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

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The Hartje Paper

The Martha and Robert G. Hartje Award is presented annually to a senior in the spring semester. The History Department determines the three or four nalists who then write a 600 to 800 word narrative essay dealing with an historical event or gure. The nalists must have at least a 2.7 grade point average and have completed at least six history courses. The winner is awarded $500 at a spring semester History Department colloquium and the winning paper is included in the History Journal. This year's Hartje Paper award was presented to Michael Hill.

Dedication

This publication represents the hard work and tremendous efforts of the History Department's students and professors, particularly the contributors and editors. We would like to dedicate this journal to Dr. Tammy Proctor, Professor of History for her commitment to improving and developing the History program here at Wittenberg. Your efforts regarding academic success and the overall structure and organization of the program have greatly L Q Á X H Q F H G W K H G H Y H O R S P H Q W R I W K H G H S D U W P H Q W faculty, staff, and most importantly the students. Thank you for making the

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

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

There are plenty other fools who are recorded wandering through cities with dead dogs tied around their necks as Symeon did, giving away both the calf and the cow so as not to separate the bovine family as is recorded in St. Philaretos' vita, and laughing madly into the faces of other monks like the fool Abba Silvanus. They were so insane that their folly could only be interpreted as divine inspiration. As Sergey Ivanov states, holy fools emerged as a "saint 'in spite of,'" the inherent sanctity of all people "rather than a saint 'because of'" it.[6] Holy fools represent this rebellion against the success of Christianity and monasticism: "[the holy man] was thought of as a man who owed nothing to society. He fled women and bishops, not because he would have found the society of either particularly agreeable, but because both threatened to rivet him to a distinct place in society."[7] Even though they fled these prescribed roles, the hagiographers, or the authors, defended them, saying that "the veneer of their madness or marginality demonstrated perfect self-mastery in a context that prevented devotion or adulation of others."[8] They are rebels defecting praise from others for their outstanding ascetic habits by feigning "madness and [becoming] objects of derision."[9] Hagiographers saw their deeds as a way to be more divine by committing to a different, abject form of asceticism.

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

[1] Derek Krueger, Symeon the Holy Fool: Leontius' Life and the Late Antique City (Berkeley: University of California, 1996), 151.
[2] Ibid., 155.
[3] Ibid., 158.
[4] Ibid., 153.
[5] Krueger, "Tales of Holy Fools," in Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice, edited by Richard Valantasis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 184.
[6] Ivanov, Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond, Simon Franklin, trans. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 48.
[7] Peter Brown, "The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity," The Journal of Roman Studies 61 (1971): 92.
[8] G.W. Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar, eds., Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1999), 495.
[9] Krueger, "Tales of Holy Fools," 177.
[10] Guy G. Stroumsa, "Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism," Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions, David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 75
[11] Ivanov, Holy Fools in Byzantium and Beyond, 33.
[12] Ibid., 31.

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

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

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

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

WHO WERE THE FOOLS?

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

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

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

[13] Or, "an ascetic who pretends to be permanently insane or simple by the people he surrounds himself with." Vincent Déroche, Études sure Léontios de Néapolis (Uppsala, Sweden: Acta University Uppsala, 1995), 155.
[14] Svitlana Kobets, "Foolishness in Christ: East vs. West," Canadian-American Slavic Studies 34 (2000): 337-363.
[15] Paul (1 Cor. 4:10) quoted in Krueger, "Tales of Holy Fools, " 177-186.
[16] Robert T. Meyer, trans. Palladius: The Lausiac History (Westminster, Maryland: The Newman Press, 1965).
[17] Benedicta Ward, trans. The Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 1984).
[18] Robert A. Kitchen and Martien F.G. Parmentier, trans. The Book of Steps: The Syriac Liber Graduum (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, Inc., 2004).
[19] For a translation of his vita, please reference Derek Krueger, Symeon.
[20] Please reference Lennart Rydén, The Life of St Andrew the Fool II (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 1995).
[21] Please reference Lennart Rydén, The Life of St Philaretos the Merciful Written by his Grandson Niketas: A Critical Edition with Introduction, Translation, Notes, and Indices (Uppsala, Sweden: Uppsala University, 2002).
[22] Ward, The Sayings of the Desert Fathers, 6, 27, 140.
[23] Kitchen and Parmentier, trans. The Book of Steps, 164-165.
[24] Meyer, Palladius, 96-98.
[25] Meyer, Palladius, 3.
[26] Ibid., 17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[38] Krueger, Life of Symeon, 122.
[39] Rydén, Life of St Philaretos, 93, 95, 97.
[40] Ibid., 75, 77.
[41] Ibid., 358.
[42] Alexander Kazhdan and Lee F. Sherry, "The Tale of a Happy Fool: the Vita of St. Philaretos the Merciful," Byzantion; revue internationale desetudes Byzantines 66 (1996): 359.
[43] Ibid., 359.
[44] Kitchen and Parmentier, trans. The Book of Steps, xxxiv. 45

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

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

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

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

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

Symeon the Holy Fool; Leontius' Life

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

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

Krueger, as part of the relatively new movement of the literary turn in late antique studies, takes a large amount of time and space to explain this literary approach, I believe in part to legitimize the progressive thesis

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

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

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

Andrew Crislip engages in the conversation of holy fools in his work From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity by creating a context for those perceived as sick to procure medical care.[83] Although he is looking at the growth of medical facilities and care as part of the growing monastic movement, Crislip still engages with many other scholars: Brown, Cameron, Patlagean, Foucault and Rouselle. He also utilizes an impressive amount of primary sources, including the Apophthegmata Patrum, and the work of Eusebius, and John Chrysostom. Crislip’s work is relevant to the study of holy fools since it creates a context for the sick in the late antique world. Sickness could be perceived as a part of ascetic practice in many cases.[84] In the fools’ case, their perceived illness could be interpreted as mental illness. For example, in Palladius’ Lausiac History, the nun who feigned madness was referred to as the “afflicted one” by her sisters.[85] Crislip’s work helps to put holy fools in the cultural category of the ‘afflicted’ and details their place in society and monastic communities.

In a later article, “I Have Chosen Sickness: The Controversial Function of Sickness in Early Christian Ascetic Practice,” Crislip explores how sickness functions in an exclusively monastic context, which is a bit closer to the scope of this paper.[86] Specifically, he examines the controversial understanding of sickness as a form of asceticism, as well as how much responsibility a monastic had, therefore, to care for his or her body if sickness and self mortification could be considered a form of asceticism. Crislip quotes Evagrius of Ptan-10.7 83

[79] Guy G. Stroumsa, “Madness and Divinization in Early Christian Monasticism,” Self and Self-Transformation in the History of Religions, David Shulman and Guy G. Stroumsa, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 73-88.
[80] Ibid., 82.
[81] Ibid., 79.
[82] Ibid., 77.
[83] Andrew Crislip, From Monastery to Hospital: Christian Monasticism and the Transformation of Health Care in Late Antiquity (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

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

Although Samellas is supposedly concentrating her study of alienation to the Eastern Mediterranean between the years 50-600 AD, she still pulls modern examples to further exemplify her point. For

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

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

CONCLUSION

The study of the holy fool is not a succinct one. Approaches and methodologies differ signi cantly depending on which scholar is conducting the research. No matter what approach or lens the primary sources were viewed through, one overall theme stays the same: "madness… is a common charge against those who tell the disturbing truth…the guardian of truth is invariably dismissed as a raving lunatic."[93] The holy fool functioned in a marginal place in society; they were on the sidelines—insane, but so much so that they must be more divine and ascetic than those who had not yet reached their level of asceticism. Although the fools keep their sanctity a secret to mock the con nes of developing monasticism in the late antique period, they function as an example for future readers of their hagiographies.[94]

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

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

[93] Saward, Perfect Fools, 1.

[94] Kitchen and Parmentier, trans. The Book of Steps.
[95] Krueger, "Tales of Holy Fools," 178.

Bibliography

Bowersock, G.W. Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar,

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

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

[1] Leslie Brubaker and John Haldon, Byzantium in the Iconoclast Era: c.680-
850 (Cambridge: Cambridge Uni(þÿ im 0 7.7 95.3354gþÿ)>>BDC 2l0 0 5.6 45 120.744 Tm), 40 Tm 8 47.9119 118.00conoSpan <</ra: c.6811 2Orthodoxwri Ca

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

Iconoclast vs. Iconodule Perspective:

At the heart of the controversy, lay three concepts, which are fundamental to understanding the arguments: image as a symbol of what it represented, image as the essence of what is represented, and the Christological doctrine connected to images of Christ.[8] The first wave of iconoclasts argued two fundamental points: idolatry, which pertains to the first two concepts, and Christology, which pertains to the third concept. Under Leo III, the veneration of icons was seen primarily as idolatry, but under Constantine V, a Christological issue was added which claimed God had no limits so He was unable to be depicted and in depicting Him so many times, they were giving God definition and multiple natures. [9] In the council of 754, the iconoclasts, under Constantine V’s guidance, explain both these points arguing that Satan drove people to worship the image instead of the creator, indicating the practice of idolatry. Then they continued by

God since they already know that it is impossible

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

The other major reason the emperors were able to establish their iconoclast agendas was that they were not alone in their iconoclastic beliefs. Despite the abundance of iconodule literature, these iconoclast emperors had ample support from both secular and religious gures. In large part, this support derives from the emperor's religious power and duties. During this time, "Episcopal appointments were under effective imperial control,

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

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

Constantine V (741-775)

Many writings, both primary and secondary, portray Constantine V, Leo III's successor and son, as the most violent persecutor of all the iconoclast emperors; however, they also credit him with the institutionalization and organization of the iconoclastic movement. Seeing the dif culties of his father concerning the criminalization of icons, Constantine decided that having proof of the church's support would help convince people of iconoclasm's legitimacy.[27] In 754, Constantine called a council of bishops who stated their arguments against icon veneration. They declared,

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

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

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

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

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

[27] Runciman, The Byzantine Theocracy, 74.

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

[29] Nikephoros, Nikephoros Patriarch of Constantinople Short History, 155.

[30] Alice-Mary Talbot, trans., "Life of Saint Stephen the Younger," in Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints' Lives in English Translation, ed. Alice-Mary Talbot (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research

a crowd when Constantine

Itine

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

Along with St. Stephen's death, The Chronicle of Theophanes and Nikephoros' Short History record other punishments ordered by Constantine V. Theophanes said that in 754, Constantine anathematized, "the holy Germanos, George of Cyprus, and John Chrysorrhoas of Damascus, who were holy men and venerable teachers.[31] Here the emperor reveals his authority to reduce the power and signi cance of important religious

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

Second Wave (814-842)

The second wave of iconoclasm contains less detailed primary evidence than the rst, largely because of a lack of chronicles and sources pertaining to the reigns of these later iconoclast emperors.[37] From the sources that are available, the iconoclast emperors of this time still held the important theocratic position evident in the rules of Leo III and Constantine V. Paul J. Alexander explains that, “during the second period of Iconoclasm and after the restoration of orthodoxy the iconophiles tended to emphasize more and more that the Iconoclasts justi ed their persecution in terms of imperial power.”[38] In fact, it is claimed that at this time the emperor’s power over both church and state was so prominent that if an emperor supported the heresy of Manichaeism, the heretics would win because they had the support of the emperor.[39] The idea that this heretical group could gain legitimacy through the emperor’s support highlights the tremendous political control the emperor held over

recriminations among members of

Primary:

Constas, Nicholas, trans. “Life of St. Theodosia of Constantinople.” In Byzantine Defenders of Images: Eight Saints’ Lives in English Translation. Edited by Alice-Mary Talbot. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998.

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

Kaldellis, Anthony, trans. Genesios on the Reigns of the Emperors.

Introduction

Scandinavian sagas are a very problematic source for historians. On one hand, they can be invaluable sources that provide insight into Scandinavian home life, politics, and society. On the other hand, sagas were often written centuries after the event Journa t>>BDC /T1_1 1 T366 Tm ithint>>Bm1 0 0 thie event Jodrivhe hand, the aviquesan <t>>BDa

but grandiose (though compelling) stories. He compares them to German märchen quite frequently, which undermines the saga's ability to be used as source because märchen in German means fairy-tale.[5] Furthermore, Bugge explicitly states that sagas developed from märchen because they share a variety of stylistic language and drama. He also posits that the story of Harald Fairhair (whose importance will be discussed later in the paper) is based on a märchen that was popular with old Norwegians and

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

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

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

At rst glance it would not seem that the political structure would be tied to the struggles of conversion, but it is. Robert Ferguson argues that after 100 years of relative stability, that the conversion of Iceland from paganism to Christianity triggered a "period of violent chaos" in the middle of the twelfth century. [17] This "Sturlung Age" was characterized by violent power struggles between chieftains; something that Ferguson says was caused by "the half-hearted abandonment of one set of cultural mores and values, and the imperfect and unconvinced adoption of another."[18] This idea is not completely inaccurate, but there seems to be a plethora of ideas as to how Icelandic society changed from a mostly peaceful system to one that was completely unstable. Jesse Byock argues that this change was brought on by the goðar gaining more power as society became more strati ed, as well as the number of goðar decreasing and what few there were left being part of six prominent families.[19] This era of political consolidation under the goðar, as well as a stratifying society, was the time that Snorri Sturluson was born into; the Sturlung Age of sagas refers to the sagas that chart the growing prominence of his family. As such, we cannot distance him from these events and must place him within this greater political context.

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

[14] Jesse Byock, Viking Age Iceland (London: Penguin Books, 2001), 178.
[15] Ibid., 175-176.
[16] Ibid., 120-122.
[17] Robert Ferguson, The Vikings (New York: Viking Penguin, 2009), 323.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Byock, 341.
[20] Ólason, 34.
[21] Ibid,.
[22] Ibid,.
[23] Ibid,.

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

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

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

In Egil's saga, the patriarch of the family Kveldulf does not trust Harald, and warns his son Thorolf that he should not trust Harald either. Despite his father's warnings, Thorolf swears allegiance to the king and makes a name for himself as a raider and as a con dante of the king, eventually becoming so successful that other men close to the king are jealous. They plot to destroy Thorolf by slandering him to the king, and although the king forgives Thorolf at rst the other men are able to convince him that Thorolf cannot be allowed to live and must be killed for stealing money from the king.[26] Thorolf is eventually killed and this is the underpinning of the feud between the two families, leading to Egil's grandfather and father leaving Norway with their families to settle in Iceland.[27]

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

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

[24] Bernard Scudder, trans., "Egil's Saga," The Sagas of the Icelanders (New York: Penguin Books, 2001), pg. 11.
[25] Snorri Sturluson, "Heimskringla: History of the Kings of Norway, trans. by Lee M. Hollander (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1964), 76.
[26] Ibid., 12-37.
[27] Ibid., 43.
[28] Sawyer and Sawyer, 166-167.
[29] Scudder, 42.
[30] Ibid., 9.

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

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

Eventually Egil settled down in Iceland for good, where people ifl

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

In Heimskringla,

Conclusion

The very complex and tumultuous political climate of Iceland in the thirteenth century affected many people, Snorri Sturluson among them. In his lifetime he witnessed the consolidation of the goðar and the change in their power as their numbers were reduced, with many con icts occurring between the goðar as they fought amongst themselves for power.[45] This political change affected his writing of both Heimskringla and Egil's Saga, but it's Egil's Saga that reveals his mental re ections on the Icelandic political changes via the strong anti-monarchy stance taken by Egil and his family. Snorri Sturluson was remembering the good days of the goðar before they had become what they were during his time, and in this way Snorri Sturluson is a presentist, as he projects views on his own political situation into the sagas that he wrote.

[45] Bagge, 239.

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

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

Long before the book-making process was expedited by the implementation of the printing press, however, personal libraries were very small. Illuminated manuscripts at this time were objects owned by and meant for the elite. The cost of producing an illuminated manuscript was such that, it could only be afforded by the wealthiest members of a society.[10] As the Renaissance began to ourish and cultures began to place heavier emphasis on aesthetics, the function of the illuminated manuscript began to evolve alongside the ideals of the time. The religious importance of the illuminated manuscript did not diminish; quite the contrary, in fact, it became an essential part of the education the nobility. These texts were paired with private reading books; professional, educational, and recreational texts; law and medical texts; and nally, Classical and humanist texts.[11]

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

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

[8] Ibid. 42.

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

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

[11] Ibid. 13.

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

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

In manuscript illumination in Italy beyond the 1400s, there were signi cant developments in artistry dealing with illuminated manuscripts. A speci c style of script and a speci c style of decoration were developed for the production of Classical and humanist texts. Some letters and typographic features developed during the creation of this script are still used even today, despite—or alongside—the advent and implementation of technology in the world of book production.[16] An

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

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

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

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

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

The text of "Trionfi" by itself had a lot of influence in the Renaissance. It was considered an epic even though the central theme is not war, but love. Also notable is the fact that Petrarch intertwines his own life journey with the allegorical life journey of the everyman: "He reveals his love for Laura, his grief on her death, his lust for fame and hostility toward time, his conversion, and his hope for repose in eternity,"[33] while making it clear that these themes and events are representative of the entirety of the human race. Personal elements placed alongside and within ideas that encompass

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

Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of "I trion" is, a piece which has not been studied extensively. This is odd considering the manuscript's place in history as a microcosm of Renaissance ideals.[8] A viewer can clearly infer by simply exploring the manuscript that the illumination of this piece was meticulous and as a result it is a delicate and rich manuscript that offers both Classical elements and Renaissance conventions in the same space.

relationship between the different artistic disciplines was heavily debated throughout the Renaissance, and many artists felt that one form of artistic expression was truly superior to all others

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

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

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

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

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

Figure 7. Leaf from Bartolomeo Sanvito's illumination of Petrarch's "I trion "
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"Petrarch, Francesco Petrarca." EBP.99Jbps9 EBP3.1474 567.4742

Introduction

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

Historiography

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

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

The Arrival of Confucianism into Japan

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

[4] Ooms and Makoto, "Early Tokugawa Confucianism," 332-334.
[5] Beatrice Bodart-Bailey, "The Laws of Compassion" Monumenta Nipponica 40.2 (1985): 177.
[6] Ibid., 179.
[7] Ibid., 183.

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

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

In 1640, his father encouraged Banzan to read "The Four Books of Confucius with Commentaries by Various Masters" which deeply motivated him to delve into the study of the classics. He moved to Kyoto a few months later and witnessed a life-changing event that determined his destiny. While staying at a hotel in Kyoto, he observed a retainer

and thought the Bakufu should supply scal relief to samurai and daimyo while transforming the warrior class into samurai farmers.[20] These ideas discuss the importance on expressing lial piety and stressed that if an individual could grasp the criteria of time, place, and status, they could perform their social function while maintaining spiritual autonomy.[21] Banzan and Mitsumasa also worked together to establish tenarai schools that provided moral education to farmers and their sons that was rooted in Confucianism. In his work Zotei Banzan zenshu, Banzan stated: “With the world, one should put education rst and await the desire for rites and ceremonies…Through school ordinances, one should rst teach the knowledge that discriminates between right and wrong and good and evil and stimulate righteousness that knows shame.”[22] However, these schools jeopardized the warrior’s monopoly to govern the commoners, which eventually led to their closings and brought Banzan under attack from critics.[23] Banzan also proposed a reduction

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

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

Occasionally, he would call on Ogyu Sorai and Shimura Sanaemon to engage him in lectures and discussions on Confucian thought. His appointment of Kitamura, an innovative kokugaku scholar, to be the titleholder of scholar of Japanese poetry was signi cant in essence because he was embracing the diversity of the various schools of Confucian thought. He also enjoyed listening to Buddhist and Confucian priests and scholars of Japanese literature engage in dialogue with one another. After listening to these conversations or debates in some circumstances, he would establish public lectures through a correspondent to deliver lectures to the commoners in nearby domains. These contributions made by Tsunayoshi demonstrated that he was determined to extend moral education to all social classes by any means. Tsunayoshi instituted policies around 1700 that allowed education and ethical concern to disseminate to all classes.[31] His engagement in discussions, lectures, and debates exhibited his commitment to providing some form of education to citizens of all classes in Japan.

Conclusion

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

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[28] James C. Baxter and Joshua A. Fogel, Writing histories in Japan: texts and their transformations from ancient times through the Meiji era (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2007), 178.
[29] Craig and Shively, Personality, 116.
[30] Ibid., 120.
[31] Ibid., 117.
[32] de Bary, et. al, Sources of Japanese Tradition, 117.

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

Meghan McLaughlin

Introduction

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

The racially tense city of Cincinnati, Ohio, was one of the many Northern cities in which de facto segregation led to an ongoing struggle by the black community to achieve quality desegregated education. The of cial efforts for desegregation in Cincinnati took place largely beginning in the 1960s, precisely nine years after the passing of Brown. In 1963, the rst attempts by the NAACP to achieve desegregation through the court system in Deal v. Board of Education led to a lengthy con ict between the NAACP and the Cincinnati Board of Education. Throughout the years, the NAACP attempted to work through the legal system as well as through the hearts and minds of Cincinnati citizens to achieve equality in education for all; this can be seen in the second major lawsuit in Cincinnati, Bronson v. Board, which began in 1975. The black community was constantly unhappy with the existing de facto segregation and what they saw as the active avoidance of desegregation by the school board. This con ict between the black community and the racism of the school board lasted throughout the 1980s, and took the form of action against the school board by the NAACP in Cincinnati.[3]

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

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

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

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

[4] NAACP, "NAACP: 100 Years of History," NAACP, http://www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history mw?source=BSDAds_GoogleSearch_NAACP_History_NAACP% 20History_Phrase_13683517273&gclid=CL2wjOzPg7QCFahQOgod5BcA1w (accessed Dec. 5, 2012).

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

There has been much scholarship published over the last several decades regarding the desegregation of America's public schools through the lens of the court and legal system. One of the earliest works of this type is Barker and Barker's book of studies on civil liberties, published in 1965.[14] In this book, Barker and Barker provided a meaningful framework for the study of civil liberties problems and racial desegregation in the United States. The important chapter for this study, chapter 5, concerns "racial problems in the balance," which includes resistance to the Brown decision and school administrative actions with de facto segregation. Written before a large portion of the Cincinnati struggle, this book shows the nationwide situation with regards to desegregation in the 1960s. Barker and Barker recognize how dif cult it was for black people to actually in uence administrative action: "Though Negroes led numerous petitions, only in a few instances did school of cials attempt to use administrative remedies to meet the problem."[15] Furthermore, Barker and Barker call for school districts to have equitable distributions of black and white children, claiming that this will create an advantageous atmosphere for all involved. The authors claim that administrators can make a difference and accomplish desegregation, depending on several factors.[16] This focus on administrative action is telling for the Cincinnati integration story. While the school board did have the ability to enact de facto desegregation, they actively avoided it.

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

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

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

[13] Clotfelter, 19-20.

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

[15] Barker and Barker, 197.

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

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

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

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

In another commentary on the legal basis of desegregation, Robert L. Herbst, published an article in 1973 for the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science.[20] In this article, Herbst aimed to comment on the struggle for integration of schools in the North after the passing of Brown. He claimed that because the Supreme Court has not extended the Brown decision to include de facto segregation, the schools where this segregation exists have fought a separate battle for true integration. Blaming this on the ambiguity of the language of the Brown case, Herbst examined the struggle for the courts to have to decide how Brown applies outside of the South and if it included racial imbalance that resulted from neighborhood patterns.[21] He showed how the NAACP has

Court's role in school integration following the Brown decision in 1954 to the time of the writing

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

Also writing about the busing controversy, Gary Or eld provided scholars with a look at the busing issue as it relates to policies across the nation. This monograph, Must We Bus?, looks exclusively at the busing issue that arose at the end of the 1960s and extended through the 70s. The book is centered around two questions that "have received little systematic study": has the court de ned an integration policy that can be implemented? and will the constitutional requirements outlined by the courts by implemented?[36] In other words, can a judiciary actually transform public schools from the courtroom? Or eld aims to answer these questions through the analysis of national policy through the 60s and 70s, most notably including the effects of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Or eld ultimately comes to the conclusion that busing is the only suitable solution available if true racial integration was to be achieved in the schools. Or eld uses numerous court cases and Congressional records to construct his argument. He also interacts with existing scholarship largely in the footnotes. Authors like Herbst and Rossell are mentioned. Overall, Or eld argues for the development of public policy that is positively committed to national integration, particularly in metropolitan areas. He sees this as the major issue of "our generation" that requires much more action.[37]

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

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

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

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

[34] Hermalin and Farley, 608.

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

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

[37] Or eld, Must, 455.

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

[39] Rossell, 64.

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

[41] Fife, 41.

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

When it comes to historians who have written solely about Cincinnati school desegregation, the eld is much narrower. While Cincinnati is a case study within the studies done by other historians, it is rare to nd a work that concentrates speci cally on Cincinnati. Nevertheless, these works still exist, and largely focus on the black struggle for quality education in Cincinnati. Within these works, however, it is possible to recognize how, at times, Cincinnati’s desegregation experience mirrors that of other Northern cities. Nevertheless, this research

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

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

EstherKay Erkins expanded on the information written by Jackson in her 2002 dissertation, which included research on the years 1974-1994.[50] In this dissertation, Erkins specifically analyzes the years 1974 to 1994 in order to study the effectiveness of the desegregation programming implemented by the district that took place during that twenty-year period, or the Bronson Settlement. Erkins concludes that the progress toward desegregation was minimal as a result of the programming. This places her in agreement with Rossell, who wrote that desegregation programs were a failure in Cincinnati. Erkins has a lengthy bibliography, as she interacts with sources from Berlowitz and Sapp, Farley, Jackson, Orfield, Rossell, Washington, and Watras. Erkins also researched many newspaper articles from The Cincinnati Enquirer, Cincinnati Post, and the Cincinnati Post and Times Star, providing her with concrete primary sources to support her argument that the Bronson Settlement did not have a large positive effect on school desegregation in Cincinnati.

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

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

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

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

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

[52] Ashmore, 71.

Cincinnati: De Facto Segregation Immediately Following Brown

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

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

The NAACP, the Deal Case, and the Community

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

> On September 3, 1963, approximately 100 Negro Children transferred from Evanston School (a 99% Negro school) were retained intact in all-Negro classes in Oakley Elementary School rather than distributed among the student body and were segregated at recesses… On September 3, 1963, Mrs. Jacqueline Stonom, on behalf of Yolanda Stonom, and Mrs. Joan Woody, on behalf of Gregory Woody, went to the Board of Education of ce and attempted to have their children transferred out of the Oakley School because of segregated classes. A representative of the Board in charge of transfers refused this request. On the same date, these two parties went to the attendance center and requested that their children be transferred to Hyde Park Elementary (a 95% white school) because of practices of segregation at Oakley. This transfer of request was denied by a Mr. Ranhlesburg who said he was in charge of the transfers for the schools involved…On September 9, 1963, at a public board meeting, the CBOE again refused to abandon segregating the Negro students transferred to Oakley from the Evanston School.[62]

The continual refusal by the school board to transfer students on the basis of segregation was seen as a blatant violation of the constitutional rights of the black children, who were being forced to have segregated classes, recesses, and lunch periods at the Oakley school.[63] Furthermore, the NAACP saw inherent inequalities between the predominantly white schools and the predominantly black schools; they pointed out the fact that the school board was selective in its drawing of district attendance zones that they were "disabling members of the Negro race from attending school with white students…[and]

School in “an orderly demonstration against what they call ‘de facto segregation.’[66] This nonviolent protest served to raise awareness and work toward

about a month after starting. The judge ruled in favor of the school board, claiming that the school board had no constitutional duty to transfer classes for the sole purpose of race and that the NAACP had not shown suf cient evidence to prove that de facto segregation existed. Despite an appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals, the court continued to rule in favor of the school board.[73] Instead of abolishing the de facto segregation in the public schools, the court indirectly provided its support for the CBOE and permitted the board to legitimately enforce

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

The Bronson Case: The NAACP Continues the Struggle

In 1974, the NAACP once again led suit against the school board in an attempt to achieve full desegregation. The purpose of this second suit was to force the school board to implement the December 10 Resolution, halt the construction of new schools, and to assign staff to new schools based on the racial balance of the district. This time, the NAACP led on behalf of Mona Bronson and other black students and was equipped with support from the Cincinnati community and the national NAACP. Bronson v. Cincinnati provided an opportunity for the NAACP to revisit issues relevant to Deal as well as an opportunity for the national chapter to work on a metropolitan case that was similar to various urban Northern school districts.[84] In an of cial statement, the national NAACP claimed that they and all NAACP “units” would take action to inform parents, students, and organizations of the negative effects that the school board’, sction

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

All of this community support for the NAACP does not mean that there were no Cincinnati citizens that were rooting for the school board to prevail in their segregationist policies. There was a portion of the Cincinnati population that was against desegregation and the use of busing to achieve it. One organization, Citizens for Neighborhood Schools (CNS), made an announcement in 1974 that it would intervene in the lawsuit brought against the school board in order to “assert to the court that there is a large class of people in the Cincinnati School District currently not represented in the suit who are opposed to the ‘relief plaintiffs’ request in the suit and massive busing as a means of establishing racial balance.”

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

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

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The Cincinnati Reds and Racism

Melissa Gartner

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

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

In the early 1900s, the issue of race appeared again in Cincinnati, speci cally regarding certain players that the Reds added to their rosterIn 1911, the Reds signed Armando Marsans and Rafael Almeida, two light-skinned Cuban players who claimed that they did not have any black heritage. These two players had previously played on Negro League teams, and later it was discovered that 0.5584 66/mFing certain we T* rI playrFeague teeithin he Re * (Ameri played treated like socialplaaccept/RadSpan <</Act

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[1] Phil Dixon and Patrick J. Hannigan, The Negro Baseball Leagues: A Photographic History (Mattituck, New York: Amereon Ltd, 1992), 63.
[2] Ted Radcliffe, "Ted 'Double Duty' Radcliffe," in Voices from the Pastime, ed. Nick Wilson (Jefferson, NCL McFarland & Company, 2000), 119.
[3] Ibid., 118-119.

The Reds, too, were not able to accept the fact that black players might be as talented or even more talented than Reds players of the time. In 1936, the Reds played a Negro League All-Star team in Puerto Rico in a winter barnstorming game. In the series, the Reds were “thumped” in both of the games by the Negro Leaguers. As a result of these embarrassing losses, “the Reds decided to play the Negro Leaguers no more.[69]” The Reds players’ attitudes were extremely racist in this incident, unwilling to concede that black players might be

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

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

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

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

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

Racism continued to haunt the Reds into the 1990s as well. In 1991, Marge Schott, the owner of the Reds, fired Tim Sabo, the "only African American employee in the Reds' front office."[29] Sabo believed that he had been fired because of his race and sued Schott. During the lawsuit, Schott's

[23] Ibid., 52.
[24] Ibid., 65.
[25] Ibid., 50.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Mike Shannon, The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly: Cincinnati Reds (Chicago: Triumph Books, 2008), 49.

After the Reds integrated in 1954, the city and team slowly became more open to African American players and the successes that they would bring. However, most white people were still unwilling to accept black players as equals in all aspect of their lives. White players were willing to play with Chuck Harmon and Frank Robinson, but they made no effort to include them or their families off of the eld. The city of Cincinnati itself too did not provide a welcoming environment to the black players and their families, as players like Robinson were not welcome at team celebratory parties with the rest of their team. Even in the glory days of the 1970s black players felt slighted because of their race, highlighting that the Reds management was still not treating all players completely equal. The incidents with Marge Schott in the 1990s also shed damaging light on race issues within the Reds. Evidently, the Reds have had problems with racism for many years, and these problems have not disappeared even in the last twenty years.

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