffered from a congenital hip defect and used an extra high heel in one shoe to compensate for a limp. Anne was fond of wearing traditional Breton dress with luxurious fabrics.

When Anne was nine, her mother died. Her education was stopped and Anne's quiet life was replaced by traveling with her father to various castles and fortresses. That same year, her father's court received several visits from Louis, Duc d'Orléans, supposedly to give advice and help to her father. Louis was the next in line to inherit the throne of France if the current king, Charles VIII had no sons. There were rumors about his visits to Brittany and Louis found himself denying he was looking to marry Anne or her sister. Besides, he was already married to King Charles' sister Jeanne.

Duke Francis spent many years fighting the

French who were looking to annex Brittany into the domains of France. He suffered a huge defeat at the Battle of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier in 1488 and the subsequent Treaty of Verger forced Francis to cede several towns to King Charles, forced him to recognize Charles' rights to the Duchy of Brittany and he had to agree not to marry his daughters without Charles' consent.

When Anne was twelve, she wrote a narrative of events in Brittany, including a description of the Battle of Saint-Aubin-du-Cormier and sent it to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, King of the Romans. Duke Francis died three months after the Battle leaving Anne to



**Medal of Queen Anne made in celebration to her stay at Lyon in 1499. Photo by sailko / Wikimedia Commons**

succeed him. In his will Francis named several important Breton men as guardians for Anne and her sister but he left no instructions regarding marriages for the girls. Anne was crowned Duchess of Brittany on February 10, 1489.

King Charles sent an embassy to Brittany with condolences to Anne and Isabeau. He also proposed: 1) he should be named their guardian; 2) a committee should be formed to arbitrate the disputes arising over titles and rights to the Duchy and 3) that all strangers leave the country. This was in

complete opposition to the Treaty of Verger. Anne refused all points and notified Charles she had convoked the Estates of Brittany to ratify the original peace treaty.

Anne's position was weak. The treasury of Brittany had been drained by the war, the plague was running rampant throughout the Duchy, her ministers were all divided in opinion and looking out for their own interests and a French army was waiting to attack at any moment. A marriage for Anne was crucial. Since 1480, Francis had tried to broker an English marriage. This never

materialized and negotiations were then opened for an alliance with Archduke Maximilian. King Charles was married to Maximilian's daughter Margaret of Austria. Some of Anne's councilors were promoting a marriage with a Breton.

Finally, in 1490, Anne decided to marry Maximilian with the negotiations carried out in secret. The match was in direct violation of her father's treaty and Charles could have vetoed it. There was a procuracy ceremony with a proxy standing in for Maximilian on December 19 in Rennes Cathedral. Anne began signing documents as Queen of the Romans and her secret was out.

In early 1491, Charles brought troops to Brittany and Anne's small army fought with all their might. Her troops consisted of about 14,000 men, mostly English, German and Spanish archers supplied by Maximilian. Charles began the siege of Rennes. Anne suffered along with her troops and eventually had to decide whether to accept Charles' offer of one hundred and twenty thousand crowns in exchange for relinquishing the Duchy of Brittany and joining her husband. She finally surrendered. Charles asked for a private audience with her and they remained together a long time. Three days later they were betrothed in a public ceremony and on December 6th they were married at the Castle of Langeais.

This marriage was a shock to the whole of Europe. Charles had been married to Margaret of Austria since 1482. Charles must have been very charming to convince Anne to marry him or maybe Anne harbored a desire to be Queen of France. Charles' marriage had not been consummated and Margaret was sent back to Maximilian in humiliation. Anne's act of marriage with the proxy was declared defective and not binding. Maximilian made a formal protest to the Pope. When Charles asked the Pope to grant a dispensation for his marriage to Anne, he would only do so if Anne swore she had

not been violently seized and forced into the marriage. Anne stated before an ecclesiastical court she had suffered no violence.

After the wedding, the couple returned to Paris, stopping at various towns on the way. Anne was joyfully received by all. She was crowned at St. Denis on February 8, 1492. On October 11, Anne gave birth to a son, Charles-Orland. Charles did not allow Anne to have any role in public affairs and from the years 1492 to 1498, all political acts regarding Brittany were issued in Charles' name. In the summer of 1495, Charles was in Italy in search of conquests. Anne accompanied him part of the way, leaving her son in France at Amboise. There was an outbreak of smallpox near the castle and despite all their precautions, to his parent's dismay, the boy died on December 6.

In the next three years, Anne gave birth to two sons and a daughter but they all died in infancy. She was forced to put up with the infidelities of Charles which he carried out right before her eyes at court. Anne spent as much time away from court festivities as she could. But in 1498, Charles had a change of heart and returned to her, giving up jousts, tournaments and bad company and concentrating more on the administration of his realm. He was even seen giving audiences to the poor, listening to their grievances.

At the same time Charles' health was becoming more fragile and he was looking emaciated. Plans were in the works for another expedition to Italy. On the morning of April 7, Charles was preoccupied with matters pertaining to war. Some of his gentlemen had arranged for a tennis match to be played that afternoon.

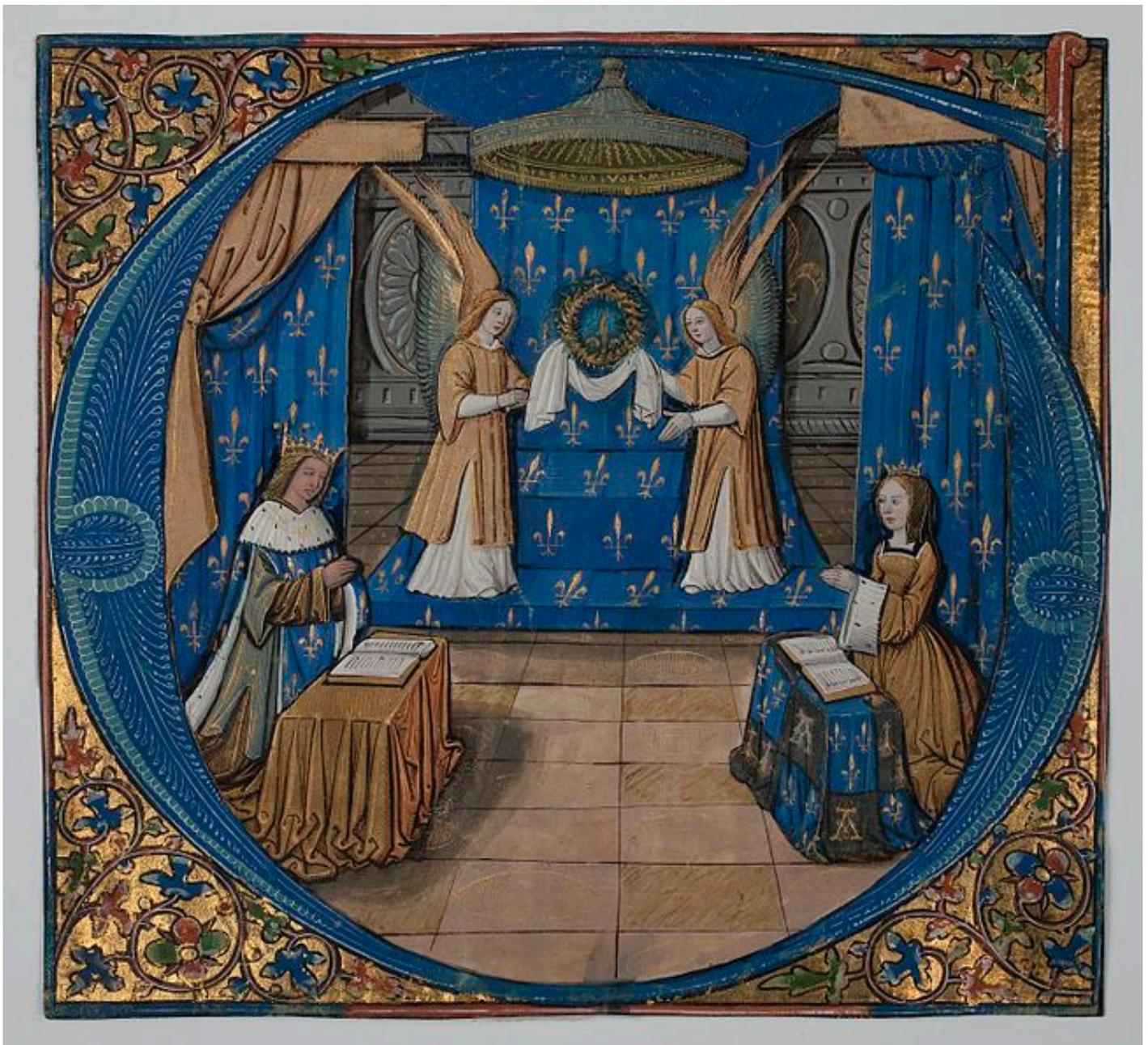
The King couldn't play but he promised Anne he would join her to watch the match. To get to the court, he had to pass through a gallery with a low entrance. With his mind on other things, he hit his head forcefully on the top



**Miniature depicting Anne of Brittany receiving from Antoine Dufour the manuscript praising famous women. Created circa 1506**

of the archway, stunned by the violence of the blow. He stood for a moment while those around him kept him from falling. He recovered himself and went on to watch the

abruptly fell backwards. He never spoke again and with Anne by his side, he died around eleven that evening. Anne was devastated and her servants forced her to go to her room.



**King Louis XII and Anne of Brittany praying before a crown of thorns. Illustration created by Philippe de Gueldre around 1500.**

Messengers hastily made their way to Blois to tell Louis, Duc d'Orléans he was now King of France. He made his way to Amboise and visited the body of Charles before seeing Anne. Anne made Louis promise to stage a magnificent funeral for Charles. Louis promised and even paid for the funeral.

Anne remained grief-stricken. She was no longer Queen of France but she regained power over Brittany and immediately took complete possession of her lands and their governance. She consulted with the Duc d'Orléans, now King Louis XII on having his troops removed from Brittany. He consented.

There were more meetings between the two and eventually Anne agreed to marry Louis after he extricated himself from his marriage to Jeanne of France. Her marriage contract with Charles VIII had stipulated that the new King of France marry Anne upon his death. While awaiting the annulment of Louis' marriage, Anne returned to Brittany. Pope Alexander VI gave Louis his annulment and Jeanne retired to a nunnery.

A marriage contract was drawn up, stipulating Anne retain the government and revenues of Brittany. If she died without children, Brittany went to her direct heirs.

If she had children, the second male child or daughter if there was no son, would inherit Brittany. Anne retained the dowry she received from King Charles and Louis doubled this amount. Anne and Louis were married in the chapel of the Castle of Nantes on January 8, 1499.

On October 15, 1499, Anne gave birth to a daughter named Claude. Louis did not interfere with Anne's administration of Brittany and allowed her much freedom and independence. Anne was tenacious, bold, determined and firm in her conduct. Some of the King's men called her obstinate. She had an unbridled temper and was known to be vengeful. But Louis indulged her.

Anne could be kind as some of her letters show. She was very pious and took an interest in the poor. She was called the "Good Duchess" and her court was known as a school of good conduct for the young daughters of noblemen. She collected manuscripts, cultivated a library and was a patron of the arts. Louis recognized her political acumen and allowed her to help him carry out some duties in administering the country and consulted with her on foreign affairs.

On November 18, 1504, Anne was crowned Queen of France a second time at Saint Denis. She had at least six pregnancies which resulted in either miscarriages or stillborn children. There may have been incompatibility with RH factors for Anne and her spouses. In 1510, she had a daughter named Renee who would survive but Anne became seriously ill after the birth. She lost the power of speech and was given last rites but she slowly recovered. Anne had one last stillborn son in 1512, suffering a dangerous fever afterwards. Louis went on several campaigns in Italy and suffered numerous near-fatal illnesses during the marriage. Anne acted as Louis' nurse.

Anne was a proponent of an Austrian alliance for her daughter Claude in an effort to keep

Brittany independent of France. France had a Salic law, meaning a woman couldn't inherit the throne so Claude was not allowed to be Queen Regnant. Louis was very aware of his fragile health and of his lack of a male heir. He therefore made arrangements for Claude to marry Francois d'Angoulême, the next in line for the French throne. There was a betrothal ceremony in the great hall of the Castle of Plessis-les-Tours on May 20, 1506. Anne was very unhappy with this turn of events. The alliance was one of the few things Anne and Louis fought over. She continued to hope the marriage would not materialize.



**Anne of Brittany portrayed with three saints: Saint Anne, Saint Ursula and Saint Hélène - image created between 1503 and 1508**

On August 7, 1508, Anne was traveling in a litter over the Loire River on a wooden bridge when the boards gave way. She was suspended on the edge of the opening and lost her horses but she managed to be rescued. Louis' efforts to conquer Italy put him at odds with the Pope for several years. The Pope threatened France with interdict and excommunication, a state of affairs which worried the pious Anne. She worked very hard to reunite Louis and the French church with Rome, eventually accomplishing reconciliation between all the parties.

Anne had never enjoyed the best of health and after the birth of her last child, she was very unwell. The chronicles mention she was often ailing with an illness called "stone" or kidney disease. This was mixed with an intermittent fever. She was only thirty-eight but all the childbearing had taken its toll. Acute suffering began in late December of 1513. After ten days of pain and misery, she died on January 9, 1514 in the castle of Blois. The chroniclers claimed the doctors taking care of her were ignorant and mismanaged her care and should have been dismissed.

### **Further reading**

*A Twice Crowned Queen: Anne of Brittany*, by Constance Mary Elizabeth (London, 1906)

*Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, by Kathleen Wellman (Yale, 2013)

*Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France and England*, edited by Diana Robin, Anne R. Larsen and Carole Levin (ABC CLIO, 2007)

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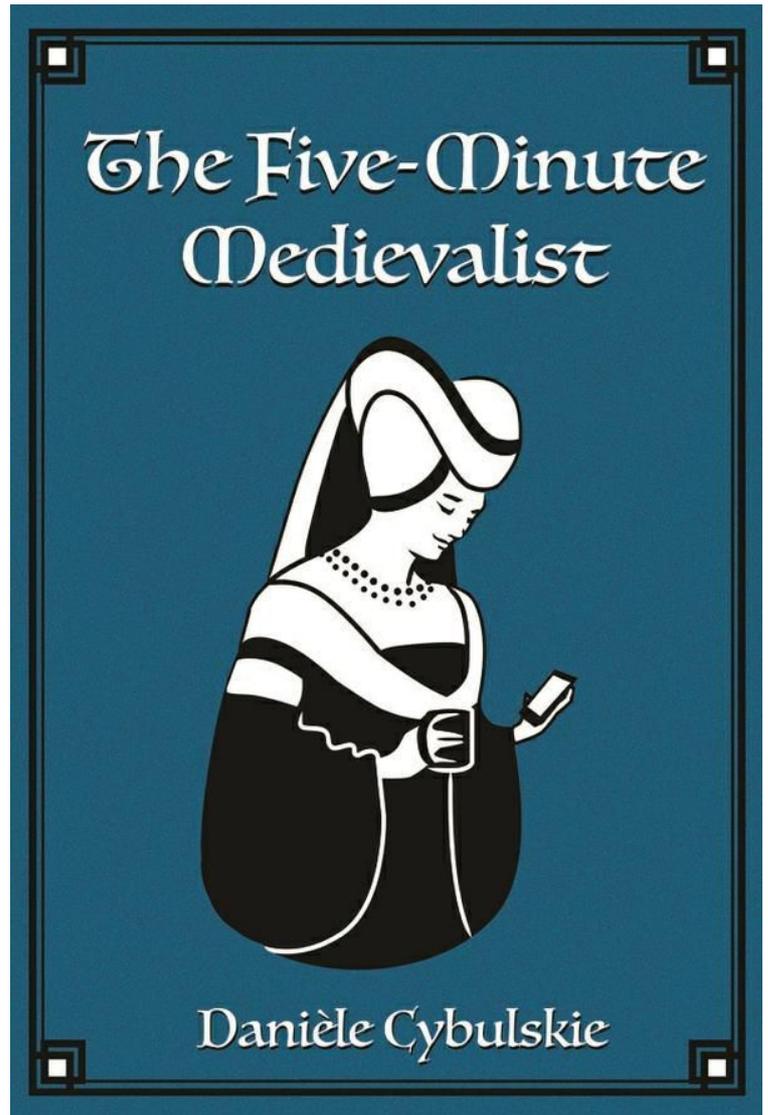
Surgeons and apothecaries embalmed the body. Her heart was extracted and encased in a gold box. There was a magnificent funeral which lasted for days. She was buried in Saint Denis but her heart was taken to Nantes and buried in the tomb of her father and mother which she had built. On May 18, Anne's daughter Claude was married to Francois d'Angoulême, just five months short of her fourteenth birthday. On October 9, 1514, King Louis married the ravishing sister of King Henry VIII, Mary Tudor of England, only to die on January 1, 1515 after too much celebrating. Anne's daughter Claude was Queen of France. She would give birth to at least seven children and die at the age of twenty-four.

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