BIROn - Birkbeck Institutional Research Online

Enabling Open Access to Birkbeck's Research Degree output

How to build a king : shaping the self and the royal body in Giles of Rome's De regimine principum

https://eprints.bbk.ac.uk/id/eprint/53725/

Version: Full Version

Citation: Hambling, Craig Jonathon (2024) How to build a king : shaping the self and the royal body in Giles of Rome's De regimine principum. [Thesis] (Unpublished)

© 2020 The Author(s)

All material available through BIROn is protected by intellectual property law, including copyright law.
Any use made of the contents should comply with the relevant law.

Deposit Guide
Contact: email

How to Build a King: Shaping the Self and the Royal Body in Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum*

Craig Hambling

The work contained is the candidate's own and submitted for a PhD in History at Birkbeck, University of London, 30th September 2023

………………………………………………………………………………………………

Abstract

The social construction of gender and its relationships with social roles are well-established in many areas of scholarship, but the formation of medieval masculinities remains under-interrogated. So too is there a widespread acceptance of the utility of study into historical physical training and martial arts, but such study often remains distant from wider social histories. This thesis takes the curriculum described in the widely read *De regimine principum* (c.1280) by Giles of Rome and considers both the subject matter and the pedagogical methods of varied subjects deemed useful for the life of a king. This focus on regal phronesis requires a blending of evidence from medieval combat, riding, and hunting manuals with advice on academic schooling and political theory. In doing so, this research presents a far-reaching but nuanced analysis of medieval kingship and social ontology.

Contents

List of Figures **6**

Introduction **8**

Giles of Rome 12

Outline of the work 16

A methodology of senses, practice, and bodily orientation. 20

Medievalists and the *habitus* 20

The Body of Concern 24

Orientation and Reach 27

Concepts within DRP 30

The body politic 30

Deliberate ontology and onto-politics 32

Nature 34

Chapter 1 - The Stuff of Kings **38**

The extended royal life-course 39

The 'ecological' infant– complicating the boundaries of the body 40

Body and Character 44

Sensory construction of *habitus* 48

Rational control of the sensing body 56

Feminine bodies and the female character 59

Gender as Orientation 63

Conclusion 70

Chapter 2- Bodies in Interaction: Wrestling as Pedagogy for Embodied Social Action.74

The popularity of wrestling 75

How did people wrestle at this time? 80

Wrestling manuals 85

Wrestling Principles 90

Martial gesture in imagery 97

Conclusion 104

Chapter 3 - The Thinking Prince: The Matter of Abstract Knowledge **105**

The Trivium 106

Grammar 108

Grammar as Dialogue 109

Memory as Sequence 112
Mattering memory, embodying grammar 118
Dialectic 124
The Political Value of Disputation 124
Argumentation as a Physical Practice 126
Rhetoric – Emotions as Combat 132
Emotions as Bodily Acts 135
Rhetoric and Wrestling: Conceptual parallels 136
Effecting Affect: Emotions as Strategy 141
Conclusion: Performance, Witnessing, and Sensitivity 145
Chapter 4: The Cyborg Prince: Incorporation of objects, animals, people 151
Physical Training and Desirable Bodies 155
Armed Combat: the Longsword and Elite Incorporation 161
The longer tradition of weapon incorporation 170
Mounted Combat: Horsemen and Men-horses 176
Hunting: A confluence of human and non-human 184
The *Domus* as Natural Society 193
Conclusion: The Actualisation of Ontological Distinction 198
Chapter 5 - The Perfect King: An Embodiment of Prudence 202
Self-governance and the Ends of Kings 203
Ruling an extended body 207
The military body 209
The regnal body 213
Prudentia singula, militia, regia 216
Prudentia singula 216
Prudentia militia 220
Prudentia regia 225
Conclusion: The perpetual ruler 228
Conclusion 232
Overview of thesis 232
Impact of the work 236
Medieval pedagogy as training of bodily *habitus* 236
The king's many bodies 237
(Re)Orienting Medieval Gender 239
Reconsidering the martial body 243

Bibliography **245**
Manuscripts 245
Primary Printed Works 246
Secondary Sources 250
Appendix A – DRP Chapter Titles **264**
Book I 264
Part I 264
Part II 264
Part III 266
Part IV 267
Book II 267
Part I 268
Part II 269
Part III 270
Book III 272
Part I 272
Part II 273
Part III 275

List of Figures

Figure 1, Jacob wrestling an angel, MS London, British Museum, Royal 1 D X, f. 74v, 1200-1220 81

Figure 2, Belt wrestlers, MS London, British Library, Arundel 157, f.95v, c.1240 82

Figure 3, scarf wrestlers, The Ormesby Psalter, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 366, f.109v, 1250-1330 82

Figure 4, Wrestlers on shoulders, The Queen Mary Psalter, MS London, British Library, 2 B VII, f.161v, 1310-1320 83

Figure 5, Wrestlers and stone lifting, Politics and Economics, MS Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium 11201-02, f.341r, 1376 84

Figure 6, "flying mare" shoulder throw, Kylix E94, British Museum, c.430BCE. 87

Figure 7, Shoulder throw, Codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5278, f.191r-f, c.1420. 87

Figure 8, Terracotta Panathenaic prize amphora, Metropolitan Museum, New York, c.500BCE. 88

Figure 9, Codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5278, f.195r-a, c.1420. 88

Figure 10, Il Fior di Battaglia, MS Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 13, f.32r, c.1404 91

Figure 11, Wheel of Senses, Longthorpe Tower, c.1330, ©Historic England. 92

Figure 12, *Floria de Arte Luctandi*, MS Paris, BNF, Latin 11269, f.38v, 1410-1420. 99

Figure 13, MS Königswald, XIX.17-3, Königsegg-Aulendorf family private collection, f.36r, 1446-1459 99

Figure 14, Prayer Book of Hildegard of Bingen, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 935, f.38v 100

Figure 15, *Chroniques de France ou de Saint Denis*, vol. 1, MS London, British Library, Royal 16 G. VI, f.350, second quarter of 14th century. 102

Figure 16, Hortus Deliciarum: Seven Liberal Arts, Strasbourg, c.1170, f.32r (MS now destroyed). 119

Figure 17, Floria de Arte Luctandi, MS Paris, BNF, Latin 11269, f.38v, 1410-1420. 138

Figure 18, Epitoma rei militaris (Jean de Meung (trans), Bibliothèque inguimbertine, Ms. 332, c.1290-1310, f.1. 158

Figure 19, *Goliath Fechtbuch,* Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS Germ. Quart. 2020, c.1535-1540, f.11v 165
Figure 20, *Goliath Fechtbuch*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS Germ. Quart. 2020, c.1535-1540, f.13r 167
Figure 21, *Starhemberg Fechtbuch*, Cod.44.A.8, f.2r. 168
Figure 22, Starhemberg Fechtbuch, Cod.44.A.8, f.1v. 168
Figure 23, Royal Armouries Leeds MS i.33, c.1300, f.2r. 173
Figure 24, Royal Armouries MS i.33, c.1300, f.2v. 175
Figure 25, *Rochester Bestiary*, Royal MS 12 F XIII, c.1230, f.42v. 180

Introduction

The male nobility of medieval Europe was heavily militarised, and martial prowess a fundamental strand of their identity.[1] Kings were expected to be capable warriors, even if they never fought a battle, and to embody the martial culture of which they were a product.[2] This required princes, nobles, and other male elites to be trained in martial arts from a young age, even though they were unlikely to engage in personal combat. Similarly, such elites were trained in a variety of other subjects, such as grammar, debate, and rhetorical skills, even though they were not training to be grammarians or orators. Instead, these subjects of study were intended to contribute to the practical skill of ruling. What then is the relationship between these subjects, their methods of study, and the ability to rule?

Customarily, the practice of scholars of pedagogy has been to study a particular subject and consider how this study led one to master the subject – how study of rhetoric might lead one to become an expert rhetor.[3] But to ask the question of how studying a subject shaped a person for a specific role is to enter a more complicated mesh of medieval ideas of ontology, the understanding of being. Applying this question even to the limited subject of physical training and the shaping of a kingly body raises fascinating questions. What is the relationship between ruling one's own body and ruling others? Do ideas of the training of the body and the senses give greater detail on social ideals? This thesis will demonstrate that sensoria, social,

---

[1] See Vale, Malcolm. *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages,* Duckworth, 1981, *Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe*, (Anne Duggan ed), Boydell and Brewer, 2000, Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry,* Yale University Press, 2005, Kaeuper, Richard. *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, Oxford University Press, 2001.
[2] For multiple studies see *Every Inch a King; Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds* (Lynne Mitchell and Charles Melville eds), Brill, 2013. For a more specific case study see Contamine, Phillipe. *La noblesse au royaume de France d Phillipe le Bel à Louis XII - essai de synthèse*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1997.
[3] For a study focused on considered relationships between rhetoric and emotion, see Copeland, Rita. *Emotion and the History of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages,* Oxford University Press, New York, 2021. For links between persuasive discourse and politics see Cox, Virginia, "Medieval Rhetoric and Politics," in *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*(Michael J. MacDonald ed), Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 329–40.

and gendered identities were understood by medieval theorists not to be merely innate but constructed and constantly reaffirmed through practice.[4] We can therefore read treatises concerned with the conduct of kings and the raising of royal children as actually treatises on the nature of humans, and by extension, of wider medieval society, and of the medieval world.

As a site of knowledge for guidance on medieval aristocratic pedagogy, this thesis will take Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (henceforth DRP). Written c.1280, and preserved in over 350 manuscripts, this popular and influential text describes an ideal king, including methods of raising princes to be perfect kings. It gives a comprehensive overview of the process of constructing an idealised masculine, royal identity, beginning with the selection of a partner with whom to conceive children, and then guiding their development and education through to adulthood. DRP is not comprehensive on all details, but this is one of the strengths of its materials for the method of this thesis. The non-discursive nature of the text's recommendations means that it is a point of entry into a networked discourse on the body and the senses which allows a new analysis of the shaping of the royal body.

The sensory turn in history

Ultimately, this thesis argues for a reframing of historical approaches to medieval educational culture founded upon the specificity of medieval sensory situatedness. This allows the martially-trained body to be integrated into historical discourses on medieval education, and a destabilisation of long-standing assumptions about "medieval violence".[5] This reframing expands the scope of analysis from physical acts of violence to encompass more fundamental

---

[4] For an important study on the construction of medieval masculinities, see Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe,* University of Pennsylvannia Press, 2003.

[5] A problematically economic/Weberian interpretation appears in Haidu, Peter. *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State*, Indiana University Press, 1993. For more nuanced but broader discussion, see Skoda, Hannah. *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330*, Oxford University Press, 2013, and for challenges to the casual use of the word "violence" see Lynch, Andrew. "Emotion and Medieval 'Violence': The Alliterative Morte Arthure and The Siege of Jerusalem", *Writing War in Britain and France, 1370-1854,* Routledge, 2018.

conceptions of the self and its varied modes of interaction. At the heart of these issues is a simple question: how did the experience of training shape a person?

The difficulty of using many historical sources to gain detailed knowledge of medieval experience is the same as that which undermines the validity of modern recreations of historic activity; the erroneous perspective that sensation is *universal*. Philosopher Thomas Nagel once wrote of the impossibility of knowing what it is like to be a bat, using this memorable thought experiment as a way of demonstrating how a non-subjective state of perception is not feasible for a human.[6] Historians are accustomed to the notion that they need to work hard to read historical sources, but bodies are sources too, and it is similarly important to read them with the same attention to nuance.[7]

Interventions that address the nuance of culturally constructed sensory bodies were inspired by phenomenological critiques from the first half of the twentieth century by such thinkers as Edward Husserl, Martin Heidegger, Marcel Mauss, and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Both Husserl and Heidegger suggested different ways of focusing attention on the body and its responses to sensation, but this strand of thought was more clearly articulated by Merleau-Ponty, who reflected on how his own subjective experience was inseparable from his body, and Mauss, who identified the role of education in shaping what he called the "techniques of the body".[8] These forms of critique found traction in developing anthropological, sociological and media theory, prompting the sensory approaches of Marshall MacCluhan and Walter Ong who suggested a division between literate/ocular cultures and illiterate/aural cultures, which,

---

[6] Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It Like to Be a Bat", *The Philosophical Review,* Vol.83, No.4, October 1974, p.448.
[7] The literature on the history of the body is extensive – for example, *Fragments for a History of the Human Body*, Zone Books, 1989. However, the martial male medieval body has rarely been the object of a sustained study.
[8] "…the subject that I am, when taken concretely, is inseparable from this body and this world." Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *The Phenomenology of Perception,* Routledge, 2012, p.408. ". "In all these elements of the art of using the human body, the facts of education were dominant." Mauss, Marcel. *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, (Ben Brewster trans), Routledge, 1979, p.101.

although problematically reductive, demonstrated the growing acceptance that the senses could reflect an entire ontology or cosmology.[9] The senses play an important role in the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu, whose *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (1979), used taste in the sense of eating and in the sense of broader aesthetic judgements to reconcile influences of social structures and subjective experiences.[10] Bourdieu's conceptions of the term *habitus*, referring to acquired schemes of thought and action, will play an important role in this thesis, and so will be discussed more fully in the next section concerned with methodology.

Historians have been slower to adopt sensory methods.[11] Although it could be argued that sensory history was a technique employed as early as Johann Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (1919), focused historical sensory work was given prominence in Alain Corbin's *The Foul and the Fragrant* (1986), which describes shifting social perceptions of smell in the early modern period, arguing that smell functions as a proxy for modernization.[12] David Howes places a more concerted historiographical "sensory turn" around the early 2000s, as part of a passage of linguistic, pictorial, and corporal turns beginning in the 1960s.[13] In 2005, Constance Classen added more nuance to anthropological observations, noting cultures that have their sensory cosmology rooted variously in senses of smell, balance, heat, and colour.[14] 2006 saw the publication of Chris Woolgar's *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, which showed the ways that multiple overlapping conceptions of the senses existed, with shifting and contingent hierarchies, and that these governed many kinds of interactions with objects in the

---

[9] See McLuhan, M. "Inside the Five Sense Sensorium", *The Canadian Architect,* Vol.6: 1961, p.49-54 and Ong, W.J. "World as View and World as Event", *American Anthropologist,* Vol.71, No.4, pp.634-47.
[10] See Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* Routledge, 1984
[11] An excellent summary of the historiography of the sensory method, together with arguments for the inclusion of the senses appear in Smith, Mark M. *A Sensory Manifesto,* Penn State Press, 2021.
[12] Corbin, Alain. *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination,* Harvard University Press, 1986. For more of Corbin's work on the senses, see Corbin, Alain. *Time, Desire, and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses,* Wiley, 1995.
[13] Howes, David. "The Cultural Life of the Senses", *Postmedieval,* Vol.3, 2012, p.450.
[14] Classen, Constance. "McLuhan in the Rainforest:The Sensory Worlds of Oral Cultures", *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Cultural Reader,* David Howes (ed), Routledge, 2005.

period.[15] The same year also saw the founding of the journal *The Senses in Society,* now in its seventeenth issue. The sensory turn has more recently produced a six volume anthology series, *The Cultural History of the Senses* (2018), which covers a range of periods from Antiquity to the Modern.[16] For medievalists, existing scholarship has begun the work of tracing the contours of the medieval European sensorium, but the primary application of sensory methodology has been to devotional or philosophical practices.[17] As yet, there is no substantial study of the martial sensory body in the middle ages.

Such an intervention requires sources on the construction and understanding of bodily sensoria in the Middle Ages that pertain to secular society (to the extent such a concept is relevant to the middle ages) rather than isolating philosophical, medical, or theological perspectives. This thesis presents Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (DRP) as the ideal source for such knowledge.

Giles of Rome

Giles of Rome was a scholastic theologian and philosopher, likely born in Rome c.1243, although little is known of his early life or family. This date is only derived from the knowledge that Giles joined the Order of Augustinian Hermits in 1258 and that the minimum age requirement was fifteen.[18] It is sometimes stated that he was a member of the powerful Colonna

---

[15] Woolgar, Chris. *The Senses in Late Medieval England,* Yale University Press, 2006.
[16] *A Cultural History of the Senses,* Bloomsbury, 2018.
[17] For examples of such work, see Astell, Ann W. "A Discerning Smell: Olfaction Among the Senses in St. Bonadventure's 'Long Life of St.Francis'." *Franciscan Studies,* No.67, 2009, pp.91-131, *Sensory Perception in the Medieval West* (Michael D J. Bintley and Simon C Thomson eds) Brepols, 2016, Champion, Matthew. "Senses at the Altar in Medieval Northern Europe", *Questiones Medii Aevi Novae 22,* 2017, pp.127-147, *Le cinq sens au Moyen Age* (Eric Palazzo ed), Cerf, 2016, Palazzo, Eric. "Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages", *Viator Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* Vol.4, No.1, 2010, pp.25-56 and Caseau, Beatrice. "The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation", *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages* (Richard Newhauser ed), Bloomsbury, 2014. This last volume contains nine chapters: The Social Life of the Senses, Urban Sensations, The Senses in the Marketplace, The Senses in Religion, The Senses in Philosophy and Science, Medicine and the Senses, The Senses in Literature, Art and the Senses, and Sensory Media. There is nothing on physical or martial practices.
[18] [18] Holstein, Bettina Elena. *A Commentary on the De predestinatione et prescientia, paradiso et inferno by Giles of Rome on the Basis of MS Cambrai BM 487, Doctoral Thesis,* Technische Universität Berlin, 2007, p.20.

family, a hugely influential and noble Roman family, and yet the evidence to support this is unclear.[19] The first clear evidence of Giles's life comes from around 1259/60 from Jordan of Saxony, who describes Giles being sent to take up his studies at the Augustinian order's recently established convent in Paris as part of the Augustinians' attempts to gain a full university education for some of their members.[20]

If he followed the customary educational practices of the time, we could assume that Giles spent the next six or seven years studying arts and philosophy, before commencing his theology studies at the University of Paris. With the Augustinians being a fledgling order, Giles would have had to submit himself to a master of a different order, and this may have been Thomas Aquinas, at least for some of this period.[21] From around 1269/70 to 1277, Giles created his important early works, including lectures on Peter Lombard's *Sentences,* and commentaries on many of the works of Aristotle.[22] By 1277, before Giles had attained his master's degree in theology and his licence to teach (*licentia docendi*) at the university, his situation was to dramatically change.

The incorporation of works by Aristotle into medieval scholarship dramatically increased in the mid to late thirteenth century due to the increased availability of his works in translation. This incorporation was not a smooth process and 1277 saw the official condemnation of many Aristotelian teachings by Etienne Tempier, the Bishop of Paris. Giles

---

[19] Some have suggested that this may be due to an error in documentation held by the Augustinians and that this, together with a considered analysis of his political allegiances, make it unlikely that he was a Colonna. See Holstein, *Commentary,* pp.20-21.

[20] "*et post modicum tempus ad sacrae theologiae studium Parisius destinatur",* Jordan of Saxony, *Jordani de Saxonia Liber Vitrasfratrum [...],* (R. Arbesmann, W. Hümpfner eds)*,* Cassiacum, Studies in St Augustine and the Augustinian Order, vol. 1, Cosmopolitan Science & Art Service Co, 1943, p.236.

[21] The exact nature of their relationship is unknown, but some possibilities are discussed in Pini, Georgio, "Building the Augustinian Identity: Giles of Rome as Master of the Order," in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, (Kent Emery, Jr., William J. Courtenay, and Stephen M. Metzger eds.) Brepols, 2012, pp.409-425.

[22] A detailed chronology of these early works can be found in Donati, Silvia. "Studi per una cronologia delle opere di Egidio Romano,I: Le opere primadel 1285—I commenti aristotelici," *Documentie studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale,* Vol.1, 1990, pp.1-111 and Vol.2, 1991, pp.1-74.

was particularly targeted at this time, and it has been argued that this process was not merely a reactionary response to Giles's works, but actually a part of an internal feud between Giles and his contemporary, Henry of Ghent (c.1217-1293).[23] Regardless of the reason, Giles wrote his *Apologia*, which defended much of his writing, and refused to retract the offending material. As such, he left the university and may have returned to Italy, based on Augustinian records which attest to him taking a greater role in the operation of his order in 1279.[24] The period between these two dates is the likely composition period of DRP, and its dedication to the future Phillipe IV of France (reigned 1285-1314) suggests that Giles spent at least some of this period in France, deliberately cultivating his connections with the royal court. The supposition that Giles was also a tutor to the young prince is impossible to verify, although Charles Briggs, in some of the more recent and detailed scholarship on Giles, notes that it would not be out of character for him to have formed this kind of relationship, listing three other works dedicated to noble youths.[25]

DRP represents a valuable intersection of academic and theological thinking with royal, secular authority. Giles, deprived of the security of the university, worked to build relationships in the secular world, and thus constructed his treatise with a mind to its intended readership. The text is strikingly bereft of references to scripture or patristic literature, instead including such martial analogies as likening kings who rule their people to archers who rule their arrows.[26] Despite these considerations, Giles was still an academic theologian expressing his

---

[23] For a detailed analysis of this incident, see Wielockx, R. "Apologia", *Aegidio Romani Opera Omnia III, Opera Theologica 1*, Olschki, 1985.

[24] Giles is named as the *diffinitor* of the Roman province in 1279. "*Item pro futuro capitulo generalissimo Paduano pro dicta Romana provincia […] prope Capitulum generale: fecit frater Egidium Romanum, Bacellarium parisiensium*", *Analecta Augustiniana II*, Augustine Historical Institute, 1907, p. 229.

[25] "…the commentary on *De anima* for Iacopo Stefaneschi, nephew of Pope Nicholas III, the commentary on the *Posterior Analytics* for the English cleric of noble blood Stephen de Maulay; and the *De predestinatione* and *De formatione corporis human in utero* for Tavena Tolomei, perhaps a member of the Sienese noble family." Briggs, Charles. *A Companion to Giles of Rome,* (Charles F. Briggs, Peter S. Eardley eds), Brill, 2016, p.12.

[26] "Therefore it is more expedient for the archer to know the mark than the arrow, for the archer is the one who rules the arrow, so it is more expedient for the king to know the majesty and happiness and the goal than the

understanding of the physical and metaphysical existence of human nature, and DRP is an important example of such thinking affecting social practice outside the confines of academia. Even if the impact of DRP had remained confined to the life of Phillipe, it would still represent an important conjunction of philosophy and secular pedagogy, but its impact throughout European elite society was significant. Charles Briggs notes that DRP is one of the largest survivals of non-religious work from the Middle Ages and exists today in over three hundred and fifty manuscripts in multiple translations.[27] It had a readership that encompassed the lay and clerical; royalty, gentry, urban bourgeoisie, and a wide assortment of scholars and clerics, all owned and read versions of the text well into the sixteenth century.[28]

A model as well as a manual: DRP as a discourse on ontology

A core intervention of this thesis is to argue that the structure of DRP as a text is critical to its capacities as an ontological model. DRP describes a wide-ranging pedagogy in three parts; the ruling of the self, the ruling of a household, and the ruling of a kingdom.[29] Because the overall goal of the text is to form an ideal ruler, the subjects covered and the order in which they progress all serve this goal. This progression of the text from the governance of the self, through the governance of the home, to the governance of the realm indicates that the

---

people, for it is he that rules the people." "*Sic igitur magis expedit sagittatorem signum percipere quam sagittam, eo quod sit sagitte director. Sic magis expedit regiam maiestatem et felicitatem et finem cognoscere quam populum, eo quod sit populi directiva*."*De regimine principum,* London, British Library (IC.5448), Imprint: Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 27 June 1473, Book I, Part I, Chapter V, f.8r. Unless stated otherwise, all DRP citations are from this Latin print edition, which closely follows the earliest Latin manuscripts. All translations are mine unless otherwise stated.

[27] A catalogue of MS in Italian libraries can be found in F. Del Punta, C.Luna. *Aegidii Romani Opera Omnia: I I/II, Catalago dei manoscritti (1001-1075) "De regimine principum": Citta de Vaticano – Italia,* Olschki, 1993. For discussion, see Briggs, Charles F. *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University c.1275-1525,* Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.3.

[28] There does not yet exist a critical edition, partly due to the monumental task of fully cataloguing extant MS in various collections. Such catalogues were in the process of preparation under the direction of Francesca Del Punta (d.2013), as part of an *Opera Omnia*, but many aspects are still awaiting completion. Vernacular versions exist, notably *Li Livre du Gouvernement des Rois: A XIIIth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise De regimine principum*, Wentworth Press, 2016, and *The Governance of Kings and Princes:John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the "De regimine principum" of Aegidius Romanus* (D.C Fowler, C.F Briggs, and P.G. Remley eds), Routledge, 1997.

[29] For a full chapter listing, see Appendix A.

identification of the king's body with his realm was a practical and urgent matter for pedagogy.[30]

The household advice includes a sizeable section of the raising of children, with a strong emphasis on physical and sensory self-control. In fact, the shaping of the child began before birth in the choosing of a mother and a time of conception, proceeded through advice on food, simple activities, and environmental considerations to condition the infant's body, described physical training from the age of seven, and an academic curriculum that gradually increased in complexity as the child's rational faculties developed. The text even goes so far as to recommend the methods for engagement with it; in a passage that describes conduct at meals, Giles suggests that the text be read to the prince while he ate: "...that there be read at the table the book *De regimine principum*, both so that princes themselves might be instructed in how they should rule and that others might be taught how to be obedient to princes."[31] Just as the structure of the text made clear its understanding of the importance and conceptual extension of the king's body, this recommendation indicates an understanding of links between physical, material, and conceptual awareness. Phillipe was intended to be nourishing himself with his meal and his education, both constitutive of his person. More than this, by reading or listening to the text of DRP, he was constantly reminded of the rationale for his own education, even as he was shaped by it. To follow the curriculum of DRP is to place oneself in the position of the twelve-year-old Phillipe, immersed in this pedagogical structure in all activities, be they wrestling with his childhood companions, learning his Latin, or eating his meals.

Outline of the work

---

[30] For a classic study, see Kantorowicz, Ernst. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology,* Princeton University Press, 1957.

[31] "*...ad mensam legeretur liber de regimine principum ut et ipsi principantes instruerentur qualiter principari deberetur, et alii edocerentur quom est princibus obediendum...*" DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter XX, f.85r.

In tracing the effects of this pedagogical regime to form a martial sensory body, the thesis builds upon what it defines as the life course model of DRP, which advances in increments of seven years and describes the ideal activities for each age. That 'builds upon' is important, as this thesis's understanding of the construction of the medieval prince within DRP re-organizes the order of the instructions provided in that manual from an approach that begins with an adult's self-rule to one that begins with the very earliest stages of a person's existence, their conception and infancy (see Appendix A). This approach draws together information from across the manual, thus revealing metacommentaries on the martial, royal, masculine body, on the medieval habitus, and on the metaphysics of rule.

The first chapter of the thesis investigates DRP's treatment of the ideal ways to conceive a child, both in terms of the bodies of the parents, their emotional states, their moral conduct, and even temporal and environmental concerns that affected the future child. This demonstrates that medieval understandings of the myriad influences on the matter of bodies were a mixture of physical and metaphysical, initially found in the bodies of the parents, but increasingly in the body of the child. There was considerable concern about the humoural complexion of whoever provided the child's nourishment and their moral fortitude, and some environmental recommendations to begin to shape the child's future martial skill such as exposing them to cold and accustoming them to movement in their cradles. These early considerations noted, the chapter will consider how central the formation of habits was in the deployment of their sensorium and its influence on the formation of their characters.

The second chapter applies this method to the beginnings of the child's formal physical education in wrestling by positioning wrestling practices as part of a long practice that began in Antiquity. This enables the use of fifteenth-century combat manuals as evidence of possible practices. My analysis reveals that the lessons learned from this practice were far more than simply physical but informed a conceptual grasp of biomechanics that remained latent but

observable in medieval depictions of stance and gesture. Wrestling also encompasses embodied understandings of the temporal considerations of actions, and this last would come to have considerable political implications for the child's future.

The third chapter picks up this theme by more fully exploring how the physical training of the child formed the basis for many aspects of their academic education as they were introduced to the *trivium* of grammar, logic and rhetoric. Continuing the method of expanding DRP by reference to a wider source base of contemporary texts and practices, the chapter includes particular attention to rhetoric as described in widely-read texts of the period, such as the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. This chapter also discusses practical methods of tuition and discipline in schoolrooms, drawing upon guides for tutors such as *De Disciplina Scholarium,* to understand the physical experience of theoretical education.

The fourth chapter picks up the child's physical training at a later stage, which includes earnest combat training and riding. Contemporary practical manuals exist for these subjects and the thesis uses these in a similar manner to the discussion of wrestling. Here the focus is on the ways in which the child, having mastered their own body, was encouraged to extend their mastery to non-humans, namely weapons and horses, with such objects operating as sensory extensions of the body. These are considered in practice through discussions of sources on hunting and domestic management, both often considered training for warfare, which illuminate some of the ways in which the child's metaphysical presence was beginning to incorporate physical and non-physical aspects such as servants, houses, and land.

The fifth and final chapter is concerned with the ideal king produced by this pedagogy and how he must implement the lessons of his youth in a variety of contexts. Through discussions of DRP's sections on the ideal passions and virtues of a ruler, this chapter identifies *prudentia* as the key virtue of a ruler. Although the general concept of *prudentia* was an active site of discussion for intellectuals of the period, Giles describes a number of sub-forms specific

to varied contexts of rulership. This demonstrates that Giles of Rome conceived of DRP as an integrated pedagogy, where *prudentia* functioned as meta-virtue that had been trained into the body and manifested in a measured sensory habitus throughout the king's extended body.

The thesis argues that it is critical to investigate the relationship between a variety of pedagogical topics and the appropriate forms of *prudentia*. DRP might recommend a future king study wrestling or rhetoric, but the purpose of the text is not to shape a prince into a wrestler or a rhetor, but a perfect king. Thus, it is vital to attend to what it is in each of these subjects that builds upon the particular form of *prudentia* that pertains to kingship; what Giles termed *prudentia regia.* As will become clear, it was believed that the only reliable way to shape the mind of a child was to train their body, as they were too young to respond to reason. Much of this bodily training was martial in nature, and the focus on these bodily practices informs our understanding of the medieval martial habitus and its expression in non-martial contexts. The lessons learned in wrestling, riding, and swordplay were not merely training for practical combat, but were preparation for the largely non-physical work of a ruler. In studying these in turn, not only is it possible to understand how lessons learned from martial training were entangled in multiple facets of medieval aristocratic conduct, but also to destabilise broader Cartesian notions of mind/body dualism and deepen understandings of the social constructions of gender and class.

A methodology of senses, practice, and bodily orientation.

This section describes the theory that underpins the thesis's interrogation of the sensory body as constructed by the pedagogy of DRP and identifies the key terms that will be used throughout the thesis. It commences by identifying the utility in medieval sensory studies of the concept of *habitus*, as discussed by the sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu, and identifies distinctions between this use and the common medieval understanding of the term.

Secondly, it combines strands of argumentation of Bruno Latour and Judith Butler to propose the term 'body of concern' as a reference to the ultimate subject of DRP, its reader, and especially so as to maintain a distinction between the nominal subject of DRP (the prince) and the metaphysical understanding of the body developed over the course of the text.

Thirdly, it incorporates Sara Ahmed's reworking of Husserl and Heidegger by way of concepts of orientation and reach to argue that a key method of the thesis is to re-situate DRP in its own world, orienting ourselves as its body of concern was oriented. When there are few contemporary sources that make the details of a particular practice explicit (as with wrestling in Chapter 2, for example) the thesis positions DRP as existing within a longer discursive tradition to enable the use of sources from earlier or later periods.

Finally, this section explores some of the fundamental concepts within DRP that underpin Giles's pedagogy, namely the idea of the body politic, the difficulties of Giles's ontology in the context of a pedagogical text, and how a discussion of Giles's theological understanding of nature allows a reconciliation of these difficulties.

Medievalists and the *habitus*

Current work on medieval senses focuses more on what medieval people sensed rather than their capacities for sensation or the cultural construction of the sensorium. For example, the second part of Woolgar's *The Senses in Late Medieval England* attempts to show medieval

sensory models in practice, by describing the sensory environments of various households. However, in effect this is simply listing the contents of inventories. Describing objects and their worth reveals little about the bodies that intersected with these objects or spaces.

More elaboration on medieval senses is contained in the volume *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages*. The initial chapter is also written by Woolgar, entitled "The Social Life of the Senses: Experiencing the Self, Others, and Environments". This is a helpful summary of general attitudes towards the senses in the later part of the Middle Ages but with few references to the ruling classes, and no particular conclusion. The problem is exemplified in Woolgar's statement that "we are dependent to a large extent on… projecting the information we have about philosophical and theological understandings of sense perception onto society at large....".[32] Not only does this approach ignore subjectivity, but there is also no reason to only work solely from philosophy to practice, as if philosophy was generated from disembodied minds.

In the wake of Foucault's famous insistence on the need for histories of the body, medieval historians have developed fruitful semiotic and symbolic approaches to the medieval body.[33] Caroline Walker-Bynum addresses corporeality of female piety and reveals how the cultural construction of the pious woman was inseparable from the materiality of the body, asserting the irreducibility of the body to mere symbol.[34] Hannah Skoda's *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330* (2013) presents the concept of "grammars of violence"; interpretive frameworks for the understanding of violent actions, heavily

---

[32] Woolgar, Chris. "The Social Life of the Senses: Experiencing the Self, Others, and Environments", *A Cultural History of the Middle Ages,* (Richard G Newhauser ed), Bloomsbury, 2014, p.23.
[33] Foucault, Michel, *History of Sexuality, Volume I,* Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012, p.152. For a rich variety of approaches, see *Framing Medieval Bodies*, (Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin eds) Manchester University Press, 1996.
[34] Walker-Bynum, Caroline. *Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion,* Zone Books, 1992, and "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective", *Critical Enquiry*, Vol.22, No.1, Autumn 1995, pp. 1-33.

dependent upon the semiology of marked bodies.[35] Foucault's work made the effects of linguistic and practical discourse on the body visible; however, in working with and beyond Foucault, this thesis takes up Judith Butler's critical observation that there is no pre-social body that is not inscribed by culture, society or the state.[36] This thesis engages with this existing scholarship via an interrogation of the cultural construction of the sensing body and one crucial tool for this project is Pierre Bourdieu's expansion of the medieval concept of *habitus.*

Habitus is derived from Latin translations of Aristotle's term *hexis* (ἕξις), meaning state of moral character, and was used by Thomas Aquinas to denote a durable disposition positioned somewhere between a potential and an action.[37] Although used in similar ways by prior thinkers, including Marcel Mauss, Merleau-Ponty, and Husserl, Bourdieu made it central to his attempts to avoid dualist debates over objectivism and subjectivism. In Bourdieu's formulation, *habitus* is formed of "transposable dispositions which, integrating all past experiences, functions at every moment as a *matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions*…(my italics).[38] Crucially, Bourdieu described the *habitus* as being both "structured and structuring", meaning that it was constituted by both lived experience and institutions, but was influential in the nature of institutions which guided lived experience. Thus, the *habitus* is a dialectic between the two, forming what Bourdieu called the "unchosen principle of all choices".[39] Crucially for this thesis, the *habitus* is both individual (as everyone has a unique *habitus*) and a method of socialisation, in that a *habitus* is shared by those who have the same social experience, allowing one to speak of a gendered *habitus*, an artistic *habitus*, a carceral *habitus*,

---

[35] Skoda, Hannah. *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France 1270-1330*, Oxford University Press, 2013, p.18.
[36] "…gender is always a doing, though not a doing by a subject who might be said to preexist the deed." Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity,* Routledge, 1990, p.25.
[37] For a concise discussion of the origins of *habitus*, see Wacquant, Loïc, "A Concise Geneaology and Anatomy of Habitus", *Sociological Review*, 2016, Vol.64, No.1, p.64-72.
[38] Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of A Theory of Practice,* Cambridge University Press 1972, p.261.
[39] Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*, Polity Press, 1980, p.256.

and so on. This thesis establishes the sensory parameters of an elite martial *habitus* by interrogating the pedagogical content and structure of DRP, but it should always be remembered that Giles of Rome had a *habitus* that guided his philosophy, formed by his own combination of lived experience and institutional education. Philosophy can never be prior to practice, nor vice versa.

The final point that is important regarding the use of *habitus* in this thesis is that it was an existing philosophical concept at the time of Giles of Rome and was used by him within the text of DRP. He does not define the term, but it was much discussed by earlier thinkers such as Peter Abelard and John of Salisbury and appears in the *Summa Theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas.[40] The difference between the classical Aristotelian conception of *hexis* and the medieval *habitus* lies in the agency of humans to control their nature. Aristotle discusses the entwining of habit, habitus, and agency in *Nicomachean Ethics* in a discussion of different forms of virtue:

> "Intellectual virtue is for the most part both produced and increased by instruction, and therefore requires experience and time; whereas moral or ethical virtue is the product of habit, and has indeed derived its name, with a slight variation of form, from that word. And therefore it is clear that none of the moral virtues is engendered in us by nature, for no natural property can be altered by habit. For instance, it is the nature of a stone to move downwards, and it cannot be trained to move upwards, even though you should try to train it to do so by throwing it up into the air ten thousand times; nor can fire be trained to move downwards, nor can anything else that naturally behaves in one way be trained into a habit of behaving in another way. The virtues therefore are engendered in us neither by nature nor yet in violation of nature; nature gives us the capacity to receive them, and this capacity is brought to maturity by habit."[41]

---

[40] For some recent detailed overviews of the changing interpretations of *habitus*, see *A History of Habit: From Aristotle to Bourdieu,* (Tom Sparrown and Adam Hutchinson eds), Lexington Books, 2013 and *The Ontology, Psychology and Axiology of Habits (Habitus) in Medieval Philosophy* (Nicholas Faucher and Magali Roques eds), Springer, 2018.
[41] Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics* (H. Rackham trans), Loeb Classical Library 73. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926, p.71.

This shows that the Aristotelian *hexis* is a capacity that must be actualised by action, rightly or wrongly. For clarity in this thesis, it is crucial to understand the distinctions between this classical *hexis* and both medieval and modern understandings of *habitus*. The Aristotelian perspective is that a person has a capacity for a particular *hexis* that must be actualised by repeated actions. The medieval distinction is brought about by negotiating the difficulty given by Christian perspective. God has ordained the nature that gives a person the potential to develop a certain *habitus*, which problematises the idea of agency in moral education.[42] Bourdieu's description of *habitus* as an "*unchosen* principle of all choices" suggests that, as opposed to the earlier understandings of the term, the *habitus* is so deeply influential on a person's existence that it is only discernible in retrospect, not as something which can be reliably and deliberately shaped. This thesis primarily uses *habitus* in Bourdieu's sense but will incorporate and acknowledge the other understandings described here, especially in Chapter Five's discussion of *prudentia*.

The Body of Concern

This thesis takes a queer phenomenological approach to the DRP as a mirror for princes, interrogating the tensions between Giles's explicit pedagogical project and his more implicit metaphysics. The thesis attempts this through a re-insertion of the DRP within the context of martial and masculine practice, challenging methods that relied upon methods of phenomenological distance. Edmund Husserl once wrote of his writing-table as an example of his phenomenological method of "bracketing", suspending considerations of an object's existence in order to consider his experience of its existence - as a tool, as a piece of furniture, as an expression of the person who uses it, and so forth. In queering this perspective, Sara

---

[42] For a more nuanced description of how the medieval understanding of *habitus* was transmitted through classical and early modern interlocutors, see Nederman, Cary J. "Nature, Ethics, and the Doctrine of 'habitus': Aristotelian Moral Psychology in the Twelfth Century", *Traditio*, 1989-1990, Vol.45, pp.87-110.

Ahmed draws our attention to the unconsidered things that permitted the table to exist, such as the domestic work of Husserl's house, but also the labour of the table's creation and placement in the space, and the labour it can facilitate or prohibit. The table was a commodity as well as a tool of labour, and a heavily gendered one. Husserl's work did not consider the masculine nature of the writing table or the work that it allowed him to do, only vaguely noting the sounds of his children in the distance and never mentioning their mother.

Ahmed instead uses the "table" as a term denoting a place of attention. The project of DRP, aiming to take a child and shape them into an ideal king, has a 'work surface' also – the child who is the reader of the text. The first part of DRP is aimed at an existing individual, able to read the text and understand it sufficiently to adjust his person and conduct. The second part of the text is concerned with the management of the king's household, specifically the raising of his heir. This heir is conceived of as a perfect king, his body shaped first by his educators so that gradually, as his capacity for reason advanced and was able to be shaped, he was able to shape himself, and then his own heir. But a living, growing, changing body is not the same proposition as a writing table, as the body is a site of work, the subject of the work, *and the worker*. Husserl's table was a surface upon which he wrote, a focal point of his home, and an augmentation and extension of his body, but his table did not vary with the subject on which he wrote, nor did he engage with the manner in which the work altered him as he created it. Although "table" is a useful term in Ahmed's work, it is not sufficient to encompass the work of DRP's pedagogy, A new term is needed to signal this thesis's commitment to the Ahmedian queering of DRP's project, while also invoking an attention to the ways that material bodies act upon the world in and over time, in constellations with other bodies.

My proposed term is derived from a mingling of vocabularies used by Bruno Latour and Judith Butler in an attempt to generate language sufficiently flexible to deal with the history of the body that this thesis encompasses. Latour wrote of Heidegger's etymological exploration

of the word *thing*, noting how it refers in many languages to a gathering place of significance. In doing so, Latour argued that it is better to consider how a *thing* is not a *matter of fact* but a *matter of concern.*[43] His hope in the creation of the latter term was that it would work as a shorthand for positive social critique that expanded awareness of the expansive assemblages that are represented by the words "facts" or "things" without diminishing them as "merely" constructed. Feminist philosopher Judith Butler wrote of how "matter" was thought of by Aristotle as "potentiality" (*materia* in Latin or *hyle* in Greek), and how form gives "actuality", noting the classical philosophical habit of associating these with femininity and masculinity respectively.[44] Butler, in tracing the varied ways in which bodies come to matter, reminds us that "to matter" means both to "to materialise" and "to mean".[45] As this thesis expands the understanding of the ways in which royal bodies came to matter, in both senses of the term, I propose "body of concern" as a useful term for the subject of DRP and its particular practices.

The term "body of concern" is useful in that it encompasses both the meanings of Butler's bodies which materialise through practices and discourse, and Latour's conception of matters being assemblages of networked ideas/practices/objects, while retaining the understanding that the body is a *person* who is therefore simultaneously a referent, a process, and an agent. As I explore in Chapter 4 in particular, this practice of assembling or *incorporating* objects into the body transforms not only the prince's embodied extent but also his capacities. The body is worked upon so that it might work upon itself, and the work is intended to alter both the body and the work that it can do. By using this term, we re-engage with Husserl's "table" as a sensitive, growing, responsive site of construction and signal a

---

[43] Latour, Bruno. "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern", *Critical Inquiry,* Vol.30, No.2, 2004, p.231.
[44] Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the discursive limits of "sex",* Routledge, 2011, p.7. Giles of Rome follows this line of thought in DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XIII.
[45] Butler, *Bodies That Matter,* p.7.

distinction between the *habitus* as a static collection of characteristics and the *habitus* as a project.

Orientation and Reach

In *Queer Phenomenology,* Ahmed also considers the myriad uses of the word 'orientation' in discussing the ways in which bodies are formed through practices and intersections with objects and other bodies.[46] Orientation as a term for what one points physically and conceptually toward is a helpful frame for thinking of the ways in which DRP shaped its body of concern. The curriculum described by DRP could be thought of as a mould by which unformed matter (the body of concern) is given form. As Butler describes, classical philosophy gendered matter as female and form as male.[47] Giles of Rome also follows this belief, stating that bodily substance is "of the mother".[48] Another section of DRP has the chapter title "that it is seemly for all parents to be concerned about their own children", but the body of the chapter makes no mention of mothers, only fathers.[49] Thus the raising of children is a male, formative act, and the process of formation orients towards maleness.[50]

Ahmed also helpfully uses 'orientation' in combination with the idea of a person's reach. By noting that bodies are shaped by contact with objects, with others, and with what is near enough to be reached, she suggests that "the history of bodies can be rewritten as the history of the reachable".[51] This thesis frames the gendered body at the centre of DRP as that

---

[46] Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects and Others*, Duke University Press, 2006, p.5.
[47] Butler, *Bodies That Matter,* pp.6-7.
[48] "*…quia totam corpulentam substantiam habent a matre quod amodo*." DRP. Book II, Part I, Chapter XIII, f.56r.
[49] "*quod decet omnes parentes circa proprios filios esse solicitos"* – the actual chapter changes *parentes* to *patres.* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter I, f.62v.
[50] The assumption of DRP is that the body of concern is male, and so it could be argued that DRP only demonstrates that forming *male* bodies is a male act. However, there are but three chapters that are explicitly concerned with the raising of daughters, and no mention of the mother being involved in this work either.
[51] Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology,* p.55.

which reaches, which is oriented, as well as that which is reached in the temporal sense of being *brought into being*.

Ahmed's discussions range far beyond Husserl's approach to his table, and this thesis also considers the practical and theoretical reach of its body of concern when engaged in the specific activities that it recommends. For example, in the tuition of Latin grammar, part of the subject of the third chapter of the thesis, the body of concern has its conceptual reach extended to the written works of many scholarly authorities, the words of devotional practices, and a shared language of diplomacy across Europe. The application of this method to DRP itself requires consideration of the sources which were within its reach to craft its pedagogy. As will become evident, DRP explicitly draws upon many works of Aristotle, and other classical sources, such as Vegetius' *De re militari* to describe practices of warfare. DRP also makes recommendations regarding subjects for training without full explanation, such as recommending wrestling without naming a source of knowledge. This means that the reach of DRP extended to non-discursive practices, the knowledge of which was embodied in practitioners. To make the implicit explicit, the thesis situates the embodied knowledge that DRP relies upon in a broad historical context, establishing it as influenced by earlier practices and influential upon later ones. This requires the use of source material from non-contemporaneous periods, such as combat manuals of the fifteenth century.

By understanding the orientation of DRP itself, we understand the orientation of its body of concern. Giles's goal was to write work that would be well-received, and so its orientation is toward secular classes as they existed at the time of composition. This explains

many of the choices Giles made regarding the avoidance of scriptural references and inclusion of martial analogies.[52]

This kind of orientation is concerned with the reception of DRP, but as regards its project, the thesis reveals that DRP is oriented towards a practical, embodied rationality; not striving for a life of pure intellect that *erased* the body, but a mastery of one's nature that *properly oriented* the body. The king was, after all, the master of his realm, and as Merleau-Ponty put it, a body is not a tool, but a form of expression.[53] DRP recommends training to shape that body, by repetition of certain actions to condition that expression. This repetition causes what was termed 'sedimented histories' by Husserl and Merleau-Ponty, but, as discussed, Bourdieu's *habitus* more neatly encapsulates the way in which past experience, however, derived, shaped the reception of future experience.[54]

Ahmed also makes the point that, as one is oriented towards some things, one is oriented *away* from others.[55] This further demonstrates why a life course model is appropriate for the thesis, as the child is oriented from even before they are conceived in the way that the king chooses the mother of his children, alert to how they will inherit her bodily substance. As is demonstrated in Chapter One, every opportunity to orient the infant body of concern towards martial capability and away from matters which would detract from that goal was taken when possible. Thus, as the body of concern encountered each new subject or practice, their body had already been shaped to receive that knowledge, which also oriented them towards their next stage. It is vital to trace the orientations of medieval bodies, derived from the work that

---

[52] Briggs describes the avoidance of scripture and patristic literature as unique in the medieval mirrors genre. See Briggs, Charles. F. *De regimine principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University, 1275-1525,* Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.11.
[53] Merleau-Ponty, Maurice, *The Primacy of Perception* (James M Edie trans), Northwest University Press, 1964, p.5.
[54] For sedimented histories, see Steinbock, Anthony. *Home and Beyond: Generative Philosophy after Husserl,* Northwestern University Press, 1995, p. 36.
[55] "…the work of repetition is not neutral, it orients the body in some ways rather than others*",* Ahmed, p.57.

they did – or, in the case of young children, were made to do.[56] Martial prowess is not the end goal of the process, but it is the theme around which much learning was organised, and therefore framed the king's conceptions of his body.

The importance of the shape, reach, and orientation of the royal body becomes far greater when the wider representational meanings of royal bodies are considered, namely through the concept of the body politic.

Concepts within DRP

The body politic

The notion of the body politic, a metaphor for human society as an organic body, is an enduring image in Western philosophy. The idea has deep classical roots and was widely deployed in philosophical works available at the time Giles of Rome wrote DRP. The earliest examples of the idea are limited to the idea of the state as a body troubled by a medical complaint and the leader of the state as a physician or *medicus rei publicae,* seen clearly in the works of Cicero and Plutarch.[57] This idea was certainly present in the works of John of Salisbury, whose writing was influential on the genre, and who cites Plutarch as the source of the idea in his *Policraticus* (c.1159) A lengthy passage is worth quoting in full:

> "The position of the head in the republic is occupied, however, by a prince subject only to God and to those who act in His place on earth, inasmuch as in the human body the head is stimulated and ruled by the soul. The place of the heart is occupied by the senate, from which proceeds the beginning of good and bad works. The duties of the ears, eyes and mouth are claimed by the judges and governors of provinces. The hands coincide

[56] Attempts to construct ethnographies of modern martial arts have been attempted, often making use of *habitus,* but focus almost entirely on adult training and the experience of the author as subject. See Wacquant, Loïc. *Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer,* Oxford University Press, 2004, and Spencer, Dale. C. *Ultimate Fighting and Embodiment: Violence, Gender, and Mixed Martial Arts,* Routledge, 2013.
[57] For a trans-cultural perspective on this as a medical notion see Shogimen, Takashi. "Treating the Body Politic: The Medical Metaphor of Political Rule in Late Medieval Europe and Tokugawa Japan." *The Review of Politics,* Vo.70, no.1, 2008, pp.77–104.

with officials and soldiers. Those who always assist the prince are comparable to the flanks. Treasurers and record keepers (I speak not of those who supervise prisoners, but of the counts of the Exchequer) resemble the shape of the stomach and intestines; these, if they accumulate with great avidity and tenaciously preserve their accumulation, engender innumerable and incurable diseases so that their infection threatens to ruin the whole body. Furthermore, the feet coincide with peasants perpetually bound to the soil, for whom it is all the more necessary that the head take precautions, in that they more often meet with accidents while they walk on the earth in bodily subservience; and those who erect, sustain and move forward the mass of the whole body are justly owed shelter and support."[58]

The reference in this passage to record keepers resembling the stomach and the allusion to their potential for engendering diseases is a likely reference to the classical Aesop's fable, "The Belly and the Members", a cautionary politicised tale based on the departure of the plebians from Rome in 495-497 BCE. This tale has itself been suggested as an enduring paradigm for the republican idea of the body politic, and the appearance of it here suggests a continuity for the idea into the twelfth century.[59] The inclusion of the body politic within *Policraticus*, a text concerned with the conduct of kings, courtiers, and bureaucrats, enfolds the role of a king into this metaphor and adds a temporal component; a prince reading such a text would now understand the body politic as something that applied to his current king, but also as something that was to apply to himself in due time. The ramifications of this different temporal conception will be discussed in both Chapters 1 and 5 of the thesis, which deal with infancy and childhood, and adulthood respectively.[60]

---

[58] John of Salisbury. *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers,* (Cary J Nederman, ed & trans), Cambridge University Press, 1990, p.67.

[59] For discussion of this continuity see Walters, Brian. *The Deaths of the Republic: Imagery of the Body Politic in Ciceronian Rome,* Oxford University Press, 2020, pp.7-9. The same fable appears in the work of Marie de France, a contemporary of John of Salisbury. See Marie de France. *The Fables of Marie de France: An English Translation,* Summa Publications, 1984.

[60] Possibly inspired by the same fable, St Paul uses the same concept in discussions of the "body ecclesiastic". See, Hicks, Ruth Isley. "The Body Political and the Body Ecclesiastical", *Journal of Bible and Religion,* Vol.31, No.1, Jan. 1963, pp.29-35.

Deliberate ontology and onto-politics

If the text of DRP provides such a comprehensive guide to forming a king, did Giles believe that any baby could be shaped into a king? The answer is no, but the reason is not explicitly stated by Giles. Within DRP, class distinctions are presented as ontological categories, meaning that they are distinct forms of people with set properties and relationships. Yet a crucial premise of DRP is that people are shaped through the deliberate development of habits and *habitus*. The existence of the text depends upon resolving this tension, as to suggest that *any* person could be made a king through the correct education would have been deeply politically subversive in this period. The tension is somewhat relieved when the concept of time is added to the analysis, meaning that Giles's ontology is not concerned with ontologically static individuals, but those who are in the process of growth.

Despite remaining relatively focused on ideal states in DRP, Giles describes a gradual emergence of adulthood from childhood, and his pedagogical strategy was predicated on this developing capacity for rational thought. After the creation of DRP, Giles's approach to the development of children was extended backwards to the development of the infant *in utero* in a work entitled *De formatione corporis humani in utero*, which described how a human foetus passed through various vegetative and animalistic forms. Therefore, something which looked like a bear or a pig might be passing through these stages, but was something disposed to becoming a human. Giles's thinking on the development of human bodies and their respective souls in dialogue with Aristotle's views in embryological development is traced by M. Anthony Hewson in *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception* (1975), but the clear conclusion is that Giles argues "There are…certain species of an incomplete character, which nature introduces only with a view to culmination in a complete species."[61] Ideal end states

[61] Hewson, M. Anthony. *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception. A Study of the De formatione corporis humani in utero*, London, Athlone Press, 1975.

existed in embryos, destined to develop into mature humans, and after birth the gradual development of babies and children continued. As Giles writes in DRP while discussing the seven-year divisions by which children's education was categorised:

> "By this method the seven years might be shortened or lengthened by what is found in the diversity of the persons. For some are more robust in the body at twelve years than others at sixteen. Therefore because of this important point it is not possible to give a rule, but by some means this is to be left to the judgement of the master, who should instruct the children as is possible and by this method the time may be shortened or lengthened as he sees to be expedient."[62]

This passage shows that the gradual development of children required their masters to attend to their students' individual natures rather than regarding them as fixed categories, as per the customary use of ontology. Indeed, the entire premise of advice on the raising of children is that they will mature. What is at stake is the form of the eventual adult. Giles's passage also reminds us that, although he is discussing maturity in general, the example he gives is centred on the robustness of the body, making it clear that the maturity of children in the early years was based upon qualities of the body.

This highlights a potentially limiting factor in the use of "ontology" as an analytical term applied to this material. An infant exists as something unformed which must gain form through time and action. The existence of DRP as a project shows that Giles considered a royal infant able to become something which others could not. The difficulties of "ontology" are discussed by John Allan Mitchell in his 2014 book *Becoming Human: The Matter of the Medieval Child.* In this work, Mitchell discusses the difference between ontology as a method of knowledge concerned with fixed categories of being and "ontogeny", concerned with the process of becoming. It is not entirely necessary to use a different word to address this concern,

[62] "*Huismodi septennia sunt abrevianda et eligenda secundum diversitatem personarum nam alique sunt robustiores corpore in xii annis quam alii in xvi ideo quia de talibus punctalem regulam dare non possumus aliqua relinquenda sunt iudicio pedagogi…"* DRP, Book, II, Part II, Chapter XVI, f.71v.

but it is important for the work of this thesis to state that Giles's ontological, sociological, and political perspectives are almost always about the eventual ideal states of his categories and that it is understood that his work is about ensuring the emergence of these states. This means that the eventual ideal states of things and the concept of the "becoming-of-being" often absent from modern discussions of ontology requires interrogation of Giles's expressed understandings of nature. Thus, discussions of DRP's onto-politics are actually discussions of nature, and vice-versa.

A royal baby has the potential to become a king, but other children can only become his subjects. But what is it that distinguishes a person with royal potential from one without? As established above, the political ramifications of implying that royal power is wholly due to nurture would be extreme, and even the focus on future potential does not ameliorate the instability of Giles's onto-politics. As a result, there are many passages of DRP which argue for the primacy of absolute power in an individual by drawing parallels between human society and, not only the human body (as described above), but the structure of animal bodies, the operation of basic physics, and the principles of music. Giles strives to draw these parallels because it allows the tutors of a prince and the prince himself to understand that they are not simply teaching a child or training for a future role, but that they are choosing how best to align themselves with the nature of the universe.

Nature

A close reading of Giles's thoughts on nature allows a recuperation of becoming and ontology by incorporating time into the analysis. A particularly important reference to nature appears in DRP's prologue: "As therefore no violent thing is to be perpetual as almost every natural thing bears witness, he who desires his rule and that of his children and successors to

be perpetual should study busily that their rule be natural."[63] In seeking to understand what Giles understood by his uses of the word "nature" (*natura*), it is necessary to delve somewhat into his theology. Giles never directly addresses the non-Christian nature of his primary source in DRP, but it was still problematic for medieval scholarship to rest so heavily upon a non-Christian source, particularly one such as Aristotle who specifically argued against the existence of an intelligent designer of nature.[64] Interrogating the ways in which Giles interprets and uses the work of Aristotle in accordance with a Christian worldview reveals important details which underpin his uses of the term *natura*.

There is a frequent dependence on animalia in analogies within DRP and these are revealing of wider ideas on *natura.* For instance, while arguing for monogamy in humans, Giles writes that in animals where only the female is required to nourish the young, males take multiple partners but that they restrict themselves to one at a time when they are both required to work for the care of their young; a category which includes humans. He then writes:

> "Since therefore the bearing of the burden of wedlock in all things is not sufficient in one woman, it is natural for humans that one man be married to one woman, *for we ought to assume as natural things which are common,* as it is natural that man is right-handed, it is granted that it happens that some are left-handed."[65] (my italics)

Therefore, Giles considered "natural" things to be those that were common, but not inevitable. Extending this observation to the subject of shaping a child for kingship, it might be natural for a certain person to be a ruler of others, but that does not make it certain that they

---

[63] *"Cum ergo nullum violentum esse perpetuum fere omnia naturalia protestentur, qui in se et suis posterioribus filiis suum principatum perpetuari desiderat summopere studere debet ut sit suum regimen naturale."* DRP, Prologue, f. 1r.

[64] "It is absurd to suppose that there is no purpose because in Nature we can never detect the moving power in the act of deliberation…If purpose is inherent in art, so is it in Nature also." Aristotle. *Physics, Volume I: Books 1-4* (P. H. Wicksteed, F. M. Cornford trans), Loeb Classical Library 228. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957, p.179.

[65] *"Cum ergo ad supportandum onera coniugi in omnibus non sufficit sola femina naturale est hominibus ut unus vir uni mulieri nubat ea enim naturalia in ducere debemus que sunt in pluribus ut naturale est homini ut sit dexter licet contingat aliquos esse sinistro."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter IX, f.53v.

will rule or that they will do it well. Such a perspective is well-described in works on Giles's theology, particularly his earlier works.[66] What is at the centre of these expressions of *natura* is Giles's opinion on predestination – whether or not God has set the ends of all things in their natures. Richard Cross argues that Giles's theology was at heart voluntarist and libertarian, expressed by Giles thus:

> "When God thus inserts good thoughts into us, and thus calls us through them, it is in our power to will to follow him, or not to follow. And if we follow him, grace is infused into us; and if not, then we are excluded from it. Therefore, preceding the infusion of grace there is, first, the divine calling or the insertion of divine thoughts; then there follows of free choice to God; and then the infusion of grace."[67]

Thus, God chooses to offer certain people a particular path, as God chooses an end for all things, but humans have the ability to resist what God offers. Such a conception of nature as having particular ends infused into it by divine will accords well with Aristotle's teleological perspective, where ends are present in all things by their natures. This theory extended to such diverse subjects as moral virtues and the senses.[68]

Such a grasp of nature drives Giles to create DRP, so that those to whom God intends to extend the capacity for rule do not resist God's grace. The greater demand for attention to development is presented as a consequence of man's greater complexity when compared to animals, shown in a section on habits of gesture and movement which will be discussed in Chapter One; that animals do not need to learn efficient habits of bodily movement, as humans

---

[66] See discussion in Cross, Richard. "Theology", *A Companion to Giles of Rome* (Charles F Briggs, Peter S Eardley eds), Brill, 2016, pp.34-72.

[67] Giles of Rome, *Superlibrum 1 Sententiarum (Ordinatio):* Venice 1492; Venice 1521, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1968; Cordoba 1699. 2.28..3, 2:366aC-D.

[68] On moral virtues: "…as excellence or virtue in a man will be the disposition which renders him a good man and also which will cause him to perform his function well." Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics* (H. Rackham trans). Loeb Classical Library 73. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926, p.91. On the senses: "The term 'object of sense' is used of three types; two of them we say that we perceive directly, and one indirectly. Of the first two, one is an object proper to a given sense, and the other is an object perceptible by all the senses. By proper object I mean that which cannot be perceived by any other sense, and concerning which error is impossible" Aristotle. *On the Soul. Parva Naturalia. On Breath.* (W. S. Hett trans). Loeb Classical Library 288. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957, p.101.

have so much more potential to err.[69] The greater potential of humans requires greater work in their care, and it is this care that DRP provides in acting a guide for the care of children specifically, and the conduct of kings more generally.

Summary

The key terms for this method then are *habitus*, "body of concern", the body politic, ontology, orientation, and nature. *Habitus* will appear frequently, operating as an heuristic term for the qualities of a person, their character, bodily habits, and habits of thought. The term "body of concern" will be used to indicate when the *habitus* is being actively shaped and as a way of maintaining a helpful distinction between modern *habitus* (a more complete concept of character, but with less agency) and the medieval (where *habitus* was malleable via habits of practice). Orientation indicates the outward turns of the *habitus;* its interactions with environment and society rather than self-governance. The idea of the body politic reminds us of how the king can operate on many different social scales, and ontology/onto-politics is used to indicate when the thesis is examining Giles's understanding of social relationships. A common term within DRP is that "man is by nature a social animal".[70] As these discussions of nature make clear, God still lay at the heart of the project. The king is being shaped so that, in accordance with the divine plan, he ruled for the benefit of all. In writing DRP, Giles played his part in the divine plan too, fulfilling his natural (God-given) potential as an intellectual to guide his king to be the king that God intended.

[69] "*Aves enim et alia animalia ex naturali instinctu agencia non sic indigent disciplina ut homo qui utitur ratione et intellectu et agendum opera sibi debita non sufficienter inclinatur ex natura."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.70r.
[70] *"Naturaliter ergo homo est animal sociale."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter I, f.48r.

Chapter 1 - The Stuff of Kings

This chapter argues that the initial work of shaping a regal habitus was accomplished in two ways: through an attention to the environmental conditions that an infant experienced, and then through instilling particular sensory and bodily habits. These habits were characterised by self-control, with the intention of making rationality central to the child's habitus. This is particularly important to note in the context of Giles's beliefs about the deficiency of childhood rationality and the power of childhood habits. Essentially, the young prince was being taught rationality as a habit before they even had rational capacities.

The chapter first outlines the concept of the extended royal life course, which underpins how the work of creating a child did not begin with the child, but with the parents, and with their environment. From here my discussion will be organised according to three discernible themes within DRP: (1) the blurred bodily boundaries between individuals and their environment; (2) the relationship between body and character: and (3) the work of generating a habitus through attention to the senses. Finally, a comparative section using Giles's relatively brief passages on the raising of daughters adds significant detail on the orientation of masculine body of concern. Giles's understanding of gender differences was based upon his understanding of natural potential. This different potential underlies the programmes for orienting masculine bodies towards exterior spaces and habits of self-control, and feminine bodies to interior spaces and habits of self-restraint.

The extended royal life-course

The analysis in this chapter makes use of the concept of the "extended life course", a term which directs attention towards life stages beyond the limits of physical existence.[1] For royalty, the process of conception had no fixed beginning point; adults were to have healthy bodies so that they might create healthy children, who would themselves have bodies shaped for the generation of their own offspring. Consequently, it is important to note the difference between the "extended life course" posited by Gilchrist, Hockey, and Draper, and the extended *royal* life course. As argued by Ernst Kantorowicz, conceptions of kingship have to engage with the dual nature of kings, as both an embodiment of the realm and an individual.[2] Some medieval barons even used this duality as a method of dispute in early fourteenth-century England, arguing that they gave oaths of obedience to The Crown and not the King.[3] Thus the king's personal life course was as linear as any other human's, but the Crown was eternal. As they were not separate identities, the behaviour and the bodies of individual monarchs impacted on whether or not they successfully or accurately embodied the realm in the manner of their ancestors, and more crucially, whether or not they generated heirs who would do likewise. Thus, as the royal body was both mortal and immortal, the royal life course was both linear *and* circular, eternal and simultaneous. The naturally teleological component means that this chapter must consider how adult bodies and their environments shaped the bodies of their children prior to their physical existence.

---

[1] See discussion in Gilchrist, Roberta. *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course,* Boydell, 2012, p.5, and Hockey, Jenny, and Draper, Janet. "Beyond the Womb and the Tomb: Identity, (Dis)embodiment and the Life Course", *Body & Society,* Vol. 11, No.2, SAGE Publications, 2005, pp.41-57.

[2] "The King has two Capacities, for he has two Bodies, the one whereof is a Body natural, consisting of natural Members as every other Man has, and in this he is subject to Passions and Death as other Men are; the other is a Body politic, and the Members thereof are his Subjects, and he and his Subjects together compose the Corporation…"citation from Blackstone, William, *Commentaries on the Laws of England,* 1765, p.1249 in Kantorowicz, Ernst. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton University Press, 2016, p.13.

[3] Schriber, Carolyn P. "Edward II and the Tactics of Kingship," *Quidditas*: Vol. 13, Article 2, 1992, p.7.

The 'ecological' infant– complicating the boundaries of the body

The tradition of regarding the natural environment and ecological context as a key component in the health and physical structure of a human had a long and established history by the time that Giles created DRP. Hippocrates' famous fifth-century BCE text *Airs, Waters, and Places* had been commented upon by Galen, who himself had written copiously on the ideas of humoural theory from the Hippocratic corpus upon which much medieval medical practice was based.[4] It is certain that Giles was familiar with these writers and sources from the way that he discusses these subjects within DRP, although the authority he cites is Palladius, specifically a text referred to as *De agricultura.*[5] Here, Giles discusses the correct positioning and placement of a nobleman's house with particular attention to the effects of the local climate and purity of water. More specifically, he writes of how one might make more certain of the quality of water and the prevailing winds by observing the bodies of the inhabitants.[6] Giles therefore understood environments and bodies to be fundamentally entangled, and so both were to be considered in the work of creating children.

The actual sexual act is presented as being for the creation of children rather than any pleasure.[7] The care shown in the few mentions of the subject in DRP indicates that Giles is concerned with how the state of the parent's body might affect the future child:

---

[4] For further reading, see Hippocrates. *Ancient Medicine. Airs, Waters, Places. Epidemics 1 and 3. The Oath. Precepts. Nutriment.* Edited and translated by Paul Potter. Loeb Classical Library 147. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022. For a general overview of Galen, see Hankinson, R.J. *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, Cambridge University Press, 2018 and Mcvaugh, Michael. "Galen in the Medieval Universities, 1200-1400", *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen, Volume 17,* (Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Barbara Zipser eds) Brill, 2019.

[5] This is likely the text often known as *De re rustica* by Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus Palladius, a writer on agricultural matters of the late 4th and early 5th century. Details on his life are scant, but his writing was popular in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, with many translations available. For further reading see Rodgers, Robert H. *An Introduction to Palladius,* University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement 35, 1975.

[6] *"…consideranda sunt habitatorum corpora si eis sit calor sanus et pulcer, si sit ipsis firma sinceritas capitis si habeant acutum visum et purum auditum et vocem claram, nam per omnia hec iudicatur benignitas aeris et per contraria iudicatur aer infirmus esse."* DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter III, f.76r.

[7] Giles was not ignorant of the existence of both male and female pleasure in the sexual act, as he discusses the potential effects of female orgasms on fertility in *De formation corporis humani in utero,* written shortly after

> "For in the time of heat, there appears pores of the body and moisture is exhaled by which the body is made dry. In turn, the pores being open, natural heat is exhaled and by which cold may flow back inside the body. And this each man may know in himself, for in cold times when the northern wind blows is best for digestion, for heat gathers internally due to the cold, and is not exhaled, but is gathered within and is stronger. Wherefore if anything, the wombs of women in the time of winter are warmer because they do not expel inner heat and humidity, which does not evaporate in the moisture, and they are more suited to the generation of children, and strongly at such time males are more often made."[8]

Thus, the physical perfection of the infant body is also reliant upon the health of the father, and the health of the woman's womb. Giles writes that the more heat within the body encourages better digestion of food and so to expend too much of this heat through sex might lessen the digestive faculty and thereby damage the body.[9] Giles's advice on the environmental and temporal considerations of sex therefore serves two linked purposes – preventing degradation of adult bodies and being more able to orient the infant body in an ideal way. The ideal kind of infant is made healthy and well-formed due to the wider meteorological environment and its effects upon the parental bodies but is also made male by these considerations.

However, a more direct entanglement of environment and infant bodies appears in DRP. Giles cites Aristotle in claiming that southern winds bring more rain, but that northern

---

DRP. See Hewson, M. Anthony. *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception*, Athlone Press, 1975, p.88, discussing *de formatione corporis humani in uero*, chapter 4, f.15.

[8] *"…nam tempore calido apperiuntur pori corporis, et exalat inhumidum, quare remonent corpora sicca. Rursus apertis poris exalat naturalis calor, quo exalam te corpora intrinsecus remanent frigida. Unde quilibet inseipso experietur, quad tempore frigido flante borea, melius digerit quia calor interius propter frigus circumstans, non exalat sed magis roboratur et vigoratur, quare si ventres mulierum tempore hiemali sunt calidiores quia non exalat inde calor et humidiores quia non evaporat in de humidum, magis sunt apte adgeneracionem et forte tali tempore magis procreantur masculi."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XVII, f.58v.

[9] *"Tempore enim boreali et frigido quia calor naturalis magis reservatur plus possumus convertem de alimento quare usus coniugalis copule in tali tempore sic non laedit corpora vivorum nec sic attenuat a eo quod maior sit ibi conversio alimenti."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XVII, f.58v.

winds clear the air, which results in a finer complexion for children.[10] This is noted as being a recommendation for all, but particularly important for kings and princes, whose children should be "seemly and well-shaped".[11] Even at this stage of preconception there is a clear alignment between the physical shape and appearance of the royal body, the health of the realm, and the environmental state of the realm.

Environmental considerations were not only influential upon theoretical infant bodies, but existing physical ones. Once the child was born it was thought beneficial to expose them to cold for two reasons. One was for health, as children were thought to have a superfluity of heat in their bodies, and so the cold would balance their humours, thereby aiding their health. The second reason was specifically martial; "exercise in the cold is useful for deeds of war, for cold solidifies and tightens the limbs".[12] Thus the temperature is seen as directly shaping the physical structure of the child body, disposing it toward physical capability.

Yet the shaping of the body was not solely accomplished by passive experience. As the child aged, the work of shaping a desirable body became more active and deliberate. Giles recommends movement that is appropriate for young children and discusses how this kind of work makes the body agile and aids digestion.[13] There is little detail here, as this section is more of an argument for the importance of motion and activity in general, and more detailed guides appear later aimed at older children. However, he also writes that Aristotle so praised movement for children that he recommends that "from when they are first born there are to be

---

[10] *"…auster est pluviarum multitudinis adductivus, aere autem existente puro melioratur complexio existente in eo et fiunt meliores generationes quare tali tempore magis est danda opera coniugali copule."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XVII, f.58v.

[11] *"…decet ergo omens cives magis uti coniungo tempore quo sit melior procreation filiorum, tanto tamen hoc magis decet reges et principes quanto decet eos elegantiores habere filios."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XVII, f.58v.

[12] *"Secundo exercicium ad frigora in parvis pueris utile est ad bellicas actiones nam frigus membra consolidat et constringit…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XV, f.71r.

[13] *"…motus est temperatus in pueris quattuor bona facit. Primo quia reddit corpora magis sana…secundo reddit corpora agibilia…tercio facit ad augmentum…quarto moderatus motus membra consolidat."* DRP. Book II, part II, Chapter XV, f. 71r.

made some instruments by which the children should be rocked and moved."[14] Cradles and rockers are employed by modern society to soothe babies to sleep by mimicking the rocking motion they experienced in the womb as their mother moved. In DRP however, this motion can be preparation for future battles, but that the movement does not need to be initiated by the child to aid their health, growth, or strength. Instead, passive experience of movement prepares a child for the active physical exercise advised for older children. Effectively, the experience of the flesh trains the spirit, which in turn, continues to shape the flesh. This accords with Bourdieu's conception of *habitus* – a way of being that is both structured *and* structuring.

Such bi-directional ontology between the influence of the spirit and the flesh shows how indistinct the boundaries of the body could be. The care recommended in the sexual act and its timing reveals a concern for the bodies of the potential parents, the health of which was influenced by the direction of the prevailing winds and the qualities of the water in the domestic locale. The health of the parents and the qualities of their bodies were reflected in the body of the infant, but the broader environmental conditions also affected the potential baby, by the linking of clearer air and the child's future complexion.

However, the scale of influential factors changed as the child's existence moved from theoretical to actual, becoming smaller as the infant became more localised and definite. Temporal and meteorological concerns were replaced by a process of shaping the child's flesh by exposure to specific temperatures, motions, and ultimately actions. This shifting of scale is linked to the child's development of rationality – as they matured, the methods of influence became more specific and direct. This leads to an increasingly practical and physical method of shaping the child, with more specifically physical metaphors. The body of concern was now primarily the child who was no longer an idea, but an object to be moulded. As such, the chapter

---

[14] *"...ab ipso primordio nativitatis dicat fienda esse aliqua instrumenta, quibus pueri vertantur et moveantur."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XV, f.71r.

will now further consider the relationship between bodies and character through close attention to the metaphors deployed within DRP.

Body and Character

When working to shape an infant body of concern, DRP deploys a metaphor of the body as a malleable object and bodily and sensory habits as the tools which shape it. Yet this is more than metaphor; not only does it underpin the understanding of the practical methods by which to shape the infant *habitus*, but the choices of metaphorical materials and practices of shaping evoke the future social role of the infant. DRP's rationale is this:

> "Commonly men follow the sensory appetite and the sensory appetite is an organic power, or of the body, which is why such an appetite depends upon the body itself. Therefore at the age when the body has the most softness and ductility, more softness and ductility follow from the appetite, then as soft things and ductile things receive easily the printing of things with which they are joined, and particularly hard things, children and youths, because they are more soft and ductile than adults, will be more easily imprinted with social habits in young age than in other ages."[15]

This shows how the physical characteristics of the body were entwined with the nature of a person's character. Yet Giles's choice to use the words *mollis* and *ductilis* is striking when used to explain the material basis of children's impressionability.These are words more often associated with qualities of metals, particularly the different grades of iron commonly used in swords and armour.[16] The deployment of this metaphor can evoke less martial dimensions of

---

[15] *"Ideo ut plurimum homines sequantur appetitum sensitivum. Appetitus sensitivus est virtus organica sive corporalis quia oportet talem appetitum sumere modum et mensuram ex ipso corpore. In illa ergo etate inquam quis habet corpus magis molle et magis ductile est magis mollis et magis ductilis secundum appetitum quare cum mollia et ductilia facilius recipiant impressionem ex hiis in quibus com auguntur quam dura pueri et iuvenes quia sunt magis molles et ductiles quam adulti facilius imprimuntur eis mores sociorum in etate iuvenili quam in alia."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIV, f.70v.

[16] Interestingly, there is a small paragraph in the fifteenth-century middle english text which does not appear in other recensions - evidently an addition by John Trevisa who is thought to have been the translator. In this translation Trevisa made the choice to translate *mollis* and *ductilis* as "*nesche and ilad by othere",* but also to include this explanation for Giles's word choice which he evidently found unusual. *"It is to wetynge þat þes twey wordes, mollis and ductilis, ben here itak in anoþer manere þanne in þe comyn speche. For in þe comyne speche mollis is nesche and ductilus is a thing þat streccheth in le[n] gþe oþer in brede with betyng of hamers.*

the child's future role too, namely in Book II, Part II, Chapter VI, where Giles writes that "vicious habits can be printed in them as a seal is printed in soft well-tempered wax."[17] Even outside of this particular sentence the most common verb used to denote the affecting of children in this way is "imprint" (*imprimatur*). This metaphor of the child as wax is important, as seals carried their own metaphorical resonances with both authenticity and regal authority. While a simplistic reading of the metaphor would place the impressionable nature of the child foremost, making their form impermanent, scholarship on medieval understandings of seals shows that the metaphors of impressions in wax were thought to connote accuracy and legitimacy.[18]

Giles's likening of children to material that can be moulded and shaped is an extremely pervasive concept. Even though this section of DRP discusses the needs of children with great care and acknowledges that they will differ in subtle ways for multiple reasons, the ultimate conception of these children is as a form of possession of their parents. While considering how to choose a master for children, Giles then cites Aristotle as "holding that we must be more careful with our souled possessions than we are with our soulless ones."[19] The ramifications of Giles's conception of people and things as being souled and soulless will be explored in Chapter Four of this thesis, but here it is enough to note that Giles conceives of young children as a form of material or object; a special kind of object with a soul, which has implications for

---

And as we speken heere he þat wiþstondeþ no temptacioun is icleped mollis, nesche; and he þat folweþ sone oþere menne maneres oþer is ilad by oþere is icleped ductilis." Fowler, David C, Briggs, Charles, F,Remley, Paul, G, *The Governance of Kings and Princes*, Garland Medieval Texts, Taylor and Francis, pp. 389-390.

[17] *"...statim imprimuntur in eis habitus vicosi sicut incera molli et ductili statim imprimintur forma sigilli."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VI, f.65v.

[18] An example appears in a twelfth-century description of Matilda of England that supported her claim to her father's throne based on her similarity to him. See Bedos-Rezak, Birgitte M. "Status: An Impression", *Seals and Status: The Power of Objects,* (John Cherry, Jessica Berenbeim, and Lloyd de Beer eds), The British Museum, 2018, pp. 45-53.

[19] *"...reges et principes et universaliter omnes valde solicitantur qualem proponant suis nummismatibus, possessionibus et rebus inanimatis, quia secundum philosophum I politicorum, semper de animatis est amplior cura habenda quam de inanimatis et de filiis quam de aliis valde deberent esse soliciti..."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter IX, ff.67v-68r.

the ways in which it can be shaped, but ultimately a thing which parents have to reminded to care for as much as they care for their precious material goods.

Pedagogically speaking, the child's passively objectified nature, pliable body, and consequent impressionable character provided an opportunity. Giles also notes that tuition is more efficient when it begins in youth and likens a person to a crooked rod (*virga tortuosa*) which must be straightened by bending it back the other way. The more crooked the rod, the more it must be bent the other way. Thus, it is more efficient to begin to form these good habits in childhood.[20] This is a clear example of Giles likening people to material objects in order to argue for his recommended process. The analogy of the crooked rod also makes it clear that the physical substance and condition of child bodies was seen by Giles as both the cause of their many trespasses and an opportunity to shape their future selves. It is curious to note this advice alongside the previously noted recommendation for male infants and children to experience cold, as it solidifies their limbs and constricts their sinews. The stated goal is to make the children effectively physically harder and stronger, but if the softness of child bodies is what makes them receptive to learning, does cold act as a setting process, confirming them in their current shape whilst protecting the child against being too receptive? If so, there is an interesting parallel with the process of quenching - quickly cooling metals in order to harden them, which was an important step in the forging of iron tools and weapons. Just like wax or metal, the child must be shaped and then allowed to set.

If the analogy of forging or shaping is continued, what were the tools that impressed form upon the body of concern, the seal matrices, the hammers and tongs? The Latourian

---

[20] *"Unde et philosophus circa finem secundi ethicorum hoc modo decet nos dirigere ad bonos mores quo dirigitur virga tortuosa. Volens ergo tortusosam virgam rectificare inclinat eam ad partem contrariam valde que sic inclinata redit ad medium et ad rectitudinem. Sic et nos, quia obliquitatem et pronitatem habemus ad malum et ad delectationes illicitas, debemus per multum tempus ab illicitis delectationibus abstinere ut possumus hanc pronitatem declinare seu obmittere…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VI, ff.65r-65v.

perspective enfolded with the term “body of concern” reminds us that there is an assemblage of practical objects used in the work of formation (cradles, beds, tables, eating and drinking implements, books, tools, weapons etc) and an expansive network of individuals (parents, teachers, wet-nurses, trainers, and craftsmen who created objects). As discussed above, Giles cites Aristotle’s *Politics* in describing children as souled possessions, but this concept of humans as souled possessions did not end with childhood, as Chapter 4 of the thesis will explore. Ultimately, responsibility for the work of child-forming rested with the child’s father (the king), but the network of individuals engaged in the process were tool-like aspects of the king. There is therefore a distribution of agency and a decentring of will in the forming of the body of concern, and a symmetry to this work that will be carried out in the same way upon the prince’s future children.

More pertinently for the child body of concern and the tools that shaped them, this network of souled child-forming possessions of the king functioned as guiding hands upon the tools of shaping, but the tools themselves were experiences that provoked behaviour; this behaviour formed habits and thereby *habitus*. This is strongly suggested by the quote above which referred to vicious habits being imprinted upon the children just as a seal imprints upon wax. That particular chapter argues for the importance of teaching children good habits and manners at the earliest ages, and that particular sentence is concerned with the dangers of unrestrained “lasciviousness”, or delight in pleasurable physical sensation. As revealing as it is to note that the analogy Giles uses in this discussion is to liken the bodies and characters of children to unformed wax, the implication of that analogy in that chapter is that sensations are the seal matrix; sensations which lead to a particular *habitus* – and it is certainly worth noting that Giles actually uses the word *habitus* to mean “character” in that sentence (*habitus vicosi*).

The pliable quality of the body is also the basis for childhood sensory sensitivity as well as an impressionability of character: “…for commonly the soul follows the complexion of the

body, for our knowing begins with the senses and things that are sensed are most well-known to us."[21] The senses are the place where the physical meets the non-physical; the medium by which the outer influences the inner. Consequently, the pliability of children's bodies provided a method by which to shape their natures through guiding their bodily habits. The quality of a child's bodily matter indicated their character (*habitus*), but discussions of techniques by which to shape children, and indeed the entire project of DRP, show that this *habitus* was malleable and designable by the will of the king, via his souled possessions. Both bodily and sensory habits engendered habits of thought and habits of the soul, and this simultaneously showed the potential for shaping and the necessity of guarding against inappropriate influences, physical and non-physical. Thus, Giles's programme for young children was a combination of deliberate sensory activity and vigilance.

In summary, this discussion of the metaphor of the malleable object shows that DRP's understandings of the relationship between bodily characteristics and character are the basis for the shaping of the body of concern. The Latourian perspective shows the developing body at the centre of an assemblage of souled and soulless objects, while the Butlerian angle highlights the importance of the body coming to matter through repeated practices. It is the physical nature of this body that provides the opportunity for practices to matter, and as will be seen, these practices orient the body of concern in specific ways.

Sensory construction of *habitus*

The body of concern at the centre of this project had already shifted from an ecologically porous concept to a malleable object. As the previous section has indicated, the techniques for shaping a body were tied to the nature of that body, which changed over time.

---

[21] *"Anima enim ut plurimum sequitur complexiones corporis nam quia nostra cognicio incipit a sensu et sensibilia sunt magis nota."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIV, f.70v.

Once an infant developed the ability to move and act under their own power, DRP aimed more to form the child's *habitus* by sensory habits rather than a sole concern with passive and environmental experience. As a concept, the body of concern's influences were everywhere. As an actual physical object with no agency, its influences were its immediate environment and diet. As a child with the ability to act but no rationality, habits of sense behaviour were now the basis of the body of concern.

Medieval conceptions of the senses often included an understanding of both active and passive modes of sensing, and this, combined with the previously established links between body and character, meant that Giles's ideas of how to shape the body of concern followed a bi-directional ontology; the nature of the character affected bodily shape, substance, and behaviour, and likewise, physical behaviour and its consequent effects upon the body could shape a person's *habitus* as immoral or irrational. Thus, recommendations for particular sensory habits could be based upon the harm it might do to one's body, or the harmful way it might shape their *habitus*.

Despite Giles's positioning of reason and rationality as the prime mover of a prince's life throughout Book I, many of the recommendations on the habits of children are intended to be instilled *prior* to the development of the child's rationality. Therefore, it is concerned with instilling bodily habits that will be followed without conscious thought which, as will be discussed in following chapters, provide the architecture for future cognition. Habits of thought and morality flow from these bodily and sensory habits and are rationalised later. Giles even states that children should be taught the practices of faith as early as possible so that they will not be questioned, and so all bodily practices at these early years are of immense importance.[22]

[22] *"Nam si fides supra rationem est ut ea que sunt fidei ratione comprehendi non possunt utile est, ut in illa etate proponatur ea que sunt fidei in qua ratio queritur dictorum sed simpliciter acquiescitur dictis."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter V, f.64v.

There are three intertwined underlying concerns associated with harmful habits of sensation: (1) some might harm the body directly; (2) some shaped the habitus in a proscribed manner, and (3) some affected the ways in which the prince was perceived by others. This might be a concern in any person of high status but was far more of a problem for a king who was both an individual and a metaphorical embodiment of the realm. Incorrect sensory habits could cause any of these forms of harm irrespective of whether or not they were active or passive forms of sensing.

An example of an active sensory habit which could directly harm the body is the ingestion of food and drink. This could cause either direct harm to the body or encourage a habit which causes moral harm. Giles's advice here does not consist of which foods to eat but is more concerned with the manner in which food is eaten. In total Giles gives six distinct ways in which children might err in the manner of eating; eating too quickly, eating too much, eating too messily, eating at inconsistent times, eating food inappropriate to one's station, and eating things that are unusually cooked or flavoured.[23] For almost all of these recommendations, the same rationale applies, namely that each form of trespass does harm to both the body and the soul. The body is harmed by not being able to digest food properly if it is eaten too quickly, without being chewed properly, in great quantities, or at a time when the body does not need it – the inefficient digestion of the food in these occasions stunts the growth of the body. The harm to the soul is that by such activity the children will "be made gluttons or intemperate."[24] Thus the habit of a sinful action will make a person sinful; habit is the factor which elides behaviour and identity, bridging the physical and the metaphysical.

---

[23] *"Primo si sumatur ardenter, Secundo si nimis. Tercio si turpiter. Quarto si inordinate. Quinto si nimis laute vel delicate. Sexto si nimi studiose."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XI, f.68v.
[24] *"…finut gulosi et intemperati…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XI, f.68v.

This intertwining of behaviour and identity underpins Giles's discussions on drink, which immediately follows his writing on food. This discussion provides an example of his opinions on the ways that sinful acts create a sinful character. Here, "drink" is referring to wine.[25] The problem caused by the drinking of wine is that it promotes the quality of intemperance. All of the influences of wine are described in physical terms; it encourages lechery due to the greater humoural heat that wine adds to the body, its fumes rise to the brain and disturb the use of reason, and these combined with the added humoural effect of causing anger makes the drinker prone to argumentative speech.[26] The causes are physical and bodily in origin, as they are caused by the ingestion of an outside agent (the wine), but the effects of the physical matter are behavioural. The behaviour leads to the habit of such behaviour and this habit feeds back into the individual, shaping their *habitus*.

An exterior physical agent such as wine or particular food is not required for the functioning of this kind of *habitus* feedback. Indeed, the same kind of reasoning forms the basis for Giles's arguments against lechery, with lechery being defined as sexual acts outside of matrimony: "Since therefore all acts of Venus, except those in marriage, are against reason, as it is said, so fathers should be busy that sons might be virtuous."[27] The implication is that to regularly perform irrational acts will make one increasingly irrational. There is nothing in this presentation of the argument that envisages any kind of corruption of the body by physical

---

[25] See Appendix A, Book II, Part II, Chapter XII. The chapter heading uses the word *pueri* (children), yet the chapter text almost exclusively uses *iuvenes* (youths), the rationale being that the excess of *iuvenes* has a root in the excesses of younger children. "There should be caution in the age of childhood lest youths be made intemporate." *"...in puerili etate cavendum est ne iuvenes efficientur intemperati."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XII, f.69r.

[26] *"Cum ergo corpore calefacto maior fiat incitatio ad actus venereos. Vinum quod maxime calorem efficit immoderate sumptum incitat ad incontinentiam…Secundum malum quod inducat nimia sumptio est depressio rationis. Nam ascendentibus fumositatibus vini ad caput turbatur cerebrum quo turbato deprimitur ratio nostra quantum ad suos actus quia non possumus libere ration uti…Tercium malum quod ex vino consurgit est lis et dissensio, turbato enim cerebro ex nimia sumptione vini et amisso usu rationis de facili prorumpuntur in verba inordinata et consurgunt dissensiones et lites."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XII, f.69r.

[27] "*Cum ergo omnes actus veneris excepto matrimonio, sint contra rationis dictamen, quia decet patrem sic sollicitari ergo filios ut sit virtuosi."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XII, f.69v.

means. It is the habit of performing actions for their own sake that is against reason, and when a person repeats acts for no other purpose than that they are enjoyable, they threaten the rational control that the subject must be foremost in their *habitus*.

In the above quote, Giles seeks to prevent all irrational sexual activity outside of marriage, and within the chapter he reminds the reader that sex exists for the creation of children, noting that a young man should refrain from anything that might affect his body until he has finished growing so that he will create perfect children.[28] It is evidently important to the reader of DRP that they are mindful of their atemporal royal existence, in that the potential harm caused by the deleterious effects of sexual effort extends to a potential child by way of its supposed damage to the body of the individual. This is a quirk of the nature of royal individuals as aspects of an eternal body politic.

Furthermore, this royal nature amplifies the importance of Giles's concern over how the prince (or indeed, the king) will be perceived by others when their behaviour is seen. Despite his evident concern about the formation of problematic habits, a physical habit is not *always* associated with a sinful soul. The possibility of them existing separately is allowed when Giles writes that "eating too messily is not a sin in and of itself, but only if it is a consequence of gluttony or of a disordered mind."[29] If there are no moral or spiritual repercussions for these actions, and they are not harmful to the body, then why are they advised against? This is shown in Giles's description of how delicacy of food is associated with one's estate: "The delicacy of food that is accepted follows the condition of the person and the state of his nobility. Therefore he who exceeds that which his status requires in delicate food errs,

---

[28] This is defined by Giles as being around the age of twenty-one for men and twenty-eight for women, resting upon advice from Aristotle, although Giles does allow for marriage and procreation at earlier ages if a child's master deems it appropriate.

[29] *"Turpitudo autem corporalis licet secundum se non sit delictum peccatur tamen circa eam si contingat ex inordinatione anime quare cum turpis modus sumendi cibum signum sit cuiusdam gulositatis vel inordinationis mentis."* DRP Book II, Part II, Chapter XI, f.68v.

because this comes out of intemperance or out of some other vice."[30] There is no comment about the delicacy of the food itself harming the body or the soul, only a thought to how inappropriate it seems. This is the extent of this specific point in this part of DRP, presumably because the subject of this text is a prince and so a person unlikely to err in eating above his station. In fact, as the highest station in his realm, it is an implied requirement that he eat whichever food is considered the richest and so there is also an implied prohibition against simple foods.

However, the final prohibition on food, that it not be too carefully or studiously prepared, is expressly concerned with the impression that it gives to have too much care for one's food. The specific grievance is described as being that "it is seen as living in order to eat, not eating in order to live."[31] Thus, the rationale for this caution is overtly concerned with the perceptions of others - it is how the behaviour is seen and interpreted by others that is the problem, not solely the effects that it has on the body or the soul. This point is critically important; as princes, they are fundamentally public figures who must be careful both how they perceive and how they *are* perceived. The relationships between the appearance and meaning will be further explored in subsequent chapters, particularly in the contexts of the ability to read martial bodies in Chapters 2 and 4, and to use the body to evoke emotional responses in audiences as rhetorical technique in Chapter 3. For the purposes of this chapter it is significant to note that this consideration of the perceptions of observers is relevant at the earliest ages of a royal child's life. As future kings, with kingly bodies, such errors are symbolically magnified to the scale of the realm. Combining Giles's rationale for these sensory habits with the concept

---

[30] *"Delicatio enim ciborum accipienda est secundum conditionem persone et secundum statum nobilitatis eius. Qui ergo ultra quam conditio persone exigat, et ultra quam eius status requirat delicata cibaria querat delinquit quia hoc est ex aliqua intemperantia vel ex alio vicio provenit."* DRP, Book, II, Part II, Chapter, XI, f.69r.
[31] "*...videntur enim tales vivere ut commedant non comedere ut vivant..."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XI, f.69r.

of the body politic further strengthens the metaphysical links between the realm and a properly constituted ruler. The king is constructed and constructs himself through these habits, affirming and shaping his realm as he does so.

These twinned concerns of direct physical or spiritual harm and harm via perception of others are shared with more passive sensory habits such as vision and hearing. The prohibited subject matter for vision is only ever described as inappropriate sexual temptation and the only specific examples given are images of naked women – usually proscribed images or actions are described simply as 'foul things' or 'foul words' (*turpia*).[32] Familiarity through sensation provokes forbidden desire and this leads to forbidden behaviour. "…hearing is near to doing…and therefore youths should be prohibited from hearing foul things because from this they will be more easily inclined to that work."[33] For vision, Giles adds the observation that the things we see for the first time are given more heed and kept more strongly in the mind, which is why one must be so careful with children in particular. Similarly, when discussing speech, Giles writes that children should be kept from speaking of lechery, as the more that they are accustomed to speaking of certain deeds, the more that they will be inclined to perform those deeds.[34] Speech is discussed distinctly from hearing, even though the concern here seems to be with hearing one's *own* words, as it is the presence of a subject in the memory and the ability to dwell upon it that provokes inappropriate desire.[35] Giles demands equal measure be given to inappropriate deeds and depictions or descriptions of the deeds (or the thing which is

---

[32] For example: "*…cohibendi sunt iuvenes a locutio ne lascivia et a* ***sermonibus turpibus*** *et sunt increpandi et etiam corrigendi si eos talia loqui contingat*." DRP Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68r.
[33] "*…prohibendi sunt iuvenes ne audient quod cunque turpium quia audire est prope ad ipsum facere……ideo ergo secundum ipsum cohibendi sunt iuvenes ab auditione turpium quia ex hoc defacili inclinatur ad opus."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68v.
[34] *"Ratio autem quare a sermonibus turpibus sunt cohinbendi est secundum philosophum quia ex talibus locutionibus de facili ad opera turpia inclinantur."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f. 68r.
[35] "*Ipsa enim locutio turpium facit in nobis memoriam delectabilium illicitorum quo facto augetur concupiscentia circa illa."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68r.For the argument that speech was considered as one of the senses of the mouth, see Woolgar, Chris. *The Senses in Late Medieval England,* Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 84-116. The more considered training of speech will be discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

thought to inspire them, such as a naked woman). As discussed in my introduction, Giles's notions of memory formation are rooted in the Aristotelian idea that all memories are images, regardless of the sense by which the memory is formed, and so there is no absolute distinction between (to use Giles's example) a memory of *seeing* a naked woman, a memory of seeing an *image* of a naked woman, or a memory of hearing a *description* of a naked woman - whether described by another or oneself. All generate similar memory images, and so all have equal potential to provoke inappropriate desire. It is this desire which provokes inappropriate acts and the habit of such acts, or even such desire, shapes the habitus in an unhelpful manner.

Additionally, just as children were taught to be aware that the manner in which they ate affected the opinions of those who saw them, noble children were trained to think of how others sensed both the locus of their attention and the manner in which it was directed. These active sensory concerns in speech are children telling lies and speaking carelessly, and thus revealing their own ignorance. For Giles, children are inexpert and know little, and so they tend to answer quickly and poorly.[36] Lying is also mentioned as a concern in the section on speech, but the discussion of correction here is illuminating:

"While therefore custom is another nature, the age of youth inclines them to the speaking of falsehoods and lies, which it is by itself crooked and to be avoided, and that following the philosopher in Ethics 4, through admonitions and corrections they are to be led to so that they might forsake lies and hold to truthfulness…"[37]

This is an almost textbook description of the formation of *habitus*, as the aim is to train selective and considered sensing as a general principle and a habit to be carried into adulthood.

---

[36] "*Nam iuvenes sunt inexperti et pauca cognoverunt qui ergo pauca cognoscunt respicientes enuncient facile et enuncuant cito et debliter.*" DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68r.

[37] "*Cum ergo consuetudo sit altera natura, exquo iuvenilis etas inclinat eos ad dicendum falsum et mendacium, quod secundum philosophum iiii ethicorum est per se pravum et fugiendum, per debitas monitiones et correctiones inducendi sunt ut relinquentes mendacium adhereant veritati…*" DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68r.

The theme continues in other senses: for vision, the text states that children should be "instructed to open the lids of their eyes with maturity and to not have wandering eyes".[38] Children do this because everything is new to them and if adults do the same, they will be regarded by others as being "light-hearted and of little skill or strength" as it would seem that they still "admire all things" as a child would.[39] For hearing, Giles highlights the importance of monitoring not only what the children hear (a passive use of the sense), but also considering to whom they listen (active sense). It is specifically noted that children must keep away from men who speak foul words and talk of unseemly deeds. It might seem that this is essentially the same point, but the difference is that being in the company of those who speak of inappropriate subjects is something that other adults would be able to perceive. Passive sense corruption affects the child directly, whereas actively listening to foul talk affects them indirectly in the same manner as speaking carelessly or looking around in an uncontrolled manner – by damaging their reputation. After all, if adults are speaking foully, they are old enough to know better and are therefore particularly sinful and dangerous figures with whom to associate.

Rational control of the sensing body

Having identified the importance of a high degree of rational control over both the active and passive sensory modalities, we can now link it with an embodied expression through analysis of the idea of a child's 'bearing' (*gestus*). This concept has significant overlap with the modern senses of proprioception and kinaestheisa (the sense of movement and body position). Although medieval sensoria do not customarily include these sensations, Giles

---

[38] *Secundo adhibenda est cautela in iuvenibus ut instruantur quod palpebras oculorum cum maturitate elevent et non habeant oculos vagabundos.* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68r.
[39] *Nam ex hoc iudicantur leves corde et pervifici et pusillamines eo quod videantur de omnibus admirari eos.* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f.68v.

chooses to discuss *gestus* immediately after his thoughts on the senses and in many of the same terms shows how entwined the senses and *gestus* were, both in terms of the ways that they might shape the *habitus* and in ways that they showed observers the nature of the individual.

The advice is in line with the general principle of encouraging reasoned control of the body and mind. Giles specifies that good and wise men have well-controlled bearing (*gestus ordinato*), in that they use their limbs only as necessary. The incorrect manner of bearing (presumably uncontrolled or ill-considered movement of limbs) is described as potentially revealing pride or an intemperate appetite.[40] The root of the argument is that human potential creates the necessity for such basic instruction:

> "It is for this reason that discipline in bearing is necessary in humans, for, because of the intent there is around rationality and the intellect, man does not begin with natural impetus nor act out of a natural instinct, as birds and beasts. Indeed, birds and other animals act out of natural instinct, thus do not need discipline as humans do who use reason and the intellect and they are not sufficiently inclined by nature for the work that they ought to do for themselves. Discipline which is to be given in bearing is that which permits the members to be ruled according to the work that they should do. Man does not hear through the mouth but through the ear; in vain therefore is he who wishes to hear another through an open mouth. Thus, also man does not speak with the feet nor the hands nor the shoulders, but with the mouth."[41]

So, as animals work solely by natural instinct and not by reason, but humans have more agency in their actions, this capacity for a greater freedom of action gives an accordingly greater capacity for error. The diversion into hearing and speaking reminds us that "*gestus*" in

---

[40] *Videmus enim prudentes et bonos habere gestus ordinatos et honestos cohibent enim tales sua membra ne aliquem motum habeant ex quo quis coniecturari possit elationem anima vel insipientiam mentis vel intemperatiam appetitus.* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.69v.

[41] "*Est enim huiusmodi necessaria disciplina in gestibus, nam quia ipse intentus est circa rationem et intellectum non enim sic incipit homo naturales impetus nec sit agit ex naturali instinctu ut aves et bestie. Aves enim et alia animalia et naturali instinctu agencia non sic indigent disciplina ut homo qui utitur ratione et intellectu et agendum opera sibi debita non sufficienter inclinatur ex natura. Disciplina autem que est danda in gestibus est ut quod libet membrorum ordinantur ad opus sibi debitum, homo enim non audit per os sed per aurem, frustra ergo cum quis vult audire alium retient os apertum. Sic etiam homo non loquitur pedibus nec manibus nec spatulis sed ore."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, ff. 69v-70r.

this sense is linked with the sensorium and the "proper" use of the body with Aristotle's description of the "proper object" of sensation. As with so many of the proscribed activities or thought in this text, the concern is with irrational inefficiency – those who are untaught in these matters might wave their arms while speaking or make other motions that do not directly help the action being undertaken.[42] As will be explored in Chapter 3, this concern also goes beyond irrationality, as within Giles's overall program the movements of a speaking prince will ultimately be finely calibrated to thought, argument, and engineered effects in his listeners.

Yet a key distinction between *gestus* and the sensoria is shown in their different receptions. A lack of control in motion did not signify childishness in the same way as lack of sensory control did, but pride. Giles's rationale for this shift demonstrates how his conception of *natura* (as described in the introduction to the thesis) is practically applied in matters of conduct. Here it is worth reminding ourselves of the advice in the prologue of DRP: "As therefore no violent thing is to be perpetual as almost every natural thing bears witness, he who desires his rule and that of his children and successors to be perpetual should study busily that their rule be natural".[43] Despite the Aristotelian influence on his work, Giles was a member of the Augustinian Order of Hermits, and the teachings of Augustine on this subject in *The City of God* are clear.[44] Man chose to disorder his correct relationship with God after the Fall as an exercise of free will; "For the evil act could not have been arrived at if an evil will had not gone before."[45] The consequence of this act of evil will was an uncontrollable body and appetites and came from a desire to act on one's own terms rather than in accord with the Creator.

---

[42] *Sicut ergo habent in disciplinatos gestus qui cum volunt alios audire ora tenent aperta sic sunt in disciplinati secudum gestus, qui cum volunt loqui extendunt pedes vel crura vel nimis spissum movent brachia vel erigunt humores vel faciunt alia que ad locutionem nichil deserviunt.* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.70r.
[43] *"Cum ergo nullum violentum esse perpetuum fere omnia naturalia protestentur, qui in se et suis posterioribus filiis suum principatum perpetuari desiderat summopere studere debet ut sit suum regimen naturale."* DRP, Prologue, f. 1r.
[44] See discussion of this point in *Medieval Political Theory: A Reader. A Quest for the Body Politic, 1100-1400,* (Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan eds), Routledge, 1993.
[45] Augustine, *The City of God*, (Henry Bettenson trans), London, Penguin, 1984, p.337.

> "by turning to himself he ended by having less true being than he had when he was rooted in him who has the highest being. Therefore to leave God and to have being in oneself… is not to be nothing already but to come nearer to being nothing."[46]

Thus, a prideful ruler is unnatural and, since nature is ultimately divinely-ordained, at odds with the laws of existence. A person who does not control their body according to reason is mirroring the actions of humans after the Fall, placing their own will above that of God, and is thereby prideful. This shows how entangled correct physical and sensory habits are with a person's place in nature and a king's ultimate role as a personification of a realm, that is also a reflection of God's divine plan.

With the importance of the relationship between bodies and character established as the basis for a programme of shaping *habitus* by attention to sensory and bodily habits, another perspective becomes available. The project of DRP is to shape an ideal form of royal masculinity, but the bodily basis for difference of character and the methods of orienting *habitus* is interestingly generative when analysed with a gendered perspective. How does DRP's model of human being (and human becoming) intersect with ideas of biological sex and social gender?

Feminine bodies and the female character

Advice overtly concerned with women in DRP is sporadic. The key sections are on the choosing of a wife (which lays out considerations for her roles as wife and as a mother), and three chapters on the ways in which kings should raise their daughters.[47] The advice on desirable qualities of women as wives and mothers is interesting to explore in detail here, as it

---

[46] Augustine, *The City of God*, pp.338–9.
[47] See Appendix A, Book II, Part I, Chapters XII-XV, XVIII, XIX, XX.

highlights the intertwining of ideas of nature, society, and physical bodies, while also setting in relief the masculine body and the rationale for the methods behind its shaping.[48]

Giles presents a concept of humankind as being impelled by nature to form marital attachments for the purpose of creating children. It is argued in DRP that humans are naturally social creatures on the basis that they are different to animals which have claws and teeth to find appropriate food which does not need to be processed or cooked, fur to keep warm if needed, and act by instinct. Humans live in communities because their bodily requirements (higher quality of cooked food, clothing, shelter, defence, and knowledge-sharing) are more complex and so the need for cooperative action and specialisation of labour forms the basis of society.[49] As animals live the way they do because of the nature of their bodies, it follows that humans form societies because of the nature of *their* bodies. Men and women's bodies are therefore made by nature (God) to be best suited to certain kinds of work and for different aspects of society to work in harmony.

To understand the relevance of women's bodies to this discussion, it is important to establish how Giles valued their place in society – something which he never explicitly states. Giles relies upon Aristotle's concept of the *oikos,* with human society divided into four sections – the house, the street, the city, and the realm.[50] Crucially, all of these communities are presented as dependent upon the domestic and differing from it only in terms of scale.[51] Giles

[48] For discussions of the feminist origins of studies of masculinities, see Fenster, Thelma. "Preface: Why Men?", *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages,* University of Minnesota Press, 1994, pp. ix-xiii.
[49] "*Sciendum est quod homo ultra alia animalia quatuor indigere videtur ex quibus quadriplici via venari possumus ipsum naturaliter esse communicatum et sociale. Pria via summitur ex victu quo homo indiget. Secunda ex vestitu quo tegitur. Tercia ex terminatione prohibentium per quam hostibus liberatur. Quarta ex disciplina et sermone per que instruimur."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter I, f.47v.
[50] For further reading see Roy, J. "'Polis' and 'Oikos' in Classical Athens", *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 46, No.1, 1999, pp.1-18 and Brendan Nagle, D. *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle's Polis*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.
[51] "*...si diligenter aspiciamus quom communitas domestica se habet ad communitates alias cum quelibet communitas includat communitatem domesticam nec possit esse civitas nec vicus nisi habeat domos. Si communitas aliqua est necessaria in humana vita sequitur communitatem domus ad huismodi vitam necessariam esse."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter II, f.48v.

further explains this idea by presenting the work of generation and conservation as the purpose of the house, represented in the relationships between husband and wife, and master and servant respectively.[52] Thus women are established as an essential component of society in their roles as wives who are counterparts to a male authority, and as the mothers who permit the work of domestic generation (i.e the creation of children).[53] This positions parenthood as central to the identity of an authority figure, for whom it is natural (meaning part of the divine plan) to have a marriage, to have sexual intercourse, and to create children.

If the creation of children within a marriage is a natural consequence of human nature and human bodies, what distinguishes women from men in terms of this work, and what makes them more or less suited to this role? For mothers, physical characteristics were of prime importance. These were beauty (*pulchritudo*) and a large size (*magnitudo*).[54] The exact nature of beauty is undefined in terms of aesthetics or physical proportions, but it is implied to be the sexual attractiveness of the woman to the man, as Giles argues that her beauty encourages fidelity between the two partners as the husband will be more attracted to his wife and so less prone to fornication outside of the marriage.[55] There is no acknowledgement that the man

---

[52] "*Hoc ergo modum, hec due communitas faciunt domum esse quid naturale qua communitas viri et uxoris ordinatur ad generationem. Communitas vero domini et servi ad conservationem quare si generatio et conservatio est quod naturale oportet domum quod naturale esse."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter V, f.50v.

[53] Despite the repeated advice that marriage exists mostly for the creation of children, Giles is not ignorant of the social role of women. For example, in Book II, Part I, Chapter XII he states that the wife of the prince should be of noble birth, have many friends, and have a good quantity of wealth and possessions. This last is specifically described as less of a priority, as it is assumed that the prince or king will have more than enough wealth to provide for them, but the others are recommended as they will ensure a more successful marriage. As established, the successful marriage is one which creates children and raises them well, and so although some of Giles's recommendations are based on keeping both parties happy so that they will stay together, his ultimate purpose in keeping them together is for the children, not for their own sake. The choice of her lineage and the large quantity of friends are practical considerations, reminding the prince that his marriage has a practical, diplomatic component, and there is no discussion of any of these characteristics passing to the children. This is not to minimise the importance of the social life of royal and noblewomen. Many of the same arguments within this thesis for co-extensions of the royal body also apply to women, but full analysis is outside the scope of this research.

[54] *"…quod bona corporis feminarum sunt pulchritudo et magnitudo."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XIII, f.55v.

[55] "*Omnia ergo illa que videntur facere ad fornicationem vitandum ad fidem coniugum servandam et ad prolem debite producendam in coniuge queri debent."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XIII, f.56r.

should be attractive to the woman for the same reason, although Giles indicates that beautiful people will also have beautiful children, and so this recommendation also serves as advice for the goodness of offspring. Regarding *magnitudo*: this is for the health of the offspring, as children get their physical substance from their mothers and follow them in their growth. Giles suggests that this is something that all citizens should aim for in selecting their wives, but that royalty should be more aware of this than most, due to their children being more important.[56] That the bodily characteristics of the mother were thought to pass to children, but not their personality traits, means that the non-physical characteristics of the mother did not need to be those that would be useful for a prince, which explains why this idea is absent from discussions of the desirable qualities of a royal wife. As established in the previous discussion on the body of concern as physical matter, the non-physical characteristics of the child will be formed by actions and habits rather than being inherent. The project of DRP is the formation of these habits, under the guidance of the father/king (via his subordinate aspects), and so in Giles's formulation, although men and women created children, only men formed other men.

Regardless of the woman's relative absence from the work of shaping a child, she had to actively and willingly participate in the work of the home and family. Giles writes that she should love doing work "without servility" (*sive servilitatis*). This means that she was to be content to work without having the ontological category of servant, a concept which will be further discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Giles writes that idleness is actually a concern for both men and women, as to be idle promotes potentially harmful thoughts and deeds, but that it is especially the case for women as they are more subject to passions than men, as "man is most

[56] "*Videmus autem quod magnitudo corporis facit ad bonum prolis…quia totam copulentam substantiam habent a matre quod amodo…decet ergo omnes cives propter bonum prolis ut filii eorum polleant magnitudine corporali, querere in suis uxoribus magnitudinem corporis. Tanto magis hoc decet reges et principes quanto ipsi circa proprios filios, eo qui ex eis dependeat bonum commune et salus regni, plus solicitari debent quam alii."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XIII, f.56r.

excellent at reason…and women are most inclined towards intemperance."[57] Thus the wife must willingly engage in work to not only keep the concept of the house functioning healthily, but to guard against flaws which are inherent to her existence. That the flaw of intemperance is an inherent property of a woman's body was fundamental to the rationale for raising them differently to masculine children.

The Butlerian focus on shaping the body of concern through practice would at first seem to complicate any simplistic gender binary. The previous section identified how the physical characteristics of an infant gave the opportunity for its formation. Yet, if the body of concern is by its nature pliable and malleable, then might a medieval child considered female at birth be moulded by practice into a masculine form? The discussion in this section indicates why the answer is no, as the physical qualities of feminine bodies were considered to be fundamentally different. Feminine bodies were ultimately designed and created by God to have a different (and lesser) potential to that of men. Thus, for Giles, gender was inherently, naturally, and divinely binary. These different natural potentials generated in turn a consequent difference in orientation.

Gender as Orientation

As a term of analysis in the thesis, orientation turns our attention to the ways in which bodies of concern are pointed towards or away from certain things, altering their practical and conceptual reach. The overwhelming emphasis in DRP's passages on feminine bodily practice is control, but rather than self-control, as seen in the advice for boys, for women, DRP stresses submission to external control. The advice for masculine experience comprises numerous suggestions about things to do or to which boys should be exposed, whereas suggestions for

---

[57] *"…qua vir est ratione prestantior…ad intemperantum femine maxie incitentur."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter XIII, f.56r.

girls are almost all about things they should be prevented from doing. While young boys were encouraged to move and *be* moved as a part of forming their identities, girls were to be kept in place. The terms used to denote the activities that the girls should be prevented from doing are *discursus*, which could be translated as "running about" or *circuitus*, meaning "to go around".[58] These terms carry the meaning of uncontrolled movement on a large scale, such as leaving the house and walking around the area, rather than movement within a house or a room specifically. Such movement is evidently aimless wandering which gives the opportunity for sinfulness.[59]

The prohibition on uncontrolled movement has a secondary concern which is particular to women. Giles warns against the ways that moving about can make young girls "shameless" *(inverecunde)*. The reasoning for this is that the girls will, in the process of walking about, encounter men and become familiar with their company. "Wherefore when girls stray and wander the country they become accustomed to the sight of men and they become familiar with them, and this removes the shame from consorting with men. Moreover, to remove the shame from girls is to remove the bridle from them by which they shy away from doing evil."[60] Shame is therefore a preventative trait, protecting women from doing anything that they should not. Interestingly, Giles describes it as the bridle of women *(frenum)*, which suggests that Giles considers women and girls as something to be controlled and harnessed, like an animal. The bridle that Giles is describing is a habit of thought - shame at the presence of unfamiliar men, which must be maintained through avoidance of contact. This metaphor for control is not seen in any discussions of boys, and so is particular to the shaping of a female habitus.

---

[58] "*Interque primo dicemus filias cohibendas esse a discursu et a circuitu…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIX, f.73v.

[59] "*Maxima ergo cautela ad conservadam puritatem et innocentiam est vitare comoditates malefaciendi, propter quod et proverbi liter dicitur, quod furandi comoditas facit furem."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIX, f.73v.

[60] "*…quare cum puelle circuendo et evagando per patriam asuescunt virorum aspectibus sumit familiares eis et tollitur ab eis verecundia ex virorum consortio. Tollere autem a puellis verecundiam est tollere ab eis frenum quo retrahuntur ne male agant."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIX, f.73v.

The theme of women as animals continues in Giles's discussion of how the control of women's movements prevents inappropriate sexual desires. Giles uses the terms *lascive* ("wanton") and *impudice* ("unchaste") to denote this kind of trait in women and then makes the observation that wild beasts become tame if they are regularly touched by men. I argue that this is precisely the same kind of advice as that found in guides for training horses by accustoming them to physical contact, as will be discussed in Chapter 4. Giles's advice for women is that this kind of wildness is best preserved so that they reflexively flee from sexual advances: "therefore as we see in other beasts, so we find in women."[61] Thus, Giles's "bridle" is an internal restraint that is considered to be an innate quality of women that he seeks to preserve through preventing them from having new experiences. Indeed, by restricting their experience, he aims to heighten what he considers to be a natural trait and teach women the habit of policing themselves, but through a reflex rather than the rationality that is so prized in boys.

The same reasoning steers DRP's advice on unwise speech and makes its final recommendation subtly different from its advice on male behaviour. Giles writes: "For in that women and mostly young girls are deficient in the use of reason, if not obliged to be silent and if not led to consider their words carefully, due to that defect of reason, they might easily speak simply and imprudently, thus they might speaks of things that pertain to quarrels and strife."[62] Cautions on unwise speech also applied to men and boys, but was regarded as a particular problem for women, as they were supposedly susceptible to loss of reason and control as an innate trait. For women, Giles adds to it the idea that potential husbands will find the young

---

[61] *"...quod ergo in aliis animalibus aspicimus reperimus et in feminis."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIX, f.73v.

[62] *"Nam cum femine et potissime puelle deficiant a rationis usu nisi sint modo debito taciturne et nisi sermones dicendos diligenter examininent sic propter rationis defectum de facili loqui possunt pertinentia ad simplicitatem et imprudentiam sic facili loqui possunt pertinentia ad lites et iurgia."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XXI, f.74v.

girls more attractive if they are silent: "For desire comes of things that are lacked…the more difficult it is to have a thing, the more it is seen as arduous and inaccessible, the more it is seen to be lacking and the more a person is moved to desire."[63] Thus, a woman who speaks little is more of a mystery and so men will regard them as more desirable and loved - and because men find the things that they love more beautiful, the woman will be more beautiful if they are silent. In another quote from Aristotle's *Politics*, Giles writes that the best ornament of a woman is silence.[64] This is another example of external control rather than self-control, restriction rather than training. Girls are given the goal of being desired by men, but their supposed lack of rationality means that they cannot be trusted to actively engage with them. Instead, they are shaped as passive objects of desire which orients men towards them, an example of using women as a way of shaping men.

The maintenance of passivity due to a lack of potential is the foundation for DRP's passages on desirable activities for girls. Giles recommends that women should be kept busy, not by force but by the nature of their work. As women they have less rationality, and so they require work that is more evident to the senses in which they can take pleasure.[65] He then lists the kind of work that is appropriate for women, noting that the works can be as diverse as people are diverse – although in practice his suggestions are fairly minimal, including work with textiles, such as spinning and weaving, or the reading of books.[66]

---

[63] "*Nam cum desiderium sit eius quod abest…quanto aliquid quod est possibile haberi, magis videtur arduum et inaccessibile, tantomagis videtur abesse at magis concupiscentiam movet.*" DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XXI, f.74r.

[64] *"Unde et philosophus I politicorum ait quod ornamentum mulierum est silencium."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XXI, f.74r.

[65] *"…quantomagis a ratione deficientes nesciunt vivere, nisi ab aliquibus sensibilibus exercicus delectationem sumant."* Book II, Part II, Chapter XX, f.74r.

[66] *"Texere enim filare et operari fericum satis videntur opera competentia feminis….tradenda esset studio litterarum, ut ad amorem litterarum affecta non vacaret ocio, sed sepe sepius librum arripiens selectionibus occuparet."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XX, f.74r.

If we consider how these points operate in terms of how they orient children in specific ways, it is clear that males are oriented towards the exterior world and females to the interior. Conceptually speaking, movement and cold temperatures suggest being outdoors and having space to roam. Although no such early-years advice exists within DRP for girls, the description of the experiences of motion and cold as being useful for those who will aspire to martial acts as an adult would seem to preclude girls from the same experiences. Conversely, girls are oriented inwards, being kept in indoor spaces, trained to keep quiet or silent as a habit, to be kept busy with activities such as textile work, and to shy away from contact with unfamiliar people.

Ahmed describes one idea of orientation as being about the intimacy between bodies and their dwelling places. The place where the body dwells is what takes the body outside of itself. Bodies are responsive to their environments and become oriented by their responsiveness to the world around them, giving the example of goosebumps in response to cold.[67] For the female experience as created by the advice of DRP, this makes a great deal of sense, particularly Ahmed's lyrical descriptions of how she comes to inhabit different homes by coming to embody them. Yet the embodiment of internal spaces is based upon clear physical boundaries. For the exterior male orientation of DRP there existed a far more loosely defined world of sensations, objects, animals, and people as references for behaviour, but few physical borders. Medieval princes were deliberately submerged in exterior worlds so that they could be accustomed to all the ways that they might be affected by their environment, but also all the ways in which *they* might affect *it*, and eventually mature into kings who would embody this realm. Thus, they both had no dwelling place and were always at home because their body was their dwelling place and contiguous with their realm. They had to be in command of themselves

[67] Ahmed, Sara, *Queer Phenomenology*, pp.8-9.

in order to command others, and so exposure to the stimulating world of the exterior was required so that they might be habituated into a maintenance of balance, both conceptually and physically.

The root of Giles's gendered pedagogy is potential. It is repeatedly stated in DRP that women are naturally less rational or more fluid, humourally-speaking. This does not preclude women taking roles of command and authority, as "natural" refers to what is common, as in it being natural to use one's right hand does not eliminate the existence of left-handed people. Yet Giles reveals his attitudes towards potential as the defining feature of the appropriate approach to education in the way that he discusses the difference between humans and animals. Animals do not require complex education or carefully prepared food as they have less potential for growth and rational control of themselves. DRP's discussion of women makes it clear that women are perceived as being limited in a similar way. He describes habits of bashfulness and fear as "bridles" of women and discusses their tameness amongst men in the same terms as animals. This is the root of his different approach to boys and girls – women have less potential for the rationality and self-control required to command others. Boys were taught the merits of self-control, but girls, being fundamentally prone to bouts of irrationality that were a result of the qualities of their bodies, were simply confined and restricted. They would never have the capability to reliably and consistently control themselves, so there was no sense in habituating self-controlled responses to stimuli in the same way.

As sons were encouraged towards self-control from the earliest ages, this is why a failure of bodily self-control was unmanly: "lechery comes of gluttony as the daughter comes of the mother."[68] The choice of this analogy here, rather than saying "as the son comes of the

---

[68] *"Temperantia autem circa tria est adhibenda, circa cibum, potum, et venerea, non solum cibus indebite sumptus, intemperancia causat sed etiam potus…Oritur enii luxuria ex gula quasi filia ex matre."* Book II, Part II, Chapter XII, ff.69r-69v.

father", makes it clear that intemperance, gluttony, and lechery are feminised. A similar comment is made in discussions on appropriate clothing, where Giles writes that to enjoy soft clothes makes one seem to be more womanly than manly and so more likely to fall into lechery.[69] By falling prey to these sins, the boys are also committing a failure of masculinity. These sins were still failings in women, but such failings were expected and catered for.

Similarly, a fundamental aspect of Ahmed's use of orientation is to consider what it is that people are oriented *away* from. Consequently, medieval male princes were directed away from internal spaces, away from boundaries and restraints. They might be exposed to literature, but with the purpose of learning rather than as recreation, as simple enjoyment of a thing's physical qualities was unmanly. They were taught that to delight in the senses was to err, as it offended the eventual rationality that would be so important to their self-control, and, although such an attitude towards the senses was appropriate for both genders to be wary of, it was assumed that female bodies were fundamentally deficient in their capacity to resist sensory delectation.

Giles's recommendation that young girls be given work such as embroidery as a way of channelling this tendency into something relatively harmless suggests that Giles did not really have a strong desire to spend time articulating pedagogy for girls. In fact, he states at the commencement of his advice on raising daughters that much of the appropriate advice for young girls was contained in his advice on how to treat wives generally.[70] This implies that his difficulty in approaching how to rear and guide female children was solved by essentially suggesting that there was no point in trying to do so and so instead to contain them.

---

[69] *"Si nimis edlectetur in mollicie vestium. Videntur enim tales magis esse muliebris quam viriles, quare non sunt constantes sed molles et de facili in lasciviam prorumpunt."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.70r.

[70] *"Sed hoc brevi tractatu indiget, quia cum determinavimus de regimine coniugali et ostendimus qualiter regende sunt femine quasi sufficienter tradidimus qualis cura circa filias sit gerenda."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIX, ff.73r-73v.

Conclusion

The focus of DRP in these early life stages is on habits, particularly the habits of the body and the senses, and this sets the tone and the method of Giles's programme of education. His bi-directional behavioural ontology which allows for a person's inner nature to be expressed through their body *and* for changes in their body to shift their nature, means that no physical act was without greater meaning. Combined with Giles's belief that children have not developed rational faculties and how their physical form develops prior to their mental and spiritual form, so all physical habits recommended or prohibited by Giles have mental, emotional, moral or spiritual ramifications. DRP's advice for children is a guide to habits, for good or ill.

In considering the evidence alongside the idea of the extended royal lifecycle, it is clear that royal children have a form of existence prior to their physical existence. When they are only a hypothetical child, their parents must still be concerned with how their actions will affect the future child by way of affecting their own bodies. Such a concern reinforces the cyclical nature of royal procreation; by harming one's own body, one adversely affects a future king. However, as the child is such a broad concept when they have no physical existence, the range of factors that might affect their development are similarly broad, comprising temporal, meteorological, and environmental circumstances. This extreme range of factors reduces as the child takes form and gains rationality, but it is an interesting parallel to the way in which adult kings were thought to embody their realms. Adult royal embodiment will be explored more fully in Chapter 5, but at this stage the broadly receptive nature of infants is notably the inverse of their eventual state; they are shaped by widely diverse conditions when they have such little awareness and agency but are aimed towards a state where their own self-control is reflected in the order of the realm and its people.

As physically embodied infants, attention to care is still environmental but at a smaller scale. The infants' passive experience of sensations of temperature and motion are presented as formative, and so it is clear that their habitus is being shaped by way of their senses at these earliest ages. The nature of the infant/child body means that young subjects are malleable, thus creating opportunity and danger. There is a common theme of regarding the children as physical material such as wax or rods that can be bent. The extension of this analogy to method allows an understanding that the shaping tools of the pedagogical process are sensory stimuli and the associated actions/behaviours encouraged in response to them. Correct or incorrect actions might help or hinder the development or health of the body, or they might affect ideas that others will have about the child. Correct sensory use therefore had a component associated with the social idea of the individual alongside ideas of their bodily health and habitus.

Women and children were considered alike in that they were prone to intemperance, incontinence, and delighted in physical sensation, although the reasons for these similarities were sometimes at odds - women were often presented as being less rational and more emotional due to their colder and wetter humours and more porous bodies, whereas Giles writes that children possess these same traits due to the greater proportion of blood in the bodies and consequent higher levels of heat. This causes the same behaviours and concerns about troublesome behaviour, such as a tendency towards quarrelsome speech, but these are treated differently due to their differing causes. The bodily qualities of children as described by Giles is a consequence of their age and so will change as they grow. This is why the nature of these children is presented as an opportunity to form habits that will benefit them as adults, hence the use of analogies casting children as metal to be worked, a rod to be straightened, or wax to be moulded. Their pliability at a young age was an opportunity as well as a cause for caution, as they would be far less able to change once set in their ways. The same behaviour in women was thought to be a consequence of the nature of their bodies, and so held true for both children

and adult women. This is why the programme DRP describes for them is based on self-restraint as they would never have the same potential for self-control as the men for whom this text is intended.

Similarly, the supposed lack of appreciation for the non-physical in women and young girls prompts the advice to give them sensory work that they will delight in, such as weaving and working with textiles. However, in the young boys to whom the majority of this text is aimed, this sensory proclivity is another opportunity – more complex and abstract principles can be taught via physicality with the understanding that the child will later be able to rationalise their physical habits and grasp the sense behind their behaviour.

The comparative method applied here reinforces Giles's concept of behaviour, particularly when he discusses ideas of motion. The desire for male children to be adept at movement is so strong that Giles includes advice on keeping the child moving, even as an infant. Conversely, many of the recommendations for young girls revolve around restricting their range of motion so that they are confined and static. In this discussion, Giles's conception of women and children verges on his concepts of animality, using much of the same language that appears in texts on the training of horses and describing taught habits of young girls as a "bridle". Girls were kept tame, quiet, and still, whereas boys were habituated into being oriented towards exterior space, being physically mobile, accustomed to cold, and to treat every sensation with deliberate caution, lest they reveal themselves as overly responsive to stimuli. Although susceptibility to sensation was a problem for either gender, a certain level of immaturity was assumed in females at all ages and Giles describes a programme of external control to encourage a habit of shying away from the unfamiliar; self-restraint rather than self-control. By noting this gendered approach, it is clear how failures of self-control were regarded as failures of masculinity.

Applying the language of orientation to this aspect of the masculine royal habitus shows how boys were pointed towards the exterior world, with all the potential for sensation that came with it, so that they might develop a habit of resistance to impulse, just like submerging a child in a river to teach them to resist the sensation of cold. In doing so, they were oriented away from interior worlds, away from confining walls, and away from warmth or softness. The theme of this orientation was to point the subjects away from appreciation of sensations and associated actions which served no larger purpose, and away from unconsidered reactions of any kind.

The way that the method of construction shifted after infancy from the environmental and ecological, to the passive sensory and then to the active sensory is of paramount importance as it demonstrates a trend from habits of experience towards habits of action. The child gains ever more agency, which moves the responsibility for the shaping of their habits from their wider environments and caregivers to themselves. This leads to the next chapter of the thesis. At the beginning of a male child's life their educational experience is strongly physical and didactic – they are taught a physical control of themselves and matters of faith or vernacular language are taught as fact. However, at the age of seven they were considered able to accept more academic tuition. Their physical tuition did not cease, but as will be shown, it continued in a more complex and focused form without losing the idea that physical movement can teach non-physical principles. In fact, the kinds of physical training recommended for children did much to complement their academic schooling, and many aspects of the pedagogical method were rooted in the body and the senses, no matter the subject. The following chapter will investigate the specifics of a physical wrestling training recommended for children at the age of seven and above, tracing the ways in which it shaped their habitus, and the subsequent chapter will examine the effects of this training in their concurrent academic schooling. Both the strands of this investigation have their origin in the material covered in this first chapter, which makes it clear that to train the body was to shape the prince.

Chapter 2- Bodies in Interaction: Wrestling as Pedagogy for Embodied Social Action

This chapter will examine the place of wrestling in the curriculum of *De regimine principum* as it informs the continued mattering/construction of the martial masculine body. Wrestling played an important role across European societies and across classes in the period, and, as this chapter will reveal, that role extended beyond the training of combatants to the making of receptive, sensing bodies.[1] First, this chapter will discuss the heritage of wrestling and its place in medieval society to establish that it was a common practice across classes. Second, the chapter turns to pictorial evidence of how wrestling was actually conducted in the period. Only limited inferences can be drawn from such imagery, and so the third section of the chapter will work around this challenge by situating wrestling practices as part of a long tradition codified in detailed combat manuals produced in the fifteenth century. These sources facilitate understanding of the underlying principles of wrestling and the ways in which the tuition of these principles trained the senses to function in particular ways. The chapter will then piece together aspects of the *habitus* of the wrestler, paying particular attention to practical understandings of stance, bodyweight distribution, and spatial relationships, that have implications for non-martial contexts. The chapter will finish by laying out some of the ways in which self-control, orientation, and practical understandings of balance derived from wrestling were apparent in adult conduct and appear in imagery of medieval adults in non-physical conflict. The initial shaping of the body of concern addressed itself to the control of an individual physical body and its functions; this next stage in training was a logical next step in the same model - a way of using the controlled body to master the bodies of others. As the

[1] On the social functions of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Germanic wrestling, see Welle, Rainer. *"... und wisse das alle höbischeit kompt von deme ringen". Der Ringkampf als adelige Kunst im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert - Eine sozialhistorische und bewegungsbiographische Interpretation aufgrund der handschriftlichen und gedruckten Ringlehren des Spätmittelalters*, Centaurus, 1993.

impact of wrestling was not restricted to the physical body, this chapter reveals embodied and sensory fundamentals to supposedly non-embodied capacities of the masculine kingly self.

The popularity of wrestling

The inclusion of wrestling as an appropriate subject for children first appears in DRP as an appropriately form of physical exercise for children:

> "…with the passing of seven years up to the fourteenth year it is owed to become accustomed by degrees to further work and stronger exercise. For instance, a game with the ball as set down by Cato or wrestling as set down by the Philosopher is seen in the first seven years to be appropriate for the exercises of youths".[2]

Giles includes no details on how such wrestling was conducted, taught, nor anything on the teachers of such matters, but his lack of detail should not be taken as evidence of its unimportance. Rather, wrestling is assumed as a norm in children's education. A wider survey of surviving evidence shows just how widely this practice was performed, and its critical role in the shaping of interactions between male bodies in the period. This survey will serve to make visible the broader assemblage of practitioners, and participant humans and materials which are brought to bear on the young body of concern.

Wrestling had been a popular activity for society in general for many centuries, particularly in Ancient Greece where it was a part of the expected interests of an educated man.[3] Despite the common modern understanding of a combat sport as a relatively harmless and safe practice, Greek wrestling not only made use of tactics to make the opponent fall, but also strangulation, joint-locks and submission holds. Wrestling also formed an important aspect of the Olympic sport known as *pankration*, an empty-hand combat sport that only prohibited

---

[2] "*Sed cum impleverint septennium usque ad annum xiiii debeat gradatim asuescendi ad ulteriores labores et ad fortia exercicia, ludus enim pile secundum Catonem vel luctatio secundum philosophum in primo septennio videntur esse debita exercicia iuvenibus."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVI, f.71v.

[3] Poliakoff, Michael, B. *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture,* Yale University Press, 1987, p.23.

gouging and biting.[4] All the combat sports were considered vital practical martial training for adults and dedicated fighters could gain considerable renown, as important wrestlers' names were recorded by historians and writers of the Greek and Roman worlds and sometimes immortalised as statues. The oldest known textual description of any martial art in the West is a fragment of a wrestling manual from around the 2nd century CE, MS P.Oxy.II.466.[5] Although only fragments, the legible sections of text describe a series of drills which begin simply and become increasingly complex. The central place of wrestling and other combat sports in Hellenic society and the role of the trainer as an intricate and nuanced profession is further attested to by the writings of Philostratus, who compares the training regimens of current and historical wrestlers, describes the ways in which the trainers should adjust their techniques to suit different circumstances and body types, and even provides a lengthy passage on the ideal bodily characteristics of wrestlers.[6] Aristotle recommended young boys be given over to wrestling trainers, and his explanation directly addresses this subject existing within a broader curriculum:

> "And since it is plain that education by habit must come before education by reason, and training of the body before training of the mind, it is clear from these considerations that the boys must be handed over to the care of the wrestling-master and the trainer; for the latter imparts a certain quality to the habit of the body and the former to its actions."[7]

To understand why wrestling is a part of DRP's project, it is important to first understand the cultural significance of wrestling in medieval society.

By the time of DRP's composition, there are relatively few direct textual references to

---

[4] Poliakoff. *Combat Sports in the Ancient World*, p.54.

[5] For a description and translation, see Miller, Stephen G. *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources,* University of California Press, 2014, p.32.

[6] Philostratus. *Heroicus. Gymnasticus. Discourses 1 and 2.* Edited and translated by Jeffrey Rusten, Jason König. Loeb Classical Library 521. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014, pp.400-401, 438-439, 454-471

[7] Aristotle. *Politics.* (H. Rackham trans), Loeb Classical Library 264. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1932 p.645.

wrestling, but these are revealing of a well-established, cross-class practice. In France, images of wrestlers appear in the work of prolific thirteenth-century artist Villard de Honnecourt (c.1225-1250), who sketched a huge variety of buildings, animals, and human figures, many from real life.[8]It has been argued that early Frankish wrestling practices coalesced into a coherent style known as Lutte Provencales that was brough to England by emigres in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[9] However, there are multiple English references to wrestling from the same period. These are usually either juridical (noting injury, death, or unrest associated with a wrestling match) or complaints about the location, such as the Prioress of Clerkenwell complaining to Edward I about crowds watching wrestling matches (*luctas*) and miracle plays damaging her fields.[10] The *Berkshire Eyre* in 1248 reported a death by injury sustained during a wrestling match in a cemetery.[11] Churchyards seemed to be desirable places to hold such events, but the sanctity of the location evidently did not prevent outbreaks of unrestrained violence - the *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond* recorded a wrestling match taking place in a churchyard in 1197, which became a riot.[12] There was a similar larger-scale event on Lammas Day 1222 between the men of London and Westminster which also ended in violence and injury.[13] These specific examples describe or highlight problematic incidents, but unremarkable matches without injury were common; indeed, Matthew Paris' description indicates that such wrestling matches were hosted by the citizens of London every year on St James' Day – the 1222 event is only notable for the additional match on the following Lammas

---

[8] The work survives today as MS BNF Fr.19093. For images, see *The Medieval Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt*, Dover Publications, 2006, plates 27 and 36.
[9] Pashayev, Ruslan C. "Lutte Provencales Wrestling in France", *Applications of Traditional Wrestling in the World* (Mehmet Türkmen and Adem Kay eds), Nova Science Publishers, 2021, pp.93-100.
[10] MS Cotton Faustina B ii, f.109v. Cf Hassall, W.O. 'Plays at Clerkenwell', *Modern Language Review*, vol 33, 1938, p.566.
[11] *The Roll and Writ File of the Berkshire Eyre of 1248,* (M. T. Clanchy, ed) London, 1973, p.384
[12] *Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond from A.D. 1173 to 1202*. T. E. Tomlins (trans), Camden Society, 1844, p27.
[13] Strutt, Joseph, *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England,* Metheun, 1801 (Digitised 2015), p81. Strutt is citing Matthew Paris, Royal MS C VII, sub. Ann. 1222.

Day and an argument between the bailiff of Westminster and the officials from London which prompted several days of unrest. Paris remarks that the customary reward for triumphing at these events was a ram, also mentioned a hundred and seventy years later in Chaucer's description of the Miller, of whom he wrote "At wrasslynge he wolde have alwey the ram".[14] Such a continuity strongly suggests that wrestling matches that did not cause problems were the norm – and there must have been many more informal events that have left no historical trace.

Although wrestling matches were often disruptive, there seems to have been little appetite to prevent them. In 1385, while Richard II led an army against the French, the Mayor of London prohibited wrestling matches within seven miles of the city, even if private events, until news of the military venture came.[15] This same record also specifies that, if an enemy force approached the city, only men-at-arms and archers go to meet them. The concern seems to have been that the wrestling match and crowd of spectators might be mistaken for an attacking army, suggesting something of the character of the spectators. The limitation of the ban in time and space suggests further that, despite the potentially disruptive nature of such contests, they remained popular enough to effectively prevent permanent prohibition, and the wide chronological scattering of these kind of references to wrestling do much to attest that any potential dangers of the events did little to diminish their enduring popularity.

The reference to both public and private events shows that there were grades of wrestling match. If a wrestling match could be a private event, entry was presumably policed in some fashion and so may have therefore had a more exclusive class of both spectator and participant. We can see that it was not unknown for knights to take part in these contests.

---

[14] *The Riverside Chaucer*, Oxford University Press, 1988, p.32.
[15] *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H, Circa A. D. 1375-1399*, (Reginald Sharpe ed) London, 1907, p. 272.

Bertrand du Guescelin is reported to have triumphed over a local wrestling champion in Rennes in 1337, although such competition reportedly attracted the disapproval of his aunt, who supposedly wondered "How can a nobleman of seventeen fight naked with those serfs in the market place?".[16] No images of wrestling in this period show fully naked wrestlers, and so we might take this remark as referring to the fact that wrestlers tended to wear only their underclothes rather than being naked.

The cross-class nature of wrestling (and the discomfort of du Guescelin's aunt) redirects our attention to the relationships between bodies and character, as explored in Chapter 1, but with a troubling factor. Lower-class people were thought to be more bodily in nature, shown in Giles's remarks that "…he that is born to serve is strong of the body and deficient in knowledge and thinking".[17] In DRP, Giles recommends physical training, but also follows Aristotle's belief that too much physical work can stunt the intellectual development of a child, as softness of the flesh was linked to intellectual ability: "who rules ought to be less accustomed to bodily work than others, lest by this work their hard flesh impede the subtlety of their mind."[18] These points combined present something of a paradox. Giles wants the children to undertake physical labour, but not specifically so that the children become immensely physically capable. The specification of wrestling implies that there is something intrinsic to the modality of wrestling that is useful to the developing king which is not solely associated with physical strength or stamina. This chapter will now move to a broader array of evidence sources to make explicit the rationale of DRP's recommendation to train in wrestling.

---

[16] Vercel, Roger. *Bertrand of Brittany: A Biography of Messire du Guesclin*, Yale University Press, 1934, p.19.
[17] *"…natalit servibus pollet viribus et deficiat scientia et cogitione…"* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter V, f.50v.
[18] *"…qui regnare debent minus sunt assuescendi ad corporales labores quam alii ne propter huius labores caro eorum indurata impediat subtilitatem mentis."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVIII, f.73r.

How did people wrestle at this time?

Wrestling is an essential part of earnest combat, where there are no rules as such, whereas wrestling as a sport has clear rules that dictate when the contest is won or lost, and which techniques are acceptable or not. As such, we might make a distinction between *grappling* (unarmed combat with a martial purpose) and *wrestling* (the sport). Giles states that "all works prior to the fourteenth year are owed to be somewhat light and gentle".[19] Later in the same passage he describes the work of after the fourteenth year as focusing on "instruction in wrestling and riding and other things that are required of a soldier so that it is possible to undergo military work".[20] These two comments support the idea that the children would be taught a more sporting version at first and then encounter more martial grappling as they were specifically trained in combat.

Regarding the rules of the contest, we can draw some continuity between the wrestling of the Greeks and medieval wrestling. In *Gymnasticus*, the Greek sophist Philostratus states that the aim was to wrestle standing until one combatant had fallen three times – with the exception of the Eleans, who were said to practise a "curved" form of wrestling won by "misery-causing", presumably meaning to include ground wrestling to submission by pain.[21] Although there are no written rules of medieval wrestling, images suggest that it followed the Greek model of standing wrestling, as the most common images from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries show the story of Jacob wrestling an angel and show the two combatants

---

[19] *"…omnes labores precedentes xiiii annum debent esse quasi leves et debiles"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVII, f.72r.
[20] *"…instructi in luctativa et in equitativa et aliis que ad militam requiruntur subire possunt labores militares."* DRP Book II, Chapter XVII, f.72r.
[21] Philostratus, *Gymnasticus,* 416-417.

standing body-to-body, arms wrapped around one another. Despite the simplicity of this common image, close examination reveals practical knowledge of wrestling techniques, such as the placement of the feet to provide leverage or trap the opponent, as shown below in Figure 1. This technique prevents the foot from moving, either to prevent an unbalanced opponent from regaining their footing, or to prevent them from stepping into an advantageous orientation - if Jacob were able to place his foot behind the angel, he would be in an extremely commanding position and able to push the angel over his thigh. Without this small detail, an image such as this might be misinterpreted as an embrace.

Figure 1, Jacob wrestling an angel, MS London, British Museum, Royal 1 D X, f. 74v, 1200-1220.

Some images show variations of this arrangement, such as the combatants gripping at the belt,

being joined with shawls or scarves, or riding on the backs of other men.

Figure 2, Belt wrestlers, MS London, British Library, Arundel 157, f.95v, c.1240.

Figure 3, scarf wrestlers, The Ormesby Psalter, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 366, f.109v, 1250-1330.

Figure 4, Wrestlers on shoulders, The Queen Mary Psalter, MS London, British Library, 2 B VII, f.161v, 1310-1320.

The above images are all from decorated initials or bas-de-page illustrations from psalters, and their relationships with practice are complicated and mediated. They may have been added with humourous intent or represent regionally specific practices, and so do not necessarily represent the wrestling practised by the nobility. Wrestling was generally represented by standing opponents gripping one another about the body, arms, or head, and this certainly appears to the kind of exercise imagined by interpreters of Aristotle, shown in Fig 5, a fourteenth-century translation of Aristotle's *Politics* from the court of Charles V, which also shows the tactic of trapping a foot, alongside the lifting of heavy stones to build strength.

Figure 5, Wrestlers and stone lifting, Politics and Economics, MS Brussels, Royal Library of Belgium 11201-02, f.341r, 1376.

Figures 2,3,4, and 5 all show varied versions of wrestling, but the key ingredients are consistent. The goal is shown to be a disruption of balance by placing the upper and lower parts of the body out of alignment, revealed in the ways that the figures have some form of grip on each other’s upper or mid parts, but are seeking to restrict movement of the lower, either directly trapping a foot (as in Figs 1 and 5) or stepping into one another’s space (shown by the ways that the wrestlers’ legs are crossing one another in Figs 2 and 3). Figure 4 shows the end result of these tactics, still discernible despite the complications of the multiple combatants. In this version of wrestling, the people who must be unbalanced are the carriers, and we can see

that the carrier on the right has been significantly unbalanced by the way that his right foot is pointed away from the viewer, revealing that his hips must be directed at the upper left of the page, while his upper body and head have been pulled toward the lower left of the page, presumably by the dragging weight of his burden. As a consequence, his head is not directly above his feet and he is in downward motion, although not quite as dramatically as his unfortunate fellow.

As this close analysis reveals, these images contain embodied knowledge of body mechanics and principles of balance. The trapped foot is a simple way to indicate the intent of the bodies, but for such things to function as tropes of wrestling representation, they must have been generally understood by their readership. This indicates the existence of embodied knowledge, and this in turn goes some way to explaining the lack of detailed manuals from this period. If the principles of wrestling were passed through embodied knowledge and commonly known amongst the literate, there would be no reason to create such manuals.

Although evidence of wrestling's importance and tropes of its representation, these images tell us little about the specifics of wrestling techniques and what noble children may have been taught. For this, we must look at later literature more closely concerned with practice.

Wrestling manuals

Detailed sources on medieval wrestling techniques are scarce prior to the fifteenth century. It may be that the popularity of the practice amongst lower classes meant that those who taught such methods tended to be men of more humble status, and perhaps that the techniques for wrestling were passed on through embodied knowledge. Some grappling appears fleetingly in MS Leeds, Royal Armouries i.33, a Franconian guide to sword and buckler combat, dated to c.1300, but such grappling is always within the context of armed combat. The earliest detailed treatment of grappling in combat I have located appears in the Venetian text, *Il Fior di Battaglia* (MS Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 13,

c.1404), by Italian fencing master Fiore de'i Liberi, shortly followed by his *Florius de Arte Luctandi* (MS Paris, BNF, Latin 11269, c.1410-1420).[22] However, due to dating difficulties, the next available source chronologically is potentially a German commonplace book known as the Pol Hausbuch (MS Nuremburg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 3227a, c.1389-1494), probably written in the fifteenth century, although its eclectic nature makes it hard to date.[23] There is significant overlap with this text's potential dates of creation and a large variety of other Germanic sources containing grappling techniques, notably the similarly constructed and anonymous Codex Wallerstein (Cod. I.6.4º.2, 1420s-1470s), five interrelated works of Hans Talhoffer between 1453 and 1467, a group of texts known as *Die Blume des Kampfes*, (the earliest of which is Codex 5278, c.1420), and the Starhemberg Fechtbuch (Cod.44.A.8, c.1452).[24]

Texts directly contemporary with DRP are scarce. However, DRP drew on existing discourse, and was influential on later methods. I will work around the evidentiary challenge by situating DRP in a longer discursive tradition of wrestling, its techniques and social perceptions. As an example of a specific technique, one of the most popular moves of Ancient Greece is the so-called "flying mare", shown on an Attic drinking cup from c.430BC. This correlates with a technique well-described in Codex 5278, c.1420 (Figures 6 and 7). Both show one figure having seized the arm of his opponent and turned himself about, using his body to throw them over one shoulder.

---

[22] See Leoni, Tom and Mele, Greg. *Flowers of Battle, Volume 1: Historical Overview and the Getty Manuscript*. Freelance Academy Press, 2017.
[23] See discussion in Vodička, Ondřej. "Origin of the oldest German Fencing Manual Compilation (GNM Hs. 3227a)". *Waffen und Kostümkunde* Vol.61, No.1, 2019, pp.87-108.
[24] Codex Wallerstein was so named by Grzegorz Zabinkski in Zabinski, Grzegorz. "Several Remarks on the Bloßfechen Section of Codex Wallerstein", *Journal of Western Martial Art*, April 2001. For an overview of these MS see Leng, Rainer. *Fecht- und Ringbücher* fascicle. 1/2 of vol. 4/2 of *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters*, eds. Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, Norbert H. Ott, Ulrike Bodemann, Christine Stöllinger-Löser, Munich, 2008, pp. 110-113, and Tobler, Christian Henry. *In Saint George's Name: An Anthology of Medieval German Fighting Arts*, Freelance Academy Press, 2010.

Figure 6, “flying mare” shoulder throw, Kylix E94, British Museum, c.430BCE.

Figure 7, Shoulder throw, Codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5278, f.191r-f, c.1420.

A Greek terracotta amphora dating to about 500BC, currently on display in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, shows a throw accomplished by a leg pick-up, exactly as recommended by the anonymous creator of Codex 5278 (Figures 8 and 9).

Figure 8, Terracotta Panathenaic prize amphora, Metropolitan Museum, New York, c.500BCE.

Figure 9, Codex Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 5278, f.195r-a, c.1420.

Parallels of large-scale techniques with clear imagery are relatively easy to find, but

there is also similarity in smaller-scale techniques, such as the description in Pausanias's *Hellados Periegesis* of the statue of a wrestler known for bending the fingers of his opponents to great success, and the description of seizing the fingers included in the works of Ott Jud that allows the easy manipulation of the opponent's arm and body.[25] There is no evidence that the creators of these Germanic wrestling manuals were directly influenced by these amphora, and so the likely referents for these images are the bodies of wrestlers, not images of Greek wrestlers, thus indicating a continuity of practice. It is not surprising to note these parallels, as the effectiveness of martial arts is based on physics and biomechanics, and these factors do not change markedly with time or location. This is why, in a comparison of Asian martial styles with European ones, there is often overlap of techniques.[26]

If we accept fifteenth-century Germanic manuals as being at least broadly representative of martial practices across the continent prior to their creation, then this enables us to use these manuals to ask useful questions about how the practice of such techniques informed the developing habitus of the noble child at the time of DRP. Although much of the content of the manuals is captioned images explicating the details of particular techniques or counters to them, there is discussion of more general principles which govern interaction with opponents and specific terminology upon which the descriptions of techniques rely. The student is then required to learn, not merely the techniques themselves, but how to perceive the optimal time and manner in which to perform them. This is highly relevant to this thesis's task of interrogating the developing sensorium and its links with martial training, as it shows that

---

[25] Compare Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, Part 6, Chapter 4, Section 1 "…and also a man of Sicyon who was a pancratiast, Sostratus surnamed Acrochersites. For he used to grip his antagonist by the fingers and bend them, and would not let go until he saw that his opponent had given in" and "…then grasp him by the fingers with your left fingers and lift upwards to the left side…" Cod.44.A.8, f.102r.

[26] For example, the nikyō wristlock technique from aikido shares many characteristics with the description of a chest-aided wristlock described in the works of Master Ott Jud in MS Chart.A.558, f. 131v (c.1448). Both are a form of adductive wristlock, but subtly differ in their implementation.

the work of the wrestler is fundamentally sensory. This chapter will now investigate how these manuals explain their underlying principles and reveal their authors' understandings of the links between sensation and perception.

Wrestling Principles

Medieval combat masters understood themselves to be working at the boundary of senses and faculties in their discussions of desirable traits of wrestlers. Many of the manuscripts that discuss wrestling begin with a prologue which comments on general principles of wrestling and qualities desirable in wrestlers, and these are broadly analogous across the material.

As shown below in Figure 10, the early-fifteenth-century Fiore de'i Liberi includes a diagram of the body of the combatant. The human figure, fully dressed, stands in the centre of the image, with a spoked wheel formed from swords superimposed on his form. Four animals surround him, with terms indicating different qualities written alongside them: Sight (Lynx), Speed (Tiger), Strength (Elephant), and Boldness (Lion).[27] The prologue of Ott Judd in the *Starhemberg Fechtbuch* stresses the importance of skill, quickness, and strength.[28] The introduction to wrestling in the *Codex Wallerstein* recommends strength, measure, and nimbleness.[29] Strength and speed are common to all, and the qualities of Sight (Fiore), Skill (Ott), and Measure (Wallerstein) are essentially the same, referring to the ability to discern moments of vulnerability and take advantage of them - although Fiore adds the quality of Boldness to better elucidate this concept. We can also see that Sight, Skill, and Measure are broadly the same concepts in the way that Fiore positions his animals adjacent to the body parts that are governed by the quality they represent.

---

[27] MS Ludwig XV 13, f.32r.
[28] Cod.44.A.8, f.100v.
[29] Cod.I.6.4o.2, f.15r.

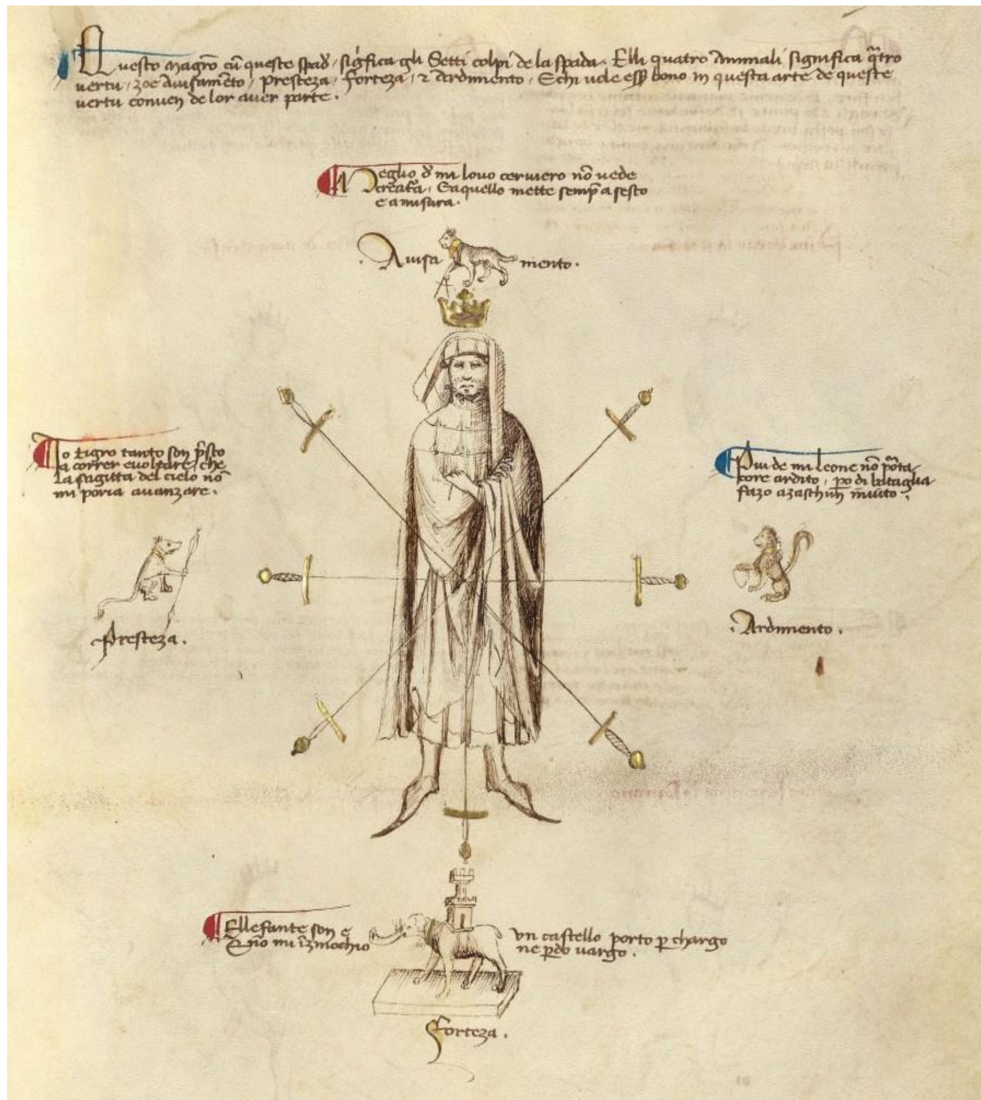

Figure 10, Il Fior di Battaglia, MS Los Angeles, J Paul Getty Museum, Ludwig XV 13, f.32r, c.1404.

Strength is in the feet, suggesting that this form of strength is related to stance and footing. Speed is on the weapon hand, Boldness on the left side (linking with the heart), and Sight is positioned generally at the head, but not linked specifically with the eyes, suggesting that Sight refers also to the understanding of what is perceived, not merely the basic concept of visual perception. The Lynx representing Sight is also holding a set of compasses, further indicating the links between sight and judgement of measure. The association of these qualities with sections of the body reminds us that these faculties or sensibilities were bodily in essence, as well as metaphysical concepts. This diagram of a human figure arrayed with the

representations of various qualities strongly mirrors that of the fourteenth-century Longthorpe Tower mural, showing a man surrounded by representations of the senses as animals (Figure 11).[30]

Figure 11, Wheel of Senses, Longthorpe Tower, c.1330, ©Historic England.

The association of animals with bodily qualities also appears in DRP which states that "those who have hard flesh, firm sinews and muscles and are strong of the body are most suited to fight. Truly signs in us of aggressive animals are those of great extremities and broad chest, for we observe lions and strong animals to have great limbs and broad chests."[31] Yet the choice

---

[30] Casagrande, Gino, and Kleinhenz, Christopher. "Literary and Philosophical Perspectives on the Wheel of the Five Senses in Longthorpe Tower." *Traditio,* Vol. 41, 1985, pp.311–27.
[31] *"...duri carne habentes compactos nervos et lacertos sunt virosi et fortiores corpore sunt aptiores ad pugnam. Signa vero conformantia nos animalibus bellcosis sunt magnitudo extremitatum et latitudo pectoris. Videmus enim leones animalium fortissios habere magna brachia et latum pectus"* DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter III, f.117r.

to arrange the desirable qualities of the fighter/wrestler as animals arrayed around the human body in this way suggests that these qualities are conceptually akin to senses. There is already a blurred distinction between what medieval thinkers might consider a sense and a modern thinker might consider a faculty, such as in discussions of medieval abilities of speech.[32] This conceptual murkiness indicates that medieval physical theorists were working to understand the relationship between sense and faculties in the same way as modern theorists but expressed their understandings differently. The concepts of Skill and Sight/Measure are broadly analogous to the modern sense of proprioception, and the placement of the Strength Elephant by the feet indicates association with the vestibular sense, governing a person's sense of balance. By including discussions and representations of innate qualities of animals as desirable and attainable qualities of humans in a text concerned with training reveals that the masters of combat were talking about the conditioning and training of these senses through practice, even when those particular senses were not necessarily included in the classical five senses.

As a further example of the importance of a sense that was not traditionally a part of the classical five, we can see an embodied form of chronoperception having a central importance. In works attributed to Ott Judd, there is discussion of the importance of the temporal considerations of initiative in a contest, often making use of the German terms, *Vor*, *Nach*, and *Indes*.[33] These terms refer to the moments when one should act - acting in the *vor* is acting prior to the opponent's movements, either directly or by presenting them with a situation which deliberately limits their options, *nach* is to react towards the end of a motion in order to guide it in such a way as to present an advantage. *Indes* is a more difficult concept, but Jessica Finley, a noted modern instructor of fifteenth-century wrestling, describes it as acting 'during'

---

[32] See discussion in Chapter One, p.57 and Woolgar, Chris. *The Senses in Late Medieval England,* Yale University Press, 2006, pp. 84-116.
[33] Cod.44.A.8, f.100v.

an opponent's motion, specifying that a key skill is understanding how to use *indes* to transition from being reactive to active.[34] These terms appear in many of the Germanic treatises and are indications of a strand of theory popular amongst what is known as the 'Society of Liechtenauer', an established tradition of combat teachers begun by a Johannes Liechtenauer, listed as a master in many of the texts discussed and who may have been active in the latter half of the fourteenth century.[35] It is possible that the inclusion in Fiore's text of the quality of Boldness, associated with the lion on his diagram of the body, is not simply the courage to fight, but the confidence to act when the correct moment is perceived. If so, the concept of *indes*, which we could also think of as "acting in the moment", may not be exclusive to the inheritors of Liechtenauer's teachings, but a concept that was widely understood.

The temporal concepts of initiative present were not only a concern in the midst of combat but were understood to influence the approach to the contest as a whole. This must be seen as linked to ideas of perception, but this time of the perception of the opponent's qualities. One of the concerns of wrestling masters seems to have been the mismatching of combatants in terms of size and strength. In modern versions of wrestling and many combat sports, it is common to have weight divisions, so that combatants are generally evenly matched. The concern with the difficulties of a smaller fighter contending with a larger and stronger opponent in these treatises indicate that this was not the case in medieval wrestling events, just as it would not be in a battlefield context. Accordingly, Liechtenauer-derived teachings recommend wrestling a weaker opponent primarily in the *vor*, an equal opponent in the *indes*, and a stronger one in the *nach*. Interestingly, this accords with a rationale common in European swordplay

---

[34] Finley, Jessica. *Medieval Wrestling: Modern Practice of a Fifteenth-Century Art*, Freelance Academy Press, 2014, pp.19-20

[35] MS 3227a lists Liechtenauer as a master, but without the blessing for the dead that appears in all subsequent treatises, raising the possibility that he was alive at the time of its composition - potentially the end of the fourteenth century.

when discussing the control of weapons (which will be examined in a later chapter), and appears as a general theme in many Asian martial arts.[36] We should understand from this that strength (in the twin senses of ability to affect one's opponent, and to resist their efforts) is not a fixed quality, but a relative one that shifts with orientation, momentum, and time.

The sense of how one can know if an opponent is stronger (either generally or in a particular position) and how best to gauge the moment for action comes only once engaged with the opponent and is known as *fühlen* (to feel). It is the nature of the grip and the manner in which the opponent responds to actions that informs an experienced wrestler of their opponent's physical capacities and mastery of techniques. This ability to derive knowledge of the capacities of an opponent in this way is something that must be learned through experience and, once sensed, acted upon at the correct moment. Such a mode of sensing and its central position in European martial arts appears in glosses of the so-called Recital of Johannes Liechtenaeur.[37] Although this particular section is concerned with swordplay, the principle of knowing another through contact is an important and transposable concept which applies to all combat, even if unarmed.

Once these key concepts are considered, there is one further idea that is present in wrestling that we might consider to be appropriate to apply more generally. The basic goal of wrestling is to disrupt the balance of one's opponent, so that they might be thrown or otherwise put upon the ground. Finley describes this as a core concept in all standing wrestling.[38] The application of all of the above concepts serves this goal, which is why they appear in prologues

---

[36] "Here then, I am momentarily in an advantageous position and can defeat my opponent by using only half my strength…" Comments by Jigoro Kano discussing the advantages of yielding to strength to change positions in Kobayashi, Kiyoshi and Sharp, Harold, *The Sport of Judo*, Tuttle Publishing, 2014, p.vi-vii.

[37] *"Merck das fülñ vnd das wort Inndes die gröst vnd die pëst kunst im swert ist vnd wer ein maister des swertz ist oder sein wil vnd kan nicht das fülñ vnd vernÿmpt nicht dar zw das wort Inndes So ist er nicht ein maister wenn er ist ein püffel des swertz Dar vmb soltu die tzwai ding vor allen sachen gar wol lernen das dw si recht verstest"* Cod.44.A.8, f.29v-f.29r.

[38] Finley, *Medieval Wrestling,* p.36.

of these sources. The greatest proportion of the treatises then list extensive applications of the principles in myriad specific holds, grips, and counters of such moves, but all such techniques are only possible once the general balance of the opponent is disrupted. This is why Ott recommends that in all moments of *indes*, attention must be given to balance.[39] Although the word *waage* is used at this point is used to describe the concept of balance generally, the phrase *das gewicht nehmen* (to take the weight) is used in later parts of the text as an idiom for unbalancing or throwing an opponent: "When he has grasped your left hand with his left hand and intends to take your weight with his right hand, then lower yourself and go to him with your left elbow in his waist."[40] Although *gewicht* means "weight" generally, the word in this phrase likely refers to what modern combatants would call a person's centre of gravity. The use of the phrase "to take the weight" as the goal of the opponent when discussing this technique and the ways in which it can be countered by "sinking yourself" reveals that the 'weight' in this context is not a concept or a quality, but a location that exists in relation to a person's body that can be shifted according to need.

The temporal understanding of initiative, the reading of an opponent's capabilities through contact, the understanding of the relativity of strength according to orientation, and the use of tactics to disrupt balance - these are the key principles of wrestling as taught by fifteenth-century masters, refined through training and practical use. From this analysis of wrestling, what emerges for the child who is the subject of DRP, trained in wrestling from the age of seven, is the critical role played by balance, the sensation of relative strength, and an attention to the minute functioning of time within interactions. These physical, conceptual, and temporal habits have major political implications for the child's future as a ruler, engaged in myriad non-

---

[39] Cod.44.a.8, f.100v.

[40] "*Wenn er dir mit der lincken hant dein lincke begriffen hat vnd wil dir mit der rechten das gewicht nemen, So senck dich nÿder vnd var Im mit dem lincken elpogen in die wüst…*" Cod.44.a.8, f.102v-3.

physical combative interactions. Children educated in the period when the DRP was first written and read, were inducted into such modes of embodied knowledge as part of a pedagogy deeply attuned to the body and the regulation and refinement of its sensations. Wrestling does not overtly set out to build these kinds of sensitivities, but they exist as a corollary of wrestling practice. As corroboration of this idea, this chapter will now examine evidence that a nuanced spatio-tactile and kinaesthetic *habitus* is reflected in the ways in which medieval bodies were depicted standing, moving, and responding to one another. This martial strand of the larger noble or royal *habitus* would go on to form the basis of a multiplicity of different forms of knowledge, as expanded upon in later chapters.

<u>**Martial gesture in imagery**</u>

Bodily *habitus* shaped by wrestling was entwined with all kinds of representations of relationships between bodies. This chapter concludes by exploring this in two examples; one of verbal argument and one of political conflict, demonstrating the cross-temporal ubiquity of this attentiveness to the relative power of bodies in space and how wrestling's body work resonates with wider medieval elite emphases on control of the body's movements. This is significant because it expands the scope of medieval art interpretation and analysis, a large part of which relies upon the reading of the body and its orientations. Work by Jean-Claude Schmitt, for example, has described the rationale and importance of gestures, arguing that movements of the body were generally understood to reflect the character of the mind and the soul.[41] DRP shows that Giles certainly believed this was true, as shown in the previous chapter on the ways

---

[41] "Dans la longue durée, qui déborde le Moyen Âge, son principe élémentaire est que les gestes sont censés exprimer les réalités cachées, l'intérieur de la personne (l'âme, ses vices et ses vertus), tandis qu'inversement la discipline des gestes, à l'extérieur du corps, peut contribuer à réformer l'homme intérieur. D'où aussi, face aux gestes, l'attention privilégiée qui est portée aux parties jugées les plus expressives du corps :le visage et le regard (au Moyen Âge, un même mot, vultus, les désigne), et les mains qui semblent parler." Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval,* Gallimard, 1990, p.26.

that senses and appropriate physical conduct were entwined: "...to conduct other movements of the members that do not serve the work intended comes from a foolish mind, or a prideful soul, or from some other manner of vice".[42] The idea that such a *habitus* could be developed by control of gesture is a reflection of the wider educational tactics of the text when concerned with young children. Children were considered to be bodily in nature and so were not reasoned with to form such good habits. Instead, as has been argued previously, they were to control themselves physically in order to form desirable physical and sensory habits. Tuition in wrestling accords well with this wider culture of control of gesture but is an extension of techniques of self-control to those of mastering the bodies of others.

Corroboration of this *habitus* of bodily control is challenging via imagery, but not impossible. DRP is vague on exactly what constitutes a gesture, but concern in the text appears to mostly be with uncontrolled hand or arm gestures, and these are certainly the most easily understandable gestures that we can discern from medieval imagery. There has been a great deal written on the specifics of hand and finger positions in medieval art, both by modern scholars interpreting such art, but also in medieval sources that give advice on rhetoric.[43] In a similar form of analysis, we can see some evidence of gestures derived from wrestling techniques in non-martial contexts, and the easiest place in wrestling manuals from which to take such gestures are the opening sections of the matches. These are simpler, non-contact versions of the fight proper, essentially a choice between holding one's arms high to grab the shoulder or arms of the opponent or low to seize their body, as shown in Figures 12 and 13 below.

---

[42] *"...alios motus membrorum agere non deservientes operi intento vel procedunt ex insipiencia mentis vel ex elatione animi vel ex aliquo alio modo vicio.",* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.70r.
[43] See Schmitt on Quintilian, Schmitt, *La raison des gestes,* p.48. For an argument on the Asian/Mongol influence, see Prazniak, Roxann. *Sudden Appearances: The Mongol Turn in Commerce, Belief, and Art,* University of Hawai'i Press, 2019.

Figure 12, *Floria de Arte Luctandi*, MS Paris, BNF, Latin 11269, f.38v, 1410-1420.

Figure 13, MS Königswald, XIX.17-3, Königsegg-Aulendorf family private collection, f.36r, 1446-1459.

Manuscripts often show the high and low stances opposing one another, as if

commencing a bout. Similar oppositions of high and low gestures are evident in images of non-physical arguments. For example, Figure 14 shows two arguing men with similar arm positions, taken from Hildegard of Bingen's *Codex Latinus Monacensis* (commonly known as the *Prayer Book of Hildegard of Bingen,* c.1175-1200). These poses draw upon practical understandings of methods by which to counter the physicality of an opponent. The figures are involved in a verbal dispute, but their bodies reflect the movements of their souls, striving to overcome one another physically, despite the space between them.

Figure 14, Prayer Book of Hildegard of Bingen, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek CLM 935, f.38v.

Closely aligned with gesture is stance and body orientation, and practical experience with medieval wrestling techniques indicates that what can appear as submissive or dismissive in turning away from a person can actually be a position of relative strength. A person with their feet in parallel is extremely weak to force from the front or behind – if their feet were two

points of an equilateral triangle, the location of the third point is the direction from which they are most vulnerable. As such, to present one's side to a person is to stand in a position of strength and to directly face a person is to make oneself vulnerable. However, turning the lower body away while remaining engaged with the arms allows for a considerable amount of torque and leverage. In wrestling practice, one particular technique demonstrates how this was understood, namely the cross-buttock throw. Simply put, this technique is a manner of using one's own hips and buttocks as a fulcrum over which the opponent is thrown. In order to utilise the technique, the wrestler must step close and then orient their hips away from their opponent so that they are effectively facing the same direction. They can then throw them across the body, with few methods of countering.

This technique was certainly a favourite in Ancient Greece, with Theocritus writing that Heracles learnt from Harpalycus "all the moves by which Argive men in wrestling twist their hips and throw each other with their legs".[44] The same technique appears in the teachings of Ott Jud, with the instructions to 'turn yourself through and grasp him at the waist".[45] The technique is common to many martial arts, sometimes still referred to as a cross-buttock throw, or sometimes simply as a hip throw. This is a notable example of a wrestler's physical *habitus*, because to the eye of a person who has never fought or wrestled, one figure with their hips turned away from another looks passive and weak. This thesis's methodology incorporates practical engagement with the intricacies of wrestling, and the knowledge gained from such engagement allows an understanding that this stance can signify combat and potentially even advantage.

The stance can also appear in contexts which are not depicting a physical fight, but

---

[44] Theocritus, Moschus, Bion. *Theocritus. Moschus. Bion.* Edited and translated by Neil Hopkinson. Loeb Classical Library 28. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015, p.334-335.
[45] Cod.44.a.8, f.107v.

simply the meeting of two potential rivals, which adds a new and important perspective on bodily symbolism in medieval art. In the Figure 15 below we can see a meeting of King Phillipe Augustus and Tancred of Sicily from the fourteenth-century *Chroniques de France ou Saint Denis,* with both figures presenting their sides to one another. Both have their feet mostly hidden by clothing and their long mantles gathered at the hips. Gathering the fabric in this way is practical, allowing movement without getting tangled, but these bunches of fabric distort our perception of the line of their bodies. If we look at Tancred's feet however (below, right), we can see that the lower half of his body is directed almost fully toward the viewer.

Figure 15, *Chroniques de France ou de Saint Denis*, vol. 1, MS London, British Library, Royal 16 G. VI, f.350, second quarter of 14th century.

It might be argued that Phillipe (left) is in a more commanding pose from his hand positions, which are more pointed and direct than Tancred's. However, Tancred's hip

orientation is in the classic cross-buttock throw position, which would be a position of strength. If one were to edit the image so that the two kings were physically entwined, then the similarity to a cross-buttock throw is striking, although who actually has the most commanding position would depend on who was in front of the other - Phillipe could easily be the victor if he were in the foreground. Viewing this image alongside ideas of physical contest allows us to better understand the white rods held by those immediately behind each king, commonly thought to indicate diplomatic immunity. It was common to use similar white rods to separate entangled combatants in tournament fights. These rods remind the viewer that although the two kings are engaged in an ostensibly friendly contest, it is a conflict; that arguing *is* wrestling. A martial habitus, informed by childhood wrestling training, is ingrained in both these kings and the viewers of these images, and so it is entirely appropriate that they stand in this way. As is characteristic of the way that Bourdieu describes the habitus, the fundamentals of the activity are so deeply learned that they are non-discursive for the subject, but by this chapter's investigation of the effects of wrestling upon the sensorium, the implicit is made explicit. The common understanding of wrestling as a sporting event, reinforced in this image by the presence of the tournament-style white rods, may even serve a purpose within the wider purpose of this text.[46] Phillipe engaged with Tancred in a relatively friendly fashion, in stark contrast to that of the English King Richard, who took a much more antagonistic and violent

---

[46] Such rods are often seen in imagery of heralds and attendants but were a fixture of retainers and valets at tournaments, as described in the text *Traictié de la forme et devis d'ung tournoy*, created by King René of Anjou c.1460. This text describes a form of tournament based on ancient customs of such events in France. The relevant passage describes attendants at the side of a tourney as being equipped with "…the shaft of a lance two arms'-lengths long. And their job is to lift man and horse with their staffs when they see them fall to the ground, if they can, and if they can't lift him, they should stand around him and protect and defend him with their lances with which they make lists and barriers until the end of the tourney, so that the other tourneyers cannot overrun him." "*…ung tronson de lance de deux braces de long. Et est leur office de relelver homme et cheval avecques les diz tronsons quant ils les veoient cheoir a terre se faire le peuvent, et se ils ne le peuvent relever, ils se doivent tenir autour de lui et le garder et deffendre avec leurs dits tronsons de lances dont ils font lices et barriéres jusques a la fin de Tournoy, ad ce que les autres tournoyeurs ne puissent passer pardessus."* Cripps-Day, F.H. *The History of the Tournament,* AMS Press, 1982, Appendix VIII, p.235.

tack to his negotiations with Tancred, eventually looting and burning Messina.

Conclusion

This chapter has expanded upon DRP's small reference to wrestling, and in doing so, revealed how this term is a reference to a whole realm of ideas about the nature of medieval bodies and desirable capacities and sensitivities of the noble body. The combined knowledge of the context of wrestling, the detailed discussions of the techniques, and their ramifications for the body, demonstrate this important and previously unseen aspect of the "body of concern" of DRP's pedagogy, but it does not stand alone within the wider project of DRP. Just as the martial habitus finds expression in non-martial medieval imagery, so too does it appear in the text in non-physical subjects. At the same time as wrestling is introduced to the child, they begin their academic instruction, which DRP suggests should focus on grammar, logic, and music. This chapter has established how physical training informed the child's habitus, shaping their sensorium and conditioning their conceptual frameworks, but the manner in which DRP describes these subjects for study together for the same age range allows us to continue this work, discussing the thematic parallels between learning to use one's body effectively to defeat others and grasping the rudiments of grammar and logical debate. Physical training was not merely activity to keep children busy, but part of an integrated pedagogy that impressed cognitive skills upon receptive bodies, already shaped by physical practice.

Chapter 3 - The Thinking Prince: The Matter of Abstract Knowledge

This chapter is an investigation of how the sensory embodiment of the noble habitus identified in the previous chapter found a form of expression in academic contexts. It also investigates how the academic study recommended by DRP formed distinct strands of the *habitus* characterised by a physical conceptualisation of abstract material. Key to understanding the forming of the *habitus* in these practices is the acknowledgement that the students' minds existed within sensing bodies. Knowledge entered their bodies through the senses, not only passively through reading and hearing, but actively, through vocal repetition of phrases and answering of questions, and the physical acts of writing and composition. Due to the physical methods of learning, habits of memory, argument, and thought were formed with a corporal index. To use the metaphor from Chapter 1 of the body of concern as soft wax, the *habitus* was impressed by a matrix derived from the physical body which was shaped by wrestling training and its understandings of motion and balance.

The three subjects of the first stage of academic schooling, Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric were presented in such a way as to remain tied to practicality, appealing to and further constructing the students' notions of their bodies. Firstly, by activating the senses, particularly their kinaesthetic and temporal senses, the study of grammar leveraged the understanding that younger children learned bodily things more easily than intellectual ones to encourage retention of the subject matter, while reinforcing the idea that knowledge was best gained through dialogue and the following of sequences. Secondly, dialectic allowed the students to conceptualise abstract arguments as physical matter and to arrange them relative to arguments of their opponents in witnessed argumentation, much like a physical confrontation. This required a form of dispassionate control of the self, suppressing emotions while focusing on the arrangement and timing of arguments. Emotions formed a key part of the more advanced study of rhetoric, in which a considered manipulation of emotions through physical delivery

alongside choice and arrangement of subject matter was vital. Performance was a key part of all these forms of study, and so the chapter will conclude by arguing that actualising knowledge with informed critical audiences was a key step in shaping and orienting the *habitus*. This argumentative body of concern was designed to affect other bodies, not only through contact, but through the embodied navigation of spatiotemporal arrangements of knowledge, argumentation, and the deployment of embodied emotions. This placed metaphysical tools within the reach of the royal child and gave them the capacity to influence the intellectual and emotional states of others. Crucially, the educated child who would consider themselves ontologically distinguished from others by virtue of their superior skill, knowledge, and consequent ability to judge.

The Trivium

Medieval academic instruction was usually conceived as seven so-called liberal "arts", following a scheme described by the fifth-century Roman grammarian Martianus Capella.[1] Traditionally, the curriculum was broken into two parts known as the *trivium* and the *quadrivium.* The *trivium*, which was the focus of children aged seven to fourteen, was the study of grammar, logic (including dialectic), and rhetoric, whereas the *quadrivium* was the study of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. The *quadrivium* was the more advanced form of study of which the *trivium* was the precursor, and so generally the preserve of older university students and more experienced masters.[2]

DRP describes the ideal qualities of a child's tutor, but these refer to the individual who

---

[1] See Colish, Marcia L. *The Mirror of Language: A Study of the Medieval Theory of Knowledge,* University of Nebraska Press, 1983, and Stahl, William Harris. *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts,* Columbia University Press, 1971.
[2] North, John. "The Quadrivium", *A History of the University in Europe, Volume I: Universities in the Middle Ages,* (Hilde de Ridder Symoens ed), Cambridge University Press, 1992.

is responsible for the child's overall education, not those who actually deliver the schooling in individual subjects - although it is reasonable to assume that this person did teach some subjects. Historian of childhood Nicholas Orme suggests that, as professional schoolmasters only taught in public schools until the fifteenth century, it was likely that in most cases the princely grammar tutor was a literate clerk or chaplain from the prince's wider household who was seconded for a time.[3] This was definitely the case for Phillipe, the ostensible recipient of the original text of DRP. Despite unproven suggestions that Giles himself was the tutor, it is certain that Phillipe III's almoner Guillame d'Ercuis took this role for some of his life.[4] Despite the multiple subjects defined and discussed in this section, the end goal of study was to aid the business of rulership. DRP describes the classical definitions of the liberal arts, but then presents its own dissection of the curriculum and indicates which parts are more of a priority for princes, stating "those who live the politic life must be as it were demi-gods, and busily study that which pertains more to rulership."[5] His recommendations are therefore based upon his perception of the phronesis of rulership, and his chief concern is that children study moral sciences - namely ethics, economics, and politics. In order that they might grasp such matters well, they are required to study grammar "so that such moral knowledge might be more easily related."[6] Giles further recommends that they learn "somewhat of dialectic and rhetoric so that

---

[3] Orme, Nicholas. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and aristocracy 1066-1530,* Metheun, 1984, p.21.

[4] Guillame's journal is extant as MS Paris 2021, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève and was published as *De libro rationis Guillelmi de Erqueto* by Joseph Petit in 1900.

[5] *"Nam cum oporteat eos esse quasi semideos et debite absque negligentia negociis regni intendere non vocat eis subtiliter scientias perscrutari."* DRP Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.67r.

[6] "*Decet ergo scire gramaticam ut intelligent ideoma naturale secundum quod ideoma tam morales scientie quam alie facilius traduntur…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.67r. It is also suggested that they might be able to use Latin to write privately to one another (*ut possint secreta sua aliis scibere et legere, absque aliorum scitu)*, although such "secret" messages would be entirely comprehendible to anyone with the same education. This means Latin knowledge was a method of identifying members of the same social group, as described in Pierre Bourdieu's *La Distinction.*

they might be more able to understand whatever proposition is made."[7] Thus the trivium is a precursor to the broader subjects of ethics, economics, and politics.

These subjects match the structure of DRP itself; ethics being the ruling of the self, economics the ruling of the household, and politics the ruling of cities and realms.[8] The conflation of these subjects indicates how the self, household, and realm are all microcosmically nested, in line with the concept of the body politic. Yet, Giles indicates that the trivium be studied first, and so the student *habitus* was primed to engage with such material in a particular manner. Therefore, this chapter will examine each of the subjects of the trivium in turn, emphasizing and in some cases revealing the participation of the sensing body within pedagogy. From this analysis I will argue that the students were habituated into conceptualising knowledge and argumentation as a metaphysical matter and to applying their bodily training in the manipulation of this metaphysics. This was an extension of the lessons of wrestling, adding an awareness of their own metaphysical importance and agency that was vital to becoming a king.

Grammar

The study of Latin grammar equipped its students with support for varied forms of knowledge and formed a basis for their interpretation and retention. Latin is described as the ideal language for understanding, referred to as *ideoma litterale*, the idiom of writing, although sometimes described as *philosophicum idioma,* the idiom of philosophers.[9] Giles states that comprehension of Latin was needed to understand important scholarly works: "it is useful for

---

[7] *"...debent etiam aliud addiscere de dyaletica et rhetorica ut ex hoc subtiliores fiant ad intelligendum quecunque proposita quo facto..."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.67r.
[8] The suggestion of ethics, economics, and politics also correlates with the works of Aristotle, often known by the same respective titles, although it is not clear if Giles is suggesting that the rulers simply study those particular texts.
[9] DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VII, f.65v.

us to know that idiom in which doctors and philosophers speak, and because this is known through grammar, therefore grammar is accounted among the liberal arts…"[10] It is therefore clear that the form of grammar study recommended by DRP is reading and composition in the Latin language. Giles states that "It is seen that for philosophers, there being no vulgar idiom by which it was possible to express perfectly the natures of things, the manners of men, and the course of the stars, and other things that they wished to dispute, they devised as it were their own idiom, which is called Latin or the writing idiom, that they created precise, broad, and full so that by this same, it was possible for them to sufficiently express all their concepts."[11] Latin is therefore presented as not only a practical necessity for reading relevant material, but the required medium for the expression of complex thoughts that could only be imperfectly grasped in the vernacular. The children were not simply being taught another language, but a superior way of thinking that was necessary for philosophical study.

Grammar as Dialogue

Regarding the precise manner in which grammar was taught to noble children, surviving textbooks suggest that vocal repetition, and repeated copying of phrases was a large part of the early process. As an example, the *Ars Minor* of Aelius Donatus (a Roman teacher of grammar and rhetoric c.350) was a standard text of medieval Latin grammar consisting of a series of brief questions and answers that covered the definitions of standard parts of speech. The works of Donatus were the standard treatment of grammar until the later Middle Ages.[12]

[10] "*…expedit nos scire ideoma illud in quo doctores et philosophi sunt locuti et quia hoc scitur per gramaticam, ideo gramatica inter liberales scientias est computata…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.66r.
[11] *"Videntes autem philsophi nullum ideoma vulgare esse completum et perfectum per quod perfecte exprimere possent naturas rerum et mores hominum et cursus astrorum et alia de quibus disputare volebant, invenerunt sibi quasi proprium ideoma quod dicitur latinum vel ideoma litterale quod constitverunt adeo latum et copiosum ut per ipsum possent omnes suos consceptus sufficienter exprimere*." DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VII, f.65v.
[12] For further reading on Donatus and the reception of his *ars grammatica,* see Copeland, Rita, Sluiter, Ineke. "Aelius Donatus, Ars minor, Ars maior, Life of Virgil, CA. 350", *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475,* Oxford, 2015.

The structure of the *Ars Minor* indicates that much of the students' early work consisted of remembering the correct responses to prompts, or a series of statements that formed a sequence.

Nicholas Orme suggests that it was unusual for princes and nobility to become particularly proficient in Latin grammar, citing DRP's comment that princes should only learn *somewhat* of these subjects, as necessary.[13] If this is so, then it only reinforces that the method and structure of learning be considered as equally important to the content in shaping the child's educational *habitus*. Dialogue was a long-established classical literary genre, particularly for the treatment of philosophical subjects, and continued to be popular throughout much of the Middle Ages.[14] That the spoken word was a vital component of the educational process is clear from the ways that influential writers described their childhood experiences. Augustine writes in his *Confessions* that he was praised in his studies of grammar from his "method of declaiming", and later gives an example of incorrect grammatical usage as being an incorrectly pronounced word.[15] Therefore, the dialogue genre was in some sense a product of the form of early-years tuition in grammar, an educational system that utilised sequences of vocal repetition as a pedagogical technique. The parallel is strengthened when complemented by physical wrestling, almost certainly the case for many Classical writers. Wrestling must have been undertaken in pairs and as established in the previous chapter, aimed to teach appropriate responses to actions by one's opponent via repetition. Texts on wrestling and other martial arts from this period show practices as a series of short interactions in a sequence and might thus be considered a physical dialogue. Grammar and wrestling shared a method of presenting practice as a sequence of paired responses.

---

[13] Orme, Nicholas. *From Childhood to Chivalry: the education of English Kings and aristocracy 1066-1530,* Metheun, 1984, p.150

[14] Weijers, Olga. "Methods and Tools of Learning", *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools,* (Cédric Giraud ed), Brill, 2020, p.106. For the dialogic tradition in Latin contexts see de Hartman, Carmen Cardelle. *Lateinische Dialoge 1200–1400: Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium,* Brill, 2007.

[15] Augustine, *Confessions,* Book I, Chapters 17-18.

Although arguments have been made for the importance of tropes of elementary education and their reappearance in multiple works of medieval literature and art, analyses of grammatical study have largely avoided the sensory and bodily manner in which the fundamentals of this grammatical training were impressed upon students.[16] The historian of medieval memory Mary Carruthers argues that the majority of texts were intended to be read out loud and recited with the intention of memorisation, drawing attention to the use of the Greek word *anagīnṓskō* to refer to reading, but actually meaning "to know again" or "to recollect", similarly to the Latin *lego*, which was used for reading but literally means "to gather" in reference to a procedure of memory.[17] The fact that to read something meant to memorise it, and that the common way to learn something was to vocally actualise it, to bring it into existence by physical work, meant that the process of reading/learning was fundamentally sensory and embodied. The students used their eyes to see the words on the page, their ears to hear them said, but also the muscles of their abdomens, throats, and mouths to say them, and detected the vibrations of their own utterances and those of others in the room through their bodies as they spoke. As much as the knowledge being studied was abstract, students engaged with the material in a bodily manner.

To engage with the written material as purely text and not as something also intended to be spoken and perceived risks dismissing the import of rhythm in the reception and retention of information. This was memorably illustrated in Anne Cutler's paper "The Perception of Rhythm in Language", which contends that rhyming schemes are rarely perceived in textual presentations without deliberate spacing and punctuation, and demonstrates this by writing almost the entirety of the paper in rhyming couplets without such presentation- a fact rarely

[16] Cannon, Christopher, "The Art of Rereading", *ELH*, Vol. 80, No. 2, 2013, pp. 401-425.
[17] Carruthers, Mary, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture,* Cambridge University Press, 2008, p.34.

perceived by readers unless they speak they text aloud.[18] The second part of the work of Donatus, known as the *Ars Maior*, begins with the voice *(vox)*, stating that "voice/sound is air that is struck which is perceptible to the ear, in and by itself. Every sound is either articulate or confused. Articulate sound can be captured in letters, confused sound cannot be written." The reason that this section begins with this simple definition of *vox* is because all words are written to be spoken and thereby understood.[19]

Memory as Sequence

The ramifications of a pedagogy based initially on vocal repetition of scripted dialogues can be extended to the general structure of knowledge when considering the nature of more advanced texts on grammar produced for children learning Latin. The *Doctrinale* of Alexander de Villa Dei, written c.1200, the paired texts known as *Synonyma* and *Equivoca*, and *Grecisimus* of Évrard de Béthune are all different forms of mnemonic poetry. In order for such verse to function as a mnemonic, the students have to grasp that each line is a part of a sequence, and that the clues as to the next part of the sequence are present in the structure of the entire piece. This is the same manner in which learned dialogues function, and indeed the same manner that wrestling techniques (and other martial arts) were taught - not as a block of information that must be retained in its entirety, but as a chain of events.[20] In this way, one only needs to remember the next movement, rather than all the different movements at the same time. Although this is a common modern approach to physical sequences, we can see the same approach appear in medieval mnemonic methods, such as the method of *loci*. This is described in the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* a guide to rhetoric written c.90BC, from which

---

[18] Cutler, Anne, "The Perception of Rhythm in Language", *Cognition,* Vol.50, 1994, p79-81.

[19] The works of Donatus are likely influenced by the work of Diomedes from the fourth or fifth century AD, which opens with a similar discussion. See Kaster, R.A. *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, University of California Press, 1988, p.15.

[20] This is also similar to the ways that physical choreography is approached by many modern performers and dancers.

more examples pertaining to the practice of rhetoric will be discussed later in this chapter.[21] The anonymous author makes a distinction between the natural memory and an artificial memory (*artificiosa memoria*), the use of which can be eased by practice.[22] This technique, commonly known as the "method of *loci*", involves the placing of images of objects to be remembered in a specific point on an imaginary journey along a series of imagined backgrounds within a remembered space:

> "Those who know the letters of the alphabet can thereby write out what is dictated to them and read aloud what they have written. Likewise, those who have learned mnemonics can set in backgrounds what they have heard, and from these backgrounds deliver it by memory. For the backgrounds are very much like wax tablets or papyrus, the images like the letters, the arrangement and disposition of the images like the script, and the delivery is like the reading. We should therefore, if we desire to memorise a large number of items, equip ourselves with a large number of backgrounds, so that in these we may set a large number of images. *I likewise think it obligatory to have these backgrounds in a series*, so that we may never by confusion in their order be prevented from following the images—proceeding from any background we wish, whatsoever its place in the series, and whether we go forwards or backwards—*nor from delivering orally what has been committed to the backgrounds."*[23]

The first section in italics reveals that the sequential organisation of the images is intended to facilitate movement of the metaphysical self among the images, and the second italicised

[21] The classic study on this source is Yates, Francis. *The Art of Memory*, Ark Paperbacks, 1984. See also Sinclair, Patrick. "The Sententia in Rhetorica ad Herennium: A Study in the Sociology of Rhetoric", *The American Journal of Philology,* Vol.114, No.4, Winter 1993, pp.561-580, and Krostenko, Brian A. "Binary Phrases and the Middle Style as Social Code: 'Rhetorica ad Herennium' 4.13 and 4.16", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Vol.102, 2004, pp.237-274.

[22] Mary Carruthers describes the reception of Aristotelian-influences of memory practice as intersecting with a pre-existing understanding of *memoria* techniques developed in monastic settings for the retention and indexing of biblical texts. Thus mnemonic techniques were likely already a thriving aspect of intellectual culture prior to work of Giles of Rome. See Carruthers, Mary. *The Art of Memory,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2008, p.154.

[23] *Rhetorica ad Herennium.* Translated by Harry Caplan. Loeb Classical Library 403. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954, pp.209-211, my emphasis.

section reminds us that the recollection of information is never far from the ability to speak.[24]

The idea that memory should be linked to a journey of some kind appears in other medieval sources, notably in boundary clauses. These are descriptions of how one can know the extent of a person's land possession and often take the form of a perambulation, describing a journey between different landmarks.[25] Both boundary clauses and *loci* techniques suggest that knowledge, particularly practical knowledge, was often encoded in bodily practices, intended to evoke the sense of a body that existed in a particular space, able to move and therefore engaged temporally, although without being subject to time. One cannot perform a sequence if one has no awareness of time, otherwise there would be no way to know which parts of the sequence had been completed and which were still to come, yet the imagined body has the ability to move in time and space as it pleases.

This discussion demonstrates how mnemonic techniques of this kind are inextricably entangled with bodily senses. Cicero mused on the sensory nature of memory in his *De oratore* (c.55BC), suggesting that sight was the keenest sense as regards memory and that this was proved by the effectiveness of this method which transformed unseen or unseeable objects into visual images.[26] Yet the insistence upon localisation and sequential arrangement of the memory

---

[24] The image of the wax tablet is resonant with the discussion in Chapter One of children as impressionable wax, and of image impressed in wax as indicating accuracy and legitimacy. See Chapter One, p.47.
[25] Reed, Michael. "Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries", *Discovering Past Landscapes,* Croom Helm, 1984, p.277 and Roberts, Edward. "Boundary clauses and the use of the vernacular in eastern Frankish charters, *c*.750–*c*.900", *Historical Research,* Vol.91, Issue 254, November 2018, p.580.
[26] "It has been sagaciously discerned by Simonides or else discovered by some other person that the most complete pictures are formed in our minds of the things that have been conveyed to them and imprinted on them by the senses, but that the keenest of all our senses is the sense of sight, and that consequently perceptions received by the ears or by reflection can be most easily retained in the mind if they are also conveyed to our minds by the mediation of the eyes, with the result that things not seen and not lying in the field of visual discernment are earmarked by a sort of image and shape so that we keep hold of as it were by an act of sight things that we can scarcely embrace by an act of thought." Cicero. *On the Orator: Books 1-2.* Translated by E. W. Sutton, H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 348. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942, p.469. For broader literature on the medieval receptions of Cicero, see *The Ciceronian Tradition in Political Theory* (Daniel J. Kapust and Gary Remer eds), University of Wisconsin Press, 2021, Ward, John O. "What the Middle Ages Missed of Cicero and Why", *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero, Volume 2* (William H.F Haltman ed), Brill, 2015, and *The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Rennaisance Commentary Tradition* (Virginia Cox and John O. Ward eds), Brill, 2006.

images also evokes kinaesthesia, motion, and chronoperception as ways to situate an imagined body within a process. These senses are not always functioning within the body in real time, but bodily experience is abstracted as an internal and creative process intended to facilitate the organisation and accessibility of knowledge.

The abstract nature of mnemonically-useful sequential organisation thus did not mean that it was divorced from physical existence. The sequencing behind the mnemonics could be felt with the body, through the senses, just as in the practice of physical combat. In wrestling, pressure on an opponent led to an unbalancing that could be sensed through the body, and training then conditioned this to be understood as a prompt for the sequential placing of arms or legs in particular places, followed by the application of more pressure in certain directions to make the opponent fall. In the schoolroom, the knowledge of Latin grammar was found in either knowing the next line of the tutor's scripted questions (as in the *Ars Minor*), or the next line of the poem – which the previous line would hint at the existence of through the rhyming scheme.

When forms of learning are understood as sequences, the prevalence of the metaphor of the road, the ladder, or the stair in both classical and medieval philosophical writing becomes more significant. The sixth-century grammarian Priscian etymologised *litera* (meaning "letter") as *leg-iter-a*, the "reading-road", as the order of the letters provided a path for reading, and a similar opinion appears in Isidore of Seville's early seventh-century *Etymologies.*[27] Aristotle wrote of the *scala naturae*, a method of classifying matter by reference to its capacity for movement and reproduction, a popular concept in Neoplatonic perspectives and expressed by medieval thinkers as a Great Chain of Being, which remained a persistent notion until well

---

[27] Copeland, Rita, Sluiter, Ineke, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300-1475,* Oxford University Press, 2015, p.23.

into the eighteenth century.[28] This understanding of nature as being a scale of inequality was fundamental to the conception of a secular ruler's role. As described by Aquinas, "a creature approaches more nearly to God's likeness if it is not only good but can also act for the goodness of other things, than if it is merely good in itself…But no creature could act for the benefit of another creature unless plurality and inequality existed in created things." DRP repeatedly states that the purpose of a king is to act for the common good of his people. In order to do so, he must be above them in nature, and so nature is created as a spectrum of unequal things, so that goodness might be achieved. The prince was destined to occupy a prime position in this spectrum, with the attendant implication that, if other noble pupils ascended the ladder of memory, the prince in his perfection sat atop it.

The reason that mnemonic methods which make use of vocal engagement and sequential organisation of information are so effective may well be because of the sensory activation that is a result of the arrangement and actualisation of information. Some modern neuroscience-based approaches to education have concluded that the most effective methods of education are those which are multi-layered; multi-sensory, emotional, and intellectual.[29] A vocal, call and response recitation of a mnemonic poem includes vision, hearing, kinesthesia (in sensing the muscular movements of the mouth), and chronoperception. If one were to include some of the medieval internal senses in this scheme, then imagination is also active, particularly if the student has been encouraged to conceive of the sequence as a path down which they must proceed, a habit of orientation. After all, Aristotle chose to name his scheme a *scala* - a ladder, and a ladder is something which must be climbed by a body. The presentation

---

[28] See Lovejoy, Arthur O. *The Great Chain of Being; A Study of the History of an Idea,* Harvard, 1936.

[29] See Zoltán Kátai, Katalin Juhász, Alpár Károly Adorjáni. "On the role of senses in education", *Computers and Education*, Vol 51, Issue 4, December 2008, pp.1708-1709, and Stevens, J., Goldberg, D. *For the learners' sake: A practical guide to transform your classroom and school,* Zephyr Press, 2001.

of the rules of grammar, not as a set of abstract rules that one must know, but as an action (something that must be spoken or a sequence that must be followed) allows the body to be tangibly engaged with intangible material.

There is an interesting parallel between this idea and the fact that the prince's introduction to grammar was via a dialogue which defined the various parts of speech and then went on to explain their function. The definition of individual parts of speech by reference to the function that they served was replicated in the society around the student prince, accustomed as he would already be with the hierarchy of his household and the presence of various functionaries and servants in addition to his family and peers – people defined by what they did.

The linking of understandings of social structure and use of grammar continued as the students, having grasped definitions, were then encouraged to compose their own Latin texts, translating the vernacular, or writing their own verse or prose. Indeed, by the time that Giles wrote DRP, it had long been discussed among medieval thinkers that one of the primary purposes in teaching grammar was to enable the student to express themselves more eloquently. In John of Salisbury's *Metalogicon* (c.1159), a particularly well-known and influential text in the genre of royal conduct literature, he argues for the primacy of eloquence as the purpose in grammatical studies.[30] This text likens the rules of grammar to the rules of nature, suggesting that the existence of both is an aspect of the divine plan.[31]

---

[30] "One who can with facility and adequacy verbally express his mental perceptions is eloquent. The faculty of doing this is appropriately called "eloquence." For myself, I am at a loss to see how anything could be more generally useful: more helpful in acquiring wealth, more reliable for winning favour, more suited for gaining fame, than is eloquence." John of Salisbury. *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium* (Daniel D. McGarry trans) University of California Press, 1971, p.26.

[31] "In accordance with the divine plan, and in order to provide verbal intercourse in human society, man first of all named those things which lay before him, formed and fashioned by nature's hand out of the four elements or from matter and form, and so distinguished that they could be discerned by the sense of rational creatures and have their diversity designated by names as well as by properties." John of Salisbury. *Metalogicon,* 1971, p. 39.

In learning the rules of grammar by enacting them through speech and composition, the prince was shaped into expressing his thoughts in a manner which accorded with theological, cosmological, and ontological conceptions. The focus on speech and composition reminded the prince that the rules were not only something one that *knew*, but something that one *did*, and that, in doing so, he was embodying a wider conception of his own existence. As noted previously, abstract conceptions are not separate from practical, bodily sensation. As John of Salisbury wrote:

> "Grammar also guides our hand to write correctly, and sharpens our vision so that it is not nonplussed by fine convolutions of letters, or by parchment crowded with intricate and elaborate script. It opens our ears, and accommodates them to all word sounds, including those that are deep or sharp… Accordingly those who would banish or condemn grammar are in effect trying to pretend that the blind and deaf are more fit for philosophical studies than those who, by nature's gift, have received and still enjoy the vigor of all their senses."[32]

This passage further demonstrates the common medieval elision of mental faculties with bodily ones by using the example of the deaf and blind as being deficient in intellectual pursuits. But by noting the training of the hand, the eye, and the ear given by grammatical study, this passage reminds us that grammar was also work that shaped the body, just as physical training was also work that shaped the mind.

Mattering memory, embodying grammar

If the mind was conceived as a wax tablet which received the imprint of memory, the metaphorical parallel with the wax matrix of the child prince's embodied self (discussed in Chapter 1) was underscored by the treatment of that body in aid of abstract learning. The repercussions for deviation from the grammatical rules or mnemonic sequences were physical

[32] John of Salisbury, *Metalogicon,* 1971, p.61.

and tactile. This was simply and easily evident in the practice of wrestling, as an incorrect response would lead to falling, but beating and flogging were the standard punishments for errors in the tuition of grammar. Recent scholarship on pedagogical practices in medieval grammar schools makes it clear that corporal punishment was considered a vital part of the process, to the point where the concept of the rod served as a metonym for the subject.[33] Even in the twelfth century, anthropomorphic representations of Grammar such as the illustrations from the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* always depict her with a rod, shown in Figure 16.

Figure 16, Hortus Deliciarum: Seven Liberal Arts, Strasbourg, c.1170, f.32r (MS now destroyed).

Any suggestion that noble or royal children were not beaten as part of this pedagogical tradition owes more to the romantic fiction of the "whipping boy" than any actual evidence. In reality, it appears royal children were as subject to corporal punishment as any child, although it is

[33] See Parsons, Ben. "The Way of the Rod: The Functions of Beating in Late Medieval Pedagogy", *Modern Philology,* Vol.113, No.1, August 2015, pp.1-26.

possible that they received somewhat less beating than other pupils.[34]

However, to note the prevalence of beating in the instruction of children is not to fall in line with lazy tropes about the inherently violent nature of medieval society. Instead, the perceived necessity to physically punish children has a long tradition and accords well with conceptions of the nature of children and their position in the hierarchy of rationality that Giles of Rome derives from Aristotle. Children are not yet rational, but will become so, and so their physical treatment is not delivered from a position devoid of empathy or care, but simply that it is understood that children's supposed lack of rationality requires this method. If anything, children under instruction in this way were understood to be of immense importance because of what they would become, and the physical aspects of their tuition were required so that they might attain their full potential. Similarly, the notion of a medieval period characterised by "simpler" or less-restrained emotions is not supported by the evidence on medieval corporal punishment. Texts such as *De disciplina scholarium* reveal a great deal of care in the construction of rationales for beatings. Probably written in Paris c.1230, this popular text purported to be the last autobiographical writings of an unnamed philosopher, clearly intended to be Boethius.[35] The assumption of this authorship helped ensure popularity, and the text exists today in over eighty manuscripts. The anonymous author describes a code of conduct for the student beginning at a grammar school, but also a later section on correct behaviour as a master, including a stringent series of rules for understanding the behaviour of students according to their humoural complexion.[36] Ben Parsons, who wrote a study of trends of punishment in

---

[34] Orme, Nicholas. *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530,* Routledge, 2017, pp.33-35.

[35] For more reading on this source, see notes on the critical edition, Weijers, Olga, *De disciplina scholarium,* Brill, 1976.

[36] The sanguine pupil is described as being "more favourable to learning, and is able to adjust to all settings' but can prove dangerously open to distraction, and must be closely and rigorously supervised…" his attention needs to be "…fostered with frequent play alternated with the most serious questions, as the corner of his eye will twist aside towards the walls when left alone … he is not always to be trusted." *De disciplina scholarium,* (Olga Weijers ed), Brill, 1976, p.109.

medieval education, argues that the influence of *De disciplina scholarium* is shown in many subsequent pedagogical treatises which systematise physical punishment by a variety of means, and that the schoolroom was a "tightly scripted and regimented space."[37]

The existence of multiple systems for selecting punishments suggests that beatings often got out of hand or were at least perceived to stray beyond permitted boundaries (either by the students themselves or their families), and masters who created such rules were attempting to both curtail wayward practices by schoolmasters and attempting to placate potentially angry parents. This is seen in *De eruditione filiorum nobilium*, an educational treatise written c.1249 by Vincent of Beauvais for the French court, and is likely the model on which princely education was based before the creation of DRP. This text addresses the need for a considered and ritualised form of punishment, advising that no punishment be delivered in the heat of the moment, but delayed until a convenient time.[38] The same text also recommends that an audience of children be assembled to watch punishments, stating that "if the sin in truth is committed openly then correction should also be made openly."[39] This suggests that punishments of children could be formal, ritualised beatings performed in front of a crowd of other students. The intertwining of tropes from secular authority and the behaviour of grammar teachers finds its fullest expression in a late fifteenth-century ritual at Cambridge of grammar masters attending a graduation ceremony, who were presented with the rods and palmers of their office as if they were a knight receiving his arms, and then each master would then demonstrate his ability to beat a child in front of the other graduating masters and officials of the university. In an acknowledgement that the child had committed no actual

---

[37] Parsons, Ben. *Punishment and Medieval Education*, Boydell & Brewer, 2019, p.66.

[38] *"Obseruandum est eciam tempus, ut non statim quasi cum furore correptio delinquenti adhibeatur, sed usque ad tempus oportunum aliquando differatur."* Vincent of Beauvais. *De eruditione filiorum nobilium, (*Arpad Steiner ed) Medieval Academy of North America, 1938, p.95.

[39] *"Si uero sit manifesta et correpcio in manifesto est facienda."* ibid.

fault, they were paid a small sum for agreeing to be the unfortunate subject in this ceremony.[40]

The ritualisation of beatings allowed them to avoid being swift and retributive. Their delayed and public nature was intended to inspire far more emotion in the student, namely dread as they anticipated the event, and shame at the presence of their peers. A ritualised and witnessed punishment would be a far more memorable event as it allowed time for the student to be more aware of the physical sensations, their own emotional responses to the experience itself and the fact that others were present to watch, and the intellectual rationale for the punishment. This accords well with the technique of multi-sensoriality employed in mnemonic techniques described in the neuroscientific research cited at the beginning of this section which highlighted the effectiveness of experiences which included physical, emotional, and intellectual stimulation. This method also resonates well with the overall strategy described by Giles as he sets out the premise for his entire project in DRP, particularly in the section where he describes how his text might also be useful for the masses as well as princes. His reasoning, borrowed from Aristotle's *Rhetoric,* is that the populace as a whole cannot understand subtlety.[41] This matches Giles's later descriptions of the nature of children, who must have their bodies disciplined before their minds because they do not have perfect use of reason; intellectual capacity is a function of the soul, and bodies are formed before souls.[42] The tactic that Giles suggests for simpler audiences is to work "through superficial and sensible

[40] "Whan the father hath arguyde as shal plese the proctour, the bedyll in Arte shall bryng the Master of grammer to the vicechauncelar, delyueryng hym a palmer wyth a rodde, whych the vycechauncelar shall gyve to the seyde master in gramer: and so create hym mastre, then shall the bedill purvey for euery master gramer a shrewde boy, Whom the master in gramer shall bete openlye in the scolys." *Cambridge University Misc Collect 4*, ff.23v–24r. For a wider perspective on flogging, see Parsons, Ben. *Punishment and Medieval Education,* Boydell & Brewer, 2019.

[41] *"…totus populus subtilia comprehendere non possit…"* DRP, Book I, Part I, Chapter I, f.5r. This point will be returned to the section on rhetoric within this chapter.

[42] *"In secundo vero septennio, quia pueri iam incipiunt concupiscere, non tamen habent perfectum rationis usum, postissime videtur esse curandum circa ipsos, ut habeant ordinatum voluntatem. Nam sicut corpus generatione est prius anima, quia prius corpus organisatur et formatum et postea ibi anima infunditur."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVI, f.71v.

methods".[43] All physical punishments were superficial - literally, in that they occurred to the surface of the child's body - and therefore sensible. The ritualisation of punishment, allowed more senses and emotions to be included in the experience, thus aiding memory of the punishment. Just like the general pedagogical strategy for teaching grammar, punishment techniques activated the senses of the body to aid memory. This is why the most consistent attribute of anthropomorphic representations of Grammar was the rod of punishment.

To summarise, the child's *habitus* was shaped via the subject matter and the form in which they encountered it. Latin language and the ancient culture of Rome oriented the student towards venerating the profound knowledge of classical philosophers. Such knowledge was most often expressed in the form of a dialogue with another, either real or a fictional projection of the self. Knowledge expressed as a dialogue was not something that was possessed in the abstract but was something that one *did*. Within the classroom, this dialogue was enacted with the tutor, or potentially with other classmates. The pedagogical effect of these practices was heightened by the presence of witnesses - the audience of peers and/or the tutor. Central to this ability to perform (such as giving the correct response to a part of the mnemonic or parse a Latin word) was understanding hierarchy - the language had rules to be followed, much like the schoolroom itself, and indeed, the wider world. Deviation from these rules required physical correction, provoking pain, fear, and shame. These negative sensations and emotions were the inevitable consequences of a proscribed action. The student had a subordinate place in the world, but they were aware that they were on a path towards being an embodiment and enforcer of social rules, required in the future to enact punishment on a far larger scale if necessary. While the constant presentation of knowledge as a sequential practice centralised the body and spatial relationships in practices of memorisation and learning, it also allowed the

---

[43] *"...per rationes superficiales et sensibiles..."* Ibid.

student to appreciate how intrinsic their perception of time was to their self-awareness. There was an inevitable chronological order to their life, which culminated in their effective embodiment of secular authority. Just like the various parts of Latin speech of which they would come to learn the definitions by correct usage, as a king they would be defined by what they did.

Dialectic

The Political Value of Disputation

In its simplest terms, dialectic is the practice of disputing a statement in order to decide if it is true or not. DRP's definition of dialectic makes clear that this form of disputation and argumentation is necessary for human knowledge: "The second liberal art is said to be dialectic which teaches a method of arguing and opposing. For it is our manner of knowing, as by appropriate argument and through appropriate reasonings, we might make a proposition visible".[44] Giles also presents dialectic as a continuation of grammar with a similar practical goal, arguing that "just as grammar is necessary in that it directs the tongue not to err with speaking, as said by Alphebarius, dialectic is necessary in that it directs the intellect not to err with arguing."[45] Thus, dialectic is positioned as an extension of grammar, and the aim of dialectic study as espoused by Giles is the practical technique of argumentation, as opposed to knowledge of the subjects of the arguments.

Often, this section of the *trivium* was simply referred to as 'logic' and it rested heavily on Aristotle's writings, specifically the *Topics.*[46] Practical dialectics required a particular form

---

[44] "*Secunda liberalis scientia dicitur esse dyaletica que docet modum arguendi et opponendi. Nam modus sciendi noster est, ut per debita argumenta et per debitas rationes, manifestemus propositum*." DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.66r.

[45] "*Sicut ergo necessaria est gramatica que est directio lingue ne erretur in loquendo, sic secundum Alphorabium, necessaria est dyaletica que est directio intellectus ne erretur in arguendo.*" DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.66r-66v.

[46] For medieval reception of the *Topica*, see Stump, Eleonora. "Dialectic and Aristotle's Topics", *Boethius's De topicis differentiis,* Cornell University Press, 1978.

of strategic cognitive structuring and verbal argumentation, which shaped the thought processes of the students. This argument has been made with respect to academic and theological contexts by scholars of medieval disputation, such as Alex J. Novikoff and Giles Constable. Novikoff shows the development of the dialogue as a literary genre and Constable posits that "[d]ialogue and dialectic…played a fundamental part in the thought processes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It underlay the discipline of disputation that developed in the schools and was applied to almost every branch of intellectual inquiry".[47] Their conclusions are restricted to intellectual society as surviving sources are overwhelmingly concerned with that milieu. However, Giles does recommend dialectic in the tuition of princes, specifically noting that such training predisposes them more to the work of politics than those of legal professions.

"For as we have said in other places, all legislators are kinds of idiots of politics, just like the laity or common people who do not argue or form reasons by the method that dialectic teaches, therefore as they do not argue craftily or by dialectic, they are called by the philosopher dialectic idiots. And so, because they talk of political matters without reason, they are called political idiots."[48]

This supports the contention that Giles valued the techniques of dialectic argumentation as part of the practice of political rule. The point is made more explicitly towards end of this passage, and broadened to include those who will be less politically active than royalty:

"Children of nobles, in whatsoever amount that they are intended to be knights and to be free from the business of politics, ought to work so that they know the literal idiom, they ought also to learn of dialectic and rhetoric, as from this they will be made more subtle in understanding any proposition, and they ought to use all their talent to understand good morals

---

[47] Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.130. See also Novikoff, Alex J. *The Medieval Culture of Disputation,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

[48] *"Nam ut alibi nos dixisse meminimus, omnes legiste sunt quasi quidam ideote politici. Nam sicut laici et vulgares quia arguunt et formant rationes suas, quem modum arguendi docet dyaletica, ideo ipsi quia non arguunt artificialiter et dyaletice appellantur a philosopho ideote dyaletici. Sic legiste quia ea de quibus est politica dicunt narrative et sine ratione, appellari possunt ideote politice."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, ff.66v-67r.

so that they know to rule themselves and others. "[49]

With the study of dialectic extended even to those whose social roles were expected to be more military than political, it is now possible to investigate the entangling of dialectic habits with those engendered by physical training. The passionate and competitive nature of dialectic was often noted by commentators, and this section will argue that martial skill underlay many dialectic principles.

Argumentation as a Physical Practice

Medieval commentators reveal their awareness of the conceptual links between combat and debate. In his influential *Metalogicon*, John of Salisbury refers to Aristotle as the *campidoctor* or "drill-master" of those who seek to learn the arts of logic. This particular section of the text likens the *Topics* of Aristotle to equipping combatants with the arms that they need to fight in an arena, and the proposition of questions and answers as the motion of combatants' members.[50] Peter Abelard, the influential philosopher of the twelfth century, described his choice of scholasticism over the chivalric life by stating: ''I preferred the weapons of dialectic to all the other teachings of philosophy, and armed with these I chose the conflicts of disputation instead of the trophies of war.''[51] Criticism of the disputation process was often centred on the charge that its original purpose (for purely scholarly investigation) had been lost in a trend of theatrical verbal combat.[52]

The evolution of disputation can be traced from Aristotle, via Cicero, Augustine, Boethius, to Anselm, who was instrumental in the development of practical dialectic

---

[49] *"Filii ergo nobilium quantumcunque intendant esse milites et vacare negocio politico, debent insudare ut sciant ideoma litterale, debent etiam aliud addiscere de dyaletica et rhetorica ut ex hoc subtiliores fiant ad intelligendum quecunque proposita, quo facto totum suum ingenium debent exponere ut bene moralia intelligant et ut sciant se et alios regere."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.67r.

[50] *The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury,* Daniel D McGarry (trans), University of California Press, 1955, Book III, Chapter X, p.189. Garry notes that "*campidoctor*" was frequently used by Vegetius in his *De re militari.*

[51] Peter Abelard, *Historia Calamitatum*, p.63–64.

[52] Many illustrative quotes are cited in Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation,* pp.144-145.

disputations at the early cathedral schools that would evolve in universities, and the writings of such thinkers usually took the form of commentaries on the *Topics*.[53] It therefore seems reasonable to suggest that Aristotle's *Topics* was the minimum that anyone could read and consider themselves to have studied the subject. As such, I shall focus on the particular form of debate game based on the rules given in Chapter VIII of Aristotle's *Topics,* often known in the Middle Ages as *ars obligatoria.*[54] In this text, Aristotle specifically describes this kind of exercise as being distinct from a philosophical or intellectual inquiry, as he states that the opponent in this form of debate will be alert to the ramifications of any argument that lies too close to the proposition that they are defending, and that this is not the concern of a philosopher engaged in debate or a person having a theoretical discussion with themselves.[55] Although it is likely that any form of study in dialectic by young princes would involve participation in verbal debates, matching the learning strategies for grammar already described, it is unlikely that these classroom debates would have been in the mode of the scholastic *disputatio* or Socratic dialogue espoused by Boethius and Augustine.[56] Giles's focus on dialectic as an aid to political

---

[53] Campbell, Richard, "The Systematic Character of Anselm's Thought", *Les Mutations Socio-Culturelles au Tournant des XIe - XIIe Siècles: Etudes Anselmiennes,* Editions du Centre National de la Recherché Scientifique, pp.549-560. Olga Weijers contends that tracing such an evolution is too simple and that disputation practices were common throughout this entire period, particularly in juristic contexts. See Weijers, Olga, *In Search of the Truth: A History of Disputation Techniques from Antiquity to Early Modern Times,* Brepols, 2013, p.72.

[54] As a source, see Aristotle. *Posterior Analytics. Topica.* Translated by Hugh Tredennick, E. S. Forster. Loeb Classical Library 391. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960. Medieval terms include *collatio, quaestio, disputatio, problema,* and *ratio.* For a full discussion of these words and context see Weijers, Olga, *In Search of the Truth,* p.99-105, and a discussion of their evolution in de Rijk, L.M, *Die mittelalterliche Traktate De modo opponendi et respondendi,* Neue Folge, Band 17, 1980, pp.73–76.

[55] "As far as the choice of ground goes, the philosopher and the dialectician are making a similar inquiry, but the subsequent arrangement of material and the framing of questions are the peculiar province of the dialectician; for such a proceeding always involves a relation with another party. On the other hand, the philosopher and individual seeker does not care if, though the premises by means of which his reasoning proceeds are true and familiar, the answerer refuses to admit them because they are too close to the point of departure and he foresees what will result from his admission " Aristotle. *Posterior Analytics. Topica.* Translated by Hugh Tredennick, E. S. Forster. Loeb Classical Library 391. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960, p.675.

[56] See Boethius. *The Consolation of Philosophy,* (Peter Walsh trans), Oxford World Classics, 2008, and Augustine, *The Confessions,* (Henry Chadwick trans), Oxford World Classics, 2008. For discussion of these texts as model of dialectical method, see Cornelius, Ian. "Boethius' De consoltione philosophiae", *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 1: 800-1558,* (Rita Copeland ed), Oxford

life implies that training in these arts to university standard or in a university form was not required. Medieval sources often use the word *disputatio*, but closer examination of the subject reveals this to be a contextually fluid term used to denote a range of distinct forms of structured verbal argumentation. As many are specific to scholastic, philosophical, or theological debate, it is unlikely that these would be the subjects of young princes, hence the focus on the *ar obligatoria*.

Eleonore Stump argues that the purpose of Aristotle's *Topics* is to make the reader good at this form of debate which required the competitors to uphold mutually incompatible positions.[57] The contest usually took the form of a question that required a yes or no answer. The individual who upheld the positive version of the proposition was known as the answerer and the negative the questioner. The detail of such argumentation is to first establish the definition of the terms in the debate questions and to decide how they fall in the categories that Aristotle describes; definition, genus, accident, or property. The setting of these parameters allows one to create arguments from these first principles, and then to extend a chain of deductions towards other arguments which would support a final thesis. The actual debate consisted of the questioner trying to establish his own thesis by preparing a series of yes/no questions on the premises upon which the answerer's thesis was based. Although the questions were required to be yes/no, the answerer was able to respond with more detail, include caveats, or bring his own objections if he wanted to argue that the questioner was basing his argument on a fallacy. If the questioner's line of reasoning was evident, the answerer could respond in a fashion which did not fully grant the premises of the questioner's thesis and so a key aspect of the questioner's work was arranging his questions in such an order that his overall strategy was

---

University Press, 2016, pp.269-298 and DiLorenzo, Raymond D, "Non Pie Quaerunt: Rhetoric, Dialectic, and the Discovery of the True in Augustine's Confessions", *Augustinian Studies,* Volume 14, 1983, pp.117-127.

[57] An example of such a position is that the world is or is not eternal. See Stump, Eleonore, *Dialectic and its Place in the Development of Medieval Logic,* Cornell University Press, 1989, p.12.

concealed. Although Aristotle does not precisely define a *topic*, much of the text known as *Topics* consists of lists of them and they appear to be strategies for argumentation, often based on Aristotle's understanding of a basic principle, and often including some commentary on the contextual appropriateness of their usage. Novikoff argues that a *topic* should be defined both as a strategy for argumentation and also a principle that supported the critical inference in an argument that a particular strategy generated, but that the first definition should be considered primary, it being of the most interest to medieval commentators.[58]

If the hypothetical student princes of DRP were primarily introduced to the art of dialectic via study of Aristotle's *Topics*, it is evident that the themes of the tuition of grammar, that of physicalisation and localisation, were still present. As previously shown, the student was introduced to structured dialogues as mnemonic aids, which allowed them to situate themselves on a conceptual structure of knowledge and, by following the structure forwards from a known point, to quickly find information that was needed. Dialectic expanded these themes, as it involved the physical presence of an opponent who the student needed to defeat by creating their own conceptual structures in the form of arguments. Although the two physical bodies used the metaphysical matter of their arguments to engage in combat, the conceptualisation of argument as physical matter being manipulated in space is woven throughout Chapter VIII of *Topics:*

> "He who is about to ask questions must, first of all, choose the ground from which he must make his attack; secondly, he must formulate his questions and arrange them separately in his own mind; thirdly and lastly, he must go on to address them to another person.[59]"

The conceptualisation of the debate taking place on a "ground" and that the arguments require

---

[58] Novikoff, Alex J. *The Medieval Culture of Disputation,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, p.108.
[59] Aristotle. *Posterior Analytics. Topica.* Translated by Hugh Tredennick, E. S. Forster. Loeb Classical Library 391. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960, p.675.

arranging, thus being physical matter, is part of the same pattern seen in grammatical tuition of creating imagined physical structures by which to better access and actualise knowledge. The difference is that the student is no longer simply following preordained sequences but is the creator of a sequence of arguments with a strategically considered order. The student's temporal sensibility is crucial to the navigation of these sequences as they must carefully consider what questions they have already asked, what they intend to ask next, and which points the answerer has or has not conceded. As discussed in the exploration of memory above, spatial relationships are inextricable from temporal ones. This conjoined sense of space and time explains the particular form taken by Aristotle’s discussions of strategy, where he describes the perception of the end argument in terms of its physical proximity to either party:

> “The necessary premises, then, by means of which reasoning proceeds, ought not to be advanced immediately in their original form, but *you must keep as far away from them as you can…”*
> and
>
> “for the conclusion which will follow is always less obvious *when it is still far off…”*[60] (my italics)

The student dialectician will have to come to their conclusion by the end of the debate, but they must not approach it too early, lest their opponent understand their intention and refuse to accept points which support it. Thus, the argumentation strategy, with its intended end, is conceived of as a physical journey with particular waypoints intended to obscure the final destination. In service to this strategy, Aristotle also recommends a variation in the ordering of establishing conclusions, so that the relationships between them are not so evident.[61] Such a tactic required considerable awareness of time, and a good memory, as the student would need

[60] *Topica*, p.677.

[61] “It is also a useful practice not to establish the admitted propositions on which the reasonings are based in their natural order but to alternate one which leads to one conclusion with another which leads to another conclusion; for, if those which are closely related are set side by side with one another, the conclusion which will result from them is more clearly foreseen.” *Topica,* p.681.

to retain awareness of their overall argument while presenting it out of sequence.

The dialectical disputation had many similarities with wrestling; it was a contest between two people, beginning from positions of relative strength or weakness, and arranging their actions strategically so as to obscure their end goals while also being able to adjust their actions in the moment depending on the actions of their opponent. Flexible and varied strategies were an intrinsic part of disputation, shown in the way that questioners could be obliged to uphold propositions that they did not agree with or were clearly impossible. These are the *obligationes* from which this kind of contest takes its name; positions which the answerer is obliged to defend as true, which could be regarded as a kind of deliberate inherent weakness.[62] The previous chapter demonstrated that arguing was imagined as wrestling and that this was reflected in visual art, but the embodied links between systematic treatment of argumentation and systematic wrestling training demonstrate how far-reaching physical habits were on thought processes and the wider *habitus.* However, dialectic extended the lessons of wrestling into an abstract form, using argument as action.

The relationship between dialectic and regal phronesis becomes clearer when we examine the distinctions between dialectic as a competition and dialectic as a philosophical tool, and those between wrestling training and wrestling as combat. The purpose of wrestling as competition is to throw an opponent to the ground, whereas the purpose of systematic wrestling training was to develop a combined kinaesthetic and temporal sensitivity with the intention of making the subjects better combatants. The overall purpose of the dialectic dispute was to defeat the opponent and thereby gain useful argumentation skills, whereas the goal of the scholastic or philosophical dialectic debate was for both parties to reach an accord and

[62] Walter Burley, who wrote a detailed explanation of the practice of *obliagtiones* derived from *Topics* , described six different kinds of obligation. See Stump, Eleonore. “The Logic of Disputation in Walter Burley's Treatise on Obligations”, *Synthese,* Vol.63, No.3, June 1985, p.356.

knowledge to be gained; this was neatly expressed by Augustine when he stated “there is no better way of seeking the truth than question and answer”.[63] Dialectic scholar Olga Weijers highlights these distinctions throughout her work and refers to the form of dialectic debate described by Aristotle and the medieval *obligationes*, as “eristic disputations”.[64] However, the competitive nature of these eristic disputations and their lack of attachment to philosophical and theological explorations might lead one to assuming that there was no wider pedagogical purpose to them; indeed, Weijers discusses them far less than any other kind of dispute. I argue that this very lack of wider intellectual associations is precisely what made them useful to young princes, as specific intellectual and philosophical considerations were not useful for a prince’s adult role. As shown above, the solely competitive dispute prized triumph over the opponent with little concern for the inherent validity of the subject matter. This produced a focus on technique, and as shown above, this technique built upon the students’ existing understandings of physical interaction gained by wrestling tuition but required them to abstract this understanding into verbal argumentation while training a more considered and tactical application of their senses of time and memory through their studies of grammar. Essentially, wrestling as combat was too divorced from useful conceptual skills, but debate as a philosophical tool was too removed from practicality. The skills gained from these eristic contests were more generally applicable, although of far more direct use would be rhetoric, to which this chapter will now turn.

Rhetoric – Emotions as Combat

Giles believed rhetoric to be of more practical use for a prince than dialectic. One of Giles’s earliest academic works was a commentary on Aristotle’s *Rhetoric,* written c.1272–

---

[63] Augustine. *Soliloquies and Immortality of the Souls,* London University Press, 1990, p.89.
[64] Weijers, Olga. *In Search of the Truth: A History of Disputation Techniques from Antiquity to Early Modern Times,* Brepols, 2013, p.73.

1273, which provides significant insight into his understanding of rhetoric.[65] An analysis of some parts of this commentary shows how Giles intended kings and princes to use rhetorical skills as a ruler, particularly in the terms he uses to define rhetoric.

In DRP, Giles states that rhetoric is a coarser form of dialectic using the term *grossa dialectica*.[66] This could be taken to mean that Giles considers rhetoric to be a subsidiary of dialectic, but this is not correct; indeed, later in the same chapter Giles describes other subjects as being subordinate to greater ones, such as perspective being subordinate to geometry, but there is no suggestion that rhetoric is a subordinate form of anything. In his commentary on rhetoric, Giles provides six reasons why rhetoric is a different subject to dialectic, but the most relevant is that rhetoric incorporates the emotions in a way that dialectic does not.[67] This results in a different form of arguing, which relies more upon singular events than universal concepts. Rhetoric therefore produces different cognitive responses to dialectic, namely faith for dialectic and opinion for rhetoric. This is because dialectic appeals to intellect alone and rhetoric to intellect *and* will.[68]

This contention is supported by the use of two specific linked terms in the opening sections of DRP, namely:

> "this book instructs princes in how they ought to manage themselves and how they ought to command their subjects…and since this cannot be accomplished (as has already been touched upon) except through arguments that are obvious and felt by the

---

[65] Donati, Silvia. "Studi per una cronologia delle opere di Egidio Romano. I: Le opere prima del 1285. I commenti aristotelici (Parte 1)" *Documenti e studi 1,* 1990, pp.1-111, 20-24. Matthew Kempshall argues that Giles familiarity with Aristotle's *Rhetoric* shaped his distillation of the *Politics* and *Ethics*. See Kempshall, Matthew. *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought*, Oxford University Press, 1999, p.131.
[66] "*Tercio scientia dicitur liberalis que est rethorica. Est autem rethorica ut innuit philosophus in rethoricis suis quasi quedam* ***grossa dyaletica***" DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter VIII, f.66v.
[67] *"Secunda quia spectat ad rhetorem determinare de passionibus: non autem ad dialecticum."* Giles of Rome, *Exposito super libros Rhetoricorum,* Venice 1515, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1968.
[68] Marmo, Costantino. "Logic, Rhetoric, and Language", *A Companion to Giles of Rome* (Charles F. Briggs, Peter S. Eardley eds), Brill, 2016, p.225.

senses, it is fitting that the mode of proceeding in this work be *coarse* and *figurative*."[69] (my italics)

These last two words, rendered in Latin as *grossum et figuralem,* appear in contemporary translations of Aristotle's *Ethics*, such as that by the Bishop of Lincoln and noted polymath Robert Grosseteste (d.1253).[70] Rita Copeland has discussed the philosophical heritage of this term that Giles likely inherited, noting that Albertus Magnus translated Grosseteste's use of *figuraliter* as "through imperfect arguments" and *grosse* as "through examples perceptible to the senses", but that Aquinas changed *figuraliter* to *verisimiliter* and glossed *grosse* as "applying universal principles to singulars and by proceeding from the simple universal to the complex particular where acts are concerned".[71] The suggestion is that the Thomistic use of *grosse et figuraliter*, with which Giles was more likely to be familiar, indicates a particular form of deductive or enthymematic reasoning linked with rhetoric, practicality, and emotion. Giles therefore uses the same term to describe his entire project as he does in discussing rhetoric in a commentary on the subject. This suggests that, not only did he understand DRP partly as a rhetorical project for himself to convince the subject of the worth of his text, but that rhetoric was fundamentally intertwined with the business of ruling. After all, rhetoric was of more practical use in convincing groups of people to act in certain ways, whereas dialectic was often a theoretical discussion that aimed for both parties to arrive a greater understanding of their subject, and even the so-called "eristic disputation" that was exemplified in the *obligationes* was an exercise divorced from emotional considerations. This section of this chapter thus re-asserts the embodied and material aspects of the prince's training in rhetoric, focusing on the

---

[69] *"si per hunc librum instruuntur principes, quomodo se debeant habere, et qualiter debeant suis subditis imperare…Et quia hoc fieri non potest ut tactum est nisi per rationes superficiales et sensibiles, oportet modum procedendi in hoc etiam opere, esse grossum et figuralem."* DRP, Book I, Part I, Chapter I, f.5r-5v.

[70] *"Amabile igitur de talibus et ex talibus dicentes, grosse et figuraliter veritatem ostendere," Ethica Nicomachea, translatio Roberti Grosseteste Lincolniensis*, (R.A. Gauthier ed), AL XXVI 1–3, fasc. quartus Brill, 1973.

[71] Copeland, Rita. *Emotion and the History of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages,* Oxford University Press, 2022, p.210.

fundamentally embodied way that emotion is understood, deployed, and evoked in others.

Emotions as Bodily Acts

To appreciate how DRP presents emotions, or passions as they are more properly called, it is important to look at Giles's definitions. In one of the earliest parts of DRP, Giles states that the passions are found in the "sensitive appetite", as opposed to the "intellectual appetite", which is not a bodily concern. This sensitive appetite is divided into two parts, concupiscible and irascible.[72] These two parts of the appetite are associated with movement, either towards (concupisible) or away (irascible). Giles lists six passions for each part, in opposing pairs: Amor/Odium, Desiderium/Abominatio, and Delectatio/Tristicia fall under the category of concupiscible, and Spes/Desperatio, Timor/Audacia, and Ira/Mansuetudo fall under irascible.[73] Giles presents all passions as being rooted in the sensory appetite, meaning that they are bodily responses to physical stimuli, and so it is evident that passions require a body. Aside from the addition of mansuetude, Giles largely follows Aquinas in his model of emotions, and so it is telling that Aquinas himself specified that passions were not a necessity for angels due to their disembodied nature.[74] Thus, in using emotions in a targeted manner to affect others, the prince is engaged in a practice of the body.

Although the stated goal of the early parts of DRP is for the prince to learn to master

---

[72] "*Appetitus enim intellectivus qua non est virtus in corpore sive non est virtus affixa organo ab huismodi passionibus est semotus. Erit ergo omnis passio ut hic de passione loquitur in appetitu sensitivo. Sensitivus autem appetitus ut supra diffusius diximus dividitur in irascibilem et concupiscibilem*." DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter I, f.36r.
[73] ibid.
[74] "In our soul there are certain powers whose operations are exercised by corporeal organs; such powers are acts of sundry parts of the body, as sight of the eye, and hearing of the ear. There are some other powers of the soul whose operations are not performed through bodily organs, as intellect and will: these are not acts of any parts of the body. Now the angels have no bodies naturally joined to them, as is manifest from what has been said already. Hence of the soul's powers only intellect and will can belong to them." Aquinas, *Summa theologiae,* Ia 54.5. For further reading on Giles's departures from Aquinas and the passions, see Papi, Fiammetta. "Aristotle's Emotions in Giles of Rome's "De Regimine Principum" and in its Vernacular Translations (with a Note on Dante's "Convivio" III, 8, 10)", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, serie 5*, Vol.8, No.1, 2016, pp. 73-104.

his own nature, the prince's rhetorical education is concerned with the mastery of others, as opposed to dialectic which is concerned with defeating them in an intellectual contest. Self-awareness leads to an understanding of diverse others and how they might be led. This is of direct relevance to the work of a king as he governs his subjects for their own good.[75] Mastery via self-knowledge and the consequent understanding of others is an important aspect of rhetoric; as Copeland puts it, "Rhetoric undergirds the whole of Giles's enterprise."[76] Here it is vital to remind ourselves that Giles's "enterprise" was not to form a perfect rhetor any more than it was to train a perfect wrestler. His goal was to shape an ideal king, which means that there are aspects of practical rhetoric that have a direct application to the work of a king. I argue that these are a rational and deliberate deployment of the self, with all its physicality and emotions, within a space to influence others, and a trained sensitivity to the actions of others. These aspects are strongly consistent with martial practices and so the following section will explore the deep entanglement of competitive bodies with persuasive argument through a comparative analysis of wrestling practices and practical rhetoric.

Rhetoric and Wrestling: Conceptual parallels

The practices of wrestling have already been shown to have strong resonances with dialectic, which extended these techniques into the metaphysical world. Rhetoric expanded wrestling knowledge in two ways; first, by including the evocation of emotion as a strategic choice, and secondly, for expanding the scope of the contest to take place via a third-party. The competitors no longer strove to overcome one another directly, but to triumph by achieving the desired effect on an audience.

The most popular text used for study of the art of rhetoric in this period was *Rhetorica*

---

[75] "*Servus enim qui nescit se ipsum dirigere expedit ut obtemperet et ut serviat ei qui viget prudentia et intellectu ut consequatur salutem per eum et ut dirigetur per ipsum.*" DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter V, f.50v.
[76] Copeland. *Emotion and the History of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages,* p.214.

ad Herennium (RaH). This is a practical guide to the use of rhetoric, written in the first century AD by an anonymous author, and assumed for many centuries to be the work of Cicero. This is now generally accepted as erroneous, but the attribution and assumption of the text as a more refined form of Cicero's *De Inventione* contributed to the text's popularity.[77] From around the twelfth century, these two texts became the staples of medieval rhetorical education, and the more limited scope of *De Inventione* meant that RaH likely took a more dominant role.[78]

The similarities between rhetoric and combat emerge quickly in the first part of RaH, where the anonymous writer describes two kinds of approaches to crafting an introduction to one's speech, a Direct Opening, or a Subtle Approach.[79] A visual parallel is immediately evident in the advice of wrestling and fencing master Fiore d'ei Liberi on the two stances from which one might begin a wrestling bout, shown in Figure 17.

---

[77] *Rhetorica ad Herennium.* Translated by Harry Caplan. Loeb Classical Library 403. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1954, p.viii.
[78] For further reading see Haskins, C.H. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Cambridge, 1927, pp. 93- 158, and Ward, J.O. "The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's De inventione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium", *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance Commentary Tradition* (V. Cox and J. O. Ward eds), Brill, 2006, pp. 3-75 (58-9).
[79] The Direct Opening should be such that by the straightforward methods I have prescribed we immediately make the hearer well-disposed or attentive or receptive; whereas the Subtle Approach should be such that we effect all these results covertly, through dissimulation,[c] and so can arrive at the same vantage-point in the task of speaking." *Rhetorica ad Herennium* p.21.

Figure 17, Floria de Arte Luctandi, MS Paris, BNF, Latin 11269, f.38v, 1410-1420.

As discussed in the previous chapter, physical wrestling recognises that opponents start from different positions of advantage due to their physical characteristics, but uses the understanding that strength is relative to position in order to describe appropriate tactics. The advice on rhetorical introductions is the same:

> "Given the cause, in order to be able to make a more appropriate Introduction, we must consider what kind of cause it is. The kinds of causes are four: honourable, discreditable, doubtful, and petty…*In view of these considerations, it will be in point to apply the theory of Introductions to the kind of cause."*[80](my italics)

The section in italics shows that the rhetor must be aware of their starting situation and craft their argument accordingly. Recognising that the structure of an argument depends upon the starting conditions of the debate reveals that, just as in wrestling, strength is relative. This also applies during the debate based upon the arguments and actions of the opponent as much as it

[80] *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p.11.

does to the crafting of the argument prior to the delivery.

> "If the hearers have been convinced, if our opponent's speech has gained their credence—*and this will not be hard for us to know, since we are well aware of the means by which belief is ordinarily effected*—if then, we think belief has been effected, we shall make our Subtle Approach to the cause by the following means…"[81] (my italics)

Here it is clear that this is a form of adjustment that is made during the process of argumentation, and so the rhetor is able to be responsive to the effects of opponent's arguments upon the audience. If one grasps that an argument is an action, then the association with wrestling is clear. The important phrase in the passage above is that which appears in italics, noting that one will immediately recognise how the hearers have been affected due to the sensitivity that has been trained into the rhetor. This sensitivity is a product of how they themselves have been trained to affect others and will therefore recognise the same techniques when used by their opponent. The previous chapter demonstrated that wrestlers were trained into having a kinaesthetic sensitivity that allowed them to sense the relative strength of their opponents through physical contact. This passage indicates that the same activity took place in rhetorical conflicts. A trained rhetor can sense the shifting of their own relative strength due to the actions of their opponent upon the audience. This perceptive faculty was a product of rhetorical training, which extends and complicates the sensitivity developed by wrestling.

RaH also makes it clear that there are temporal considerations to the manner in which arguments are created. In the later sections which deal with the delivery of an argument, there is a discussion on styles of speech. Classified as Grand, Middle, or Simple, these speech patterns are defined by their choice and arrangement of words on a scale of complexity and the

[81] *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p.19.

text even gives some example passages.[82] The Simple sample passage is short, uses small sentences, and includes fewer polysyllabic words, whereas the Grand example is by far the longest and uses many complex terms. Essentially, speed of comprehension is the defining characteristic. The more "grand" the style of speech, the more a rhetor is taking their time by making their points in a particular way. RaH suggests considering what kind of argument is being made at any particular point and adjusting the style to the moment. This resonates with the concepts found in the Germanic combat manuals known as *vor, indes,* and *nach,* describing ideas of initiative.[83] When in a commanding position, the wrestler can seize their opponent in the *vor,* moving before they have started to act and overpowering them, whereas when in a weaker position it is advised to act in the *nach,* allowing them perform an action more fully and thereby using their momentum against them rather than meeting them with brute strength and being overcome. When the rhetor is in a commanding position they are able to adopt the Grand style, and thereby take their time appealing to their listeners in a more emotive or intellectually appealing manner. When harried and needing to respond to a more immediate accusation or attack, the rhetor might opt for the Simple style, delivering a swift response in more colloquial fashion. Young children learning the rudiments of these styles may have been able to draw upon the physical experience of temporality encountered in their wrestling practice as they experimented with the structuring of an argument.

These practices of argumentation are situated in the *habitus* and given structure by the practice of wrestling. In rhetoric, the students arranged their arguments tactically, and adjusted their strategies as they interacted with their opponents and their audiences. So too in wrestling,

---

[82] "There are, then, three kinds of style, called types, to which discourse, if faultless, confines itself: the first we call the Grand; the second, the Middle; the third, the Simple. The Grand type consists of a smooth and ornate arrangement of impressive words. The Middle type consists of words of a lower, yet not of the lowest and most colloquial, class of words. The Simple type is brought down even to the most current idiom of standard speech." *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p.253.

[83] Described in Cod.44.A.8, f.100v and discussed in the previous chapter.

they read the body of the opponent as they responded to pressure, and then adjusted their techniques and tactics to better serve their goal. The process described in RaH is similar, sometimes providing a list of the ways in which a rhetor might respond to an opponent's actions. For example;

> "If the hearers have been fatigued by listening, we shall open with something that may provoke laughter—a fable, a plausible fiction, a caricature, an ironical inversion of the meaning of a word, an ambiguity, innuendo, banter, a naivety, an exaggeration, a recapitulation, a pun, an unexpected turn, a comparison, a novel tale, a historical anecdote, a verse, or a challenge or a smile of approbation directed at someone. Or we shall promise to speak otherwise than as we have prepared, and not to talk as others usually do; we shall briefly explain what the other speakers do and what we intend to do."[84]

The work of a rhetor was to gauge their relative strength prior to and during an argument, then adjust their points, their order, and the style of their delivery so that they might better achieve their goal.

Effecting Affect: Emotions as Strategy

Although the pedagogy of rhetoric, and indeed the wider *trivium*, had certain resemblances with physical training, it cannot be made identical with it. Emotion was a vital component of rhetoric, which is not something discussed in wrestling manuals. This is a key aspect of how rhetorical study builds upon the *habitus.* In some ways, wrestling and martial arts have more in common with dialectic; there was no ideal or core dispute behind either contest as the purpose was to train technique. Rhetoric was a broader and more emotional practice, partly because the two competitors sought to affect an audience rather than one another, and they addressed one another only indirectly. The assumption in much advice seems to be that the average audience will be simple relative to the rhetorical skill of the speakers;

---

[84] *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* pp.19-21.

this is described by Aristotle in *Rhetoric* as a characteristic of larger crowds and this belief is repeated by DRP: "…it is not possible for the people as a whole to comprehend subtlety."[85] As such, the tactics used were simpler; based upon emotion and opinion rather than rationality. This is distinct from both wrestling (where there is a direct physical competition with an opponent who might vary in their physical characteristics), and dialectic (where there is intellectual contest with an opponent generally held to be as well-informed and discerning as oneself).

There is also more focus on the physicality of delivery in rhetoric, in a way that is absent from advice on dialectic disputation. There the focus is on the arrangement of the arguments, but rhetoric required bodily considerations in the same way that a child required their education to be bodily in early years. The simpler the audience, the more direct the method. Thus, rhetoric was a more bodily practice than dialectic, but a distinctive one where physical methods of evoking intangible emotions were a key element of the practice.

This observation is supported in the section of RaH which describes four distinct vocal Tones. Some of these tones are characterised by their control of emotion, and so the text recommends that they be expressed with a restrained fashion. Others seek to rouse emotion in the hearers and, when doing so, the advice of the text is to suggest that the speaker is suffused with the emotion that they wish to instil in the audience. The passage below describes the reasoning of the varied nature of the vocal delivery when adopting the Narrative Conversational Tone.

> "Our delivery will be somewhat rapid when we narrate what we wish to show was done vigorously, and it will be slower when we narrate something else done in leisurely fashion. Then, corresponding to the content of the words, we shall modify the delivery in all the kinds of tone, now to sharpness, now to kindness, or now to sadness, and now

---

[85] "*…totus populus subtilia comprehendere non possit…*" DRP, Book I, Part I, Chapter I, f.5r.

to gaiety."[86]

This rationale is important to note, as it shows that the method by which to provoke emotion is empathy; the speaker adopts the emotion or manner of the content, and the audience experienced the same sensation, even down to the pacing of the delivery to express the speed of events. The same reasoning underpins the use of physical gesture - matching delivery to the content of the words. There is no suggestion that the rhetor is actually experiencing the particular emotion, but that the physical gestures and facial expressions are present to add verisimilitude, described as making the delivery "more plausible".[87] The physical gestures, vocal qualities and facial expressions are linked to the tones so that the audience perceive a plausible human, whose intentions are aligned with their emotions and bodies.

RaH gives no specifics concerning gestures, which suggests that the precise nature of hand or arm positions or movements were thought sufficiently intuitive. The concern of the text is, like the discussion of vocal tones, that the characteristics of the gestures align with the aims of each section of argument. For example, the Dignified Conversational Tone, characterised by control and restraint, should be accompanied by the speaker e "lightly moving his right hand, his countenance expressing an emotion corresponding to the sentiments of the subject".[88] Although RaH does not explicitly say that the left hand cannot be used for gestures, it is noteworthy that the right is the only one mentioned specifically. There is a link here with the idea of the facility of various sides of the body, which appears in DRP as part of the final book. This section of the text is heavily influenced by Vegetius' *De Re Militari* and describes how the left side of the body is strong and stable, whereas the right has more speed and dexterity, and that this is a property common to all animals.[89] As shown in the previous chapter,

---

[86] *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p.199.
[87] *Rhetorica ad Herenniumm,* p,201.
[88] *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p. 203.
[89] "*Nam cor quod est in animali principium motus principalis influit in partem dextram. Ita quod pars dextra in animalibus fortior est in movendo et aptior est ad motum.*" DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XV, f.123v.

many combat manuals of the fifteenth century contained diagrams of the body with qualities arranged around them. The convention in these diagrams was for qualities (or animals representing them) associated with speed and dexterity to be positioned by the right hand, and qualities of bravery or daring positioned on the left side, linked with the heart. These commonly-held beliefs about sides of the body were evidently pervasive enough to be carried through to this discussion of gesture, where the right hand is the driver of activity.

All the Conversational Tones discussed in RaH have restraint in gesture recommended and only variation in vocal tone or facial expression advised, while the Tones of Debate begin to describe more expressive movement. The variations described only relate to the speed of the movement rather than the actual movements themselves, presumably to demonstrate greater or lesser degrees of agitation; the Sustained Tone of Debate requires quick motions and the Broken Tone, very quick movements which correspond to the manner of speech for these sections.[90] It is therefore size, speed, and timing that distinguishes gesture rather than their specific shapes. As established in the previous chapter, considerations of a person's strength, speed, and the timing of their actions were important aspects in physical contest.

The most dramatic gestures were those associated with the Pathetic Tone of Amplification, which recommends to "slap one's thigh and beat one's head…"[91] This Tone is designed to encourage the audience into feeling pity when hearing descriptions of unfortunate occurrences. That the rhetor's own body suffers impacts, mirroring the subject of the speech, shows the empathetic tactic in its fullest and most bodily form, the rhetor literally striking themselves as a proxy for the harm that they are describing, and the audience perceiving a body suffering pain.

---

[90] "For the Sustained Tone of Debate, we shall use a quick gesture of the arm, a mobile countenance, and a keen glance…For the Hortatory Tone of Amplification, it will be appropriate to use a somewhat slower and more deliberate gesticulation". *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p.203.

[91] *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* pp.203-205.

In summary, rhetoric extended the *habitus* in a distinctive way. Dialectic showed how metaphysical acts could be interpreted as physical actions, but rhetoric showed how even indirect competition could be bodily in method. The strategic considerations of rhetorical argumentation were resonant with concepts from wrestling, such as the relativity of strength according to position, temporal considerations of delivery, and the development of a trained sensitivity to aid strategic choices within the contest. The use of emotion as a persuasive tool extended the techniques of competition to physical methods of inducing empathy, including fine control of the vocal apparatus to adopt the required tones, and a conscious management of the body to produce appropriate gestures.

There is no suggestion that any of the emotions that the rhetor is presenting were actually felt by them. All actions described are to evoke the emotion within the audience, and so this practice is fundamentally a performance. This chapter thus concludes with critical observations on the role of performance and the practice of witnessing as pedagogy.

Conclusion: Performance, Witnessing, and Sensitivity

As this chapter has shown, the three subjects of the trivium augmented the physically adept body of concern, extending its facility with bodies and space to the interpretation and strategic deployment of metaphysical material. Grammar formed a habit of organising knowledge in space/time navigated by a "body of the mind". Dialectic contributed the composition of argument in space/time, and rhetoric entwined emotional self-awareness and control with deliberate uses of the body through orality and gesture. The resulting intended mastery of the body meant that myriad actions could be understood as combined memory-argument-performance. Students trained in these embodied techniques were supposed to be able to 'read' another's argument, tone, or gesture the way they 'read' the text of their memory. The ordering structures of these composite acts resemble in intriguing ways the structuring principles of movement through space/time and physical interaction, given through martial

training.

The pedagogical use of performance rests upon the blurred distinction between performers and audience and requires a brief exploration of the ways in which audiences were active in their witnessing. This is evident in all forms of performance in which the princely and noble students engaged, be it in the study of grammar, dialectic, or rhetoric.

In grammar, the entire group might be made to respond to a question in chorus or witness an individual who is asked a direct question. A mistake and any subsequent punishment would be witnessed by all, but every audience member would witness the events with the awareness that they might soon be in the same situation.

Dialectics involved a more passive audience, given that audience members knew that they were not going to be unexpectedly called upon to contribute. The dialectic performance described in the literature on *obligationes* reached its zenith in *quodlibets,* a popular public spectacle that took place around the University of Paris in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; supposedly so popular that classes were suspended twice a year so that the students might mingle with the curious members of the general public who came to watch the debates.[92] There are parallels with forms of combative spectacle such as tournaments, wrestling matches, and judicial duels, and contemporary commentators were accustomed to making these comparisons as a criticism. Haimeric de Vari, chancellor of the University of Paris in the mid-thirteenth century compared the scholastic disputation to cock fights.[93] Statutes of the University of Paris regarding *quodlibets* suggest that audiences, even those from outside the

[92] Theatre historian Jody Enders draws parallels with *quodlibets* and other forms of performed spectacle as a continuation of Greco-Roman declamatory practice, arguing for a recognition for these events as part of the development of medieval theatre. See Enders, Jody. “The Theater of Scholastic Erudition", *Comparative Drama*, Vol. 27, No. 3, Fall 1993, p.341.
[93] ‘‘one cock challenges another, its feathers bristling. . . . It is the same thing today with our professors . . . pecking and clawing at each other.’’ Quoted in de la Marche, Lecoy, *La Chaire francaise au moyen age,* Paris, 1886, p.452.

university, were permitted to be involved, asking questions of their own and prompting further discussion.[94]

For students of rhetoric, the audience was the primary target, and the discussion of empathetic tactics above show that there was a considered bodily scheme of adopting emotionally evocative tones, expressions, gestures, and pacing. The rhetor was so close to a stage performer that RaH includes specific warnings not to stray too close to the craft of the tragedian.[95] The practice of inspiring emotion in the audience through empathy and the concern shown for adjusting techniques dependent on their emotional state meant that the audience were not unresponsive listeners, but active, emotional drivers of action upon the rhetorical speech. Thus, the rhetor was required to develop a sensitivity to both their opponent and their shared audience.

This metaphysical connection between appearance and meaning was a theme that would continue in the royal child's life. As discussed in the first chapter, very young children were encouraged to be cautious with noticeable signs of their attention, as the act of looking was never passive. This discussion goes some way to fleshing out the reasons why their focus was itself an act. Due to the form of their academic study which placed such emphasis on witnessed action, the educated prince could never be a passive audience, but was always an active participant by virtue of their superior knowledge and trained capacity for judgement.

Yet it is still important not to lose sight of the purpose of DRP – the forming of a king. Practical skill with the techniques of either wrestling or argumentation was not the goal of this

---

[94] "*Et si contingat extraneos ad istas disputationes venire, quod magistri studentium arbitrio relinquatur, et non sint tot unde socii domus possint a proprio exercito impediri, in gradu suo domus sibi compari, si arguere voluerint, preferantur...*" quoted in Glorieux, Palémon, *Robert de Sobon: L'Homme, Le College, Les Documents,* Aux Origines de la Sorbonne, 1, Paris, 1966, p.225.

[95] "For the Dignified Conversational Tone it will be proper to use the full throat but the calmest and most subdued voice possible, yet not in such a fashion that we pass from the practice of the orator to that of the tragedian." *Rhetorica ad Herennium,* p.199.

education, but contained elements considered useful for rule. Education trained sensitivity and capacity for judgement, central aspects of governance. Knowledge of technique augmented perception and created an informed observer who understood what they were witnessing. This indicates the importance of performance and the witnessing of performance in medieval pedagogy. It is why children were encouraged to attend tournaments, hunts, and even wars, and it is also why they were asked to speak the words that they wrote in class, why they were encouraged to engage in dialectical and rhetorical debate, and to study (or even learn by heart) the speeches of famous orators from history. The possession of an informed perspective that did not have specialised mastery of the technique but understood enough to be able to perceive it in action was an important part of the noble *habitus*, and of prime importance to a royal *habitus*.

In conclusion, this chapter has traced some strands of the royal body of concern that were entangled with the form and the content of the princely student's academic training. From grammar, their bodies were encouraged to engage with structured conceptions of knowledge through dialogue, with vocal responses to prompts a key part of the process. Dialectic continued this theme, being structured around question/answer competition, but with the student given far more agency in the arrangement of conceptual structures, in this case carefully designed chains of argument stemming from an established first principle. The strategic considerations of the competition required the prince to conceptualise their arguments as physical matter and think strategically about the order of their presentation, whilst remaining alert to responses by the opponent that required restructuring mid-debate. Rhetoric gave a fuller expression of the strategies of dialectic, but was rooted in the practicality of persuasion, which required a considered and deliberate use of the body to demonstrate emotional states and evoke empathetic responses in the audience.

All these methods and subjects had at their core a relationship with performance, but a

relationship that shifted in scope with the content of the training, moving from a group who performed a dialogue with their tutor, to a performed competition with one individual, to a practice where the competition took place with the audience as the target of the exercise. These methods oriented the *habitus*; performance and witnessing of these skills demonstrated to the student that the perspective of observers was an important consideration of any action, and the act of observing was itself never a neutral act, shown in the way that DRP advises caution with gestures at an early age. More than this, the student spent a great deal of time *as* an audience, watching their peers demonstrate technique and acting as a critic. By virtue of their training, the student observer was able to judge on a higher level than the untutored or inexperienced. This actualised an important ontological distinction in the well-educated; they literally knew better than others. A large part of their future life would be dedicated to giving judgement and this form of learning demonstrated to the student that the giving of their attention was an act in and of itself, the importance of which was scaled to their status and knowledge.

The physical wrestling training engaged in by the student prince outside the classroom contained a physical manifestation of many abilities that the *trivium* aimed to train, and yet the practice of creating internal conceptualisations of intention was not something that could be learned in physical training. Through academic study, the growing prince was able to conceptualise thoughts, arguments, and intentions of others as physical matter and therefore understand tactical interactions with reference to their growing martial capabilities. The ramifications of this ability to transpose physical conflict and interaction into the conceptual sphere were broader than the student's ability to argue or persuade. By using bodily methods to teach abstract competition, the students gained an understanding that their arguments, intentions, and non-corporeal actions could be effective in the same ways as their bodies - as extensions of their person. Thus, their metaphysical body had an extended reach when compared to their physical body, but they were effectively the same thing, and a political move

such as a meeting to discuss an advantageous marriage alliance could be understood in the same register as a threatening stance or a challenging question.

In the next chapter, this thesis will explore how the ontologically superior prince would learn to augment his physical and metaphysical body via the incorporation of human, non-human, corporeal and non-corporeal objects. The ultimate expression of this was yet to come, as a king who embodied his realm. First, the student prince who approached the age of fourteen would need to broaden his physical training in preparation for the martial aspects of his political life. In doing so, he would retain and implement the lessons of the *trivium*, growing to incorporate weapons, armours, horses, and eventually servants, houses, and lands.

Chapter 4: The Cyborg Prince: Incorporation of objects, animals, people

The work of young princes on academic subjects did not excuse any neglect of their physical training. Giles writes that children over the age of fourteen should be engaged in stronger physical training than previous ages, specifically that "they should become accustomed to hard labour such as wrestling exercise or other warlike exercise so that after the age of fourteen they can be instructed in wrestling and riding and other things that are required of soldiers so that they are able to undergo military labours."[1]

This chapter will now examine the work that Giles considered necessary for military labour. In the phrase "…and other things" Giles skims over a considerable amount of specific knowledge and training that would be required for soldiers in this period. Although he addresses the lack of this discussion somewhat in the final section of DRP, which deals overtly with matters of war, that section primarily discusses the equipment and training of regular soldiers, as it is intended to be read by the commanders of armies. Giles was unlikely to have possessed much military prowess himself and so rests on the authority of a far earlier, but well-known Latin text on field warfare. It is evident from these texts that a prince who was to learn that which was required for military work as both a commander and a combatant would have to study the use of a variety of weapons and the riding of a horse as an individual and in formation.

Rather than undertaking an in-depth analysis of this kind of training, this chapter will consider the lessons learned from these subjects and how they meshed with the behaviour of the prince in a more domestic mileu. Fleshing out the relationship between the martial and the

---

[1] *"Adeo enim secundum philosophum a xiiii anno asuescendi sunt pueri ad labores fortes ut ad exercitationem luctitivam vel ad aliquam aliam exercitationem bellice ut postea i a xiiii anno instructi in luctativa et in equitativa et aliis que ad militiam requiruntur subire possunt labores militares."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVII, f.72r.

domestic supports one of the central arguments of this thesis – that to train the body was to train the person. The previous chapters have been concerned with early-years education, but this chapter will show that the same kind of work continued through youth and into adulthood, with the same kinds of ramifications. The physical, martial training undergone by the prince did not restrict itself to martial matters but shaped his habitus in the same way that wrestling had prepared him to receive academic instruction, and that his academic schooling had taught him to consider the metaphysical with reference to the physical. In this case, martial training with weapons and animals was concerned with incorporation. This term will appear throughout this chapter and refers to the way in which a non-human object can function as an extension of the royal body of concern.

A key indicator of an object's incorporation is when the object becomes invisible in descriptions of princely behaviour, as it is enfolded into their being and no longer needs to be referred to as an object in its own right. As the initial part of this chapter will explore, incorporation is also particularly clear when the object becomes a medium for sensation as well as action. A close examination of the mechanics of weapon usage shown in fencing manuals reveals that sensing pressure via the weapon is a fundamental requirement of close combat. The principle is particularly evident in texts concerned with longsword techniques written in the fifteenth century, but this chapter will also show that the same principle is discernible in the earliest European weapon manual from c.1300. Incorporation can also apply, of course, to other humans and animals as well as inanimate objects. The chapter will continue with a close reading of popular texts on riding and hunting, which reveal that both animals and human servants could also act as sensory media, collecting and communicating knowledge of the environment, but deferring their own agency to the direction of their lord. Such manuals also show how the agency of animals and other humans could fluctuate according to need and function, changing between being a body of concern to be shaped and mastered as the young

prince was himself, and being an incorporated aspect of a prince's existence. The chapter concludes by discussing how incorporation appears in explicit discussions of domesticity in DRP, which the text presents as a precursor to more expansive discussions of rulership in cities and kingdoms.

Humans who have incorporated objects in this way could be understood as a kind of cyborg, in the manner described in Donna Haraway's *A Cyborg Manifesto.*[2] Haraway identifies the fluidity of boundaries between the human and animal, the organism and the machine, and between the physical and non-physical as a particularly twentieth-century feature of society, and argues for the concept of fluid identity boundaries as an inspiring myth for those with progressive political ideals to challenge patriarchal domination. However, when this thinking about the ramifications of fluid boundaries is applied to the education of medieval princes, it is revealed that some features of this was already acknowledged and routinely practically applied in this period. The nobility of the Middle Ages was accustomed to multiple, overlapping incorporations of humans and non-humans. But since these entanglements originated from a place of superiority and dominance, the noble body had a fundamentally different relationship to its augmentations than the equivalent meshing of identities conceived of by Haraway. This is why I have preferred the term incorporation rather than terms that imply agency on the part of the incorporated object, such as fusion, meshing, or conjoining. To incorporate means to make something a part of one's body, and the work of this thesis reveals how fundamental medieval bodies were to a person's identity. DRP reveals a conception of humans as being distinguished by their capacity for dominance of souled and soulless beings

[2] "This chapter is an argument for pleasure in the confusion of boundaries and for responsibility in their construction. It is also an effort to contribute to socialist-feminist culture and theory in a postmodernist, non-naturalist mode and in the utopian tradition of imagining a world without gender, which is perhaps a world without genesis, but maybe also a world without end." Haraway, Donna J. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century", *Simians, Cyborgs and Women : The Reinvention of Nature,* Routledge, 1991, p.150.

alike, each subordinate to the will of its betters when required, then being permitted its own agency when appropriate. Non-human objects served to augment and extend the princely body and the capacity of the prince's body to become co-extensive allowed him to understand not only his sword, horse, or hunting dogs as a part of him, but also his household servants, humans with lesser grades of soul and a lesser capacity for domination. This is shown in a section of DRP which addresses the prince's management of his house and his family: Giles believed hierarchy within the household was an expression of universal law – the higher always subordinate to the lower. Thus, although other beings subject to the prince/king did have their own agency and capability to resist incorporation, in doing so they violated a fundamental law of existence.

This is the chief departure from Haraway's call for an acknowledgement of the lack of ontological separation between machine and organism as a way of challenging dualisms. Haraway describes the prevalent dualisms of Western thought as "domination of all constituted as others, whose task is to mirror the self."[3] The medieval model of rulership may have been a forerunner of this concept, but its goal was not to make others a mirror of itself; it was for individuals to extend themselves via others and thus embody a conglomerate entity far larger and more powerful than an individual person. The hypothetical prince of this thesis had a future where he embodied an entire realm but was required to learn this practice of incorporation at a smaller scale, beginning with inanimate tools, then ascending through the hierarchy of souled beings found in his household.

[3] "To recapitulate, certain dualisms have been persistent in Western traditions; they have all been systemic to the logics and practices of domination of women, people of colour, nature, workers, animals - in short, domination of all constituted as others, whose task is to mirror the self." Haraway. *Simians, Cyborgs and Women,* p.177.

Physical Training and Desirable Bodies

The general recommendations of Giles on the desirable physical capabilities of princes support an analysis of the intricacies of martial skill. Book II, Part II of DRP is the most detailed regarding the education and training of princes. Chapter XVIII considers the appropriate training of older children, over the age of fourteen, and briefly broadens its intended audience away from the education of the prince to recommend appropriate physical exercise for all male citizens, including nobility and royalty. However, as is common in DRP, there is little specific description of the precise nature of their training in physical combat. This section does state that a king or prince who is intended to lead other men should not use so much physical training that it dulls their wits, as a wise commander can lead others to great deeds, but that as a warrior, they are only ever just one man and sometimes less than one man.[4] However, martial skill is desirable: "Exercise of the body is desirable as it makes the body more robust so that it may more easily bear hard armours. Therefore, the use of arms is not only lawful sometimes but necessary for the public good…"[5] This suggests that the ability to act while wearing armour was considered one of the basic prerequisites for military work. The prince is therefore being recommended to gain physical skills and sufficient fortitude to fight in armour without becoming a specialist.

As vague as this recommendation is, it is possible to note that the minimum level of fitness being suggested here is still fairly high by modern standards, but this form of musculature and

---

[4] *"Rex enim et princeps et universaliter omnis dominator populi licet in bellando et in assumendo arma plus non valeat quam minus homo vel aliquando unus homo…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVIII, f.73r.

[5] *"Exercitatio enim corporalis debita reddit corpus robustius ut facilius duriciem armorum possit sustinere quare si usus armorum non solum aliquando est licitus sed etiam necessarius pro bono republice…"* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVIII, f.73r.

physical strength is not something that is easy to visualise. Modern conceptions of physical capability are highly visual, shown in the bodybuilding industry, but also through any casual glance at fitness industry marketing. A body must *look* fit, and this manifests in a focus on either building muscle size through the lifting of weights, or diet/cardiovascular exercise combinations that reduce bodyfat so that the musculature is more visible. The most common advice from DRP on bodily concerns is associated with measure and proportion, such as stating that "health is in the balance of the humours, beauty is in the measure of the limbs, and robustness is found in the proportion of the bones and the nerves."[6] Without specific resistance-based exercises or diets, a human body that can bear the weight of armour and fight effectively would not necessarily appear anything like the bodies of modern fitness culture. In fact, given clothing styles of the period, the details of body shape and musculature itself would be mostly hidden. Therefore, the fitness of a body was linked more with actions than appearances. A person's fitness would be revealed through the way they moved, ran, rode, or fought, more than their body shape. Although their height and general stature would certainly be relevant, being big or small was not necessarily an indication of the kinds of skills required for combat. This shows the importance of examining the intricacies of the techniques of practice, rather than on body imagery.

The third and final book of DRP gives far more detail about the requirements of soldiers and the kinds of work that they undertook. This particular section is heavily based upon the well-known *De re militari* (henceforth referred to as DRM), a Latin text on field warfare written by Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus in the late fourth or early fifth century.[7] There are several

[6] *"Sanitas est debita equatio humorum. Pulchritudo debita mensuratio membrorum. Robur debita proporcio ossium et nervorum"* DRP, Book I, Part I, Chapter XI, f.11v.
[7] For details on transmission and impact, see *Vegetius: Epitome of Military Science* (N.P Milner trans). Liverpool University Press, 2011. For an introduction into the debate as to whether the text served as a practical field guide for medieval commanders or more as a subject of antiquarian interest, see Bachrach, Bernard. "The Practical Use of Vegetius' "De Re Militari" During the Early Middle Ages", *The Historian,* Vol.47, No.2, 1985,

passages where Giles acknowledges his debt to this text and cites Vegetius as an authority, but the chapter headings, ordering of subjects, and much of the content is effectively lifted directly from DRM. As a cleric, it seems reasonable to believe that Giles was not as personally familiar with the details of war as he was with academic and philosophical matters and there is no evidence of Giles ever taking part in any kind of military activity. Consequently, this section of the text sees far less alteration or paraphrasing than those parts which rely on Aristotle.

In the third book, DRP recommends that soldiers have a variety of capabilities, many of which are associated with particular weapons, but also gives the general advice that the ability to bear heavy weights is desirable, partly for the wearing of armour, but also for carrying unspecified other items in the course of battles.[8] As is common in this part of the text and its chief influence (DRM), the recommendation is for training with weighted weapons, so that the soldiers' regular weapons feel light compared with their training ones. This reinforces again the suggestion that technique is more effective than general muscle strength. If non-specific strength were the goal, the advice would likely stop at the simple lifting of weights, but the suggestion of weighted weapons implies that performing specific techniques with strength is acknowledged as superior to basic strength training.

The second recommendation is that the soldiers train with a club or wooden stick. The latin word used here is *clavas*, which is used in DRM and might be translated variously as club, wooden sword, and wooden foil (meaning a training sword). The Middle English version of DRP from the fifteenth century uses the word *maas* or mace, and although a mace tends to be considered a particular form of metal club on a wooden haft, sometimes with flanges or spikes, the meaning here seems to simply be that of a wooden club. A specific exercise is described in

---

pp.239-255, and Rogers, Clifford J. "The Vegetian 'Science of Warfare' in the Middle Ages". *Journal of Medieval Military History*, Vol.1, 2003, pp.1–19.

[8] *"Rursus non solum arma sed etiam plura alta sunt ferenda in bello."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, f.119r.

DRP, which is that the youths who train with this weapon should be equipped with a shield of double weight and a wooden club of double weight and then "advance against those posts as if an enemy, and then strike the post at the top, and the bottom, and the middle."[9] This exercise has come to be known as "training at the pell", the word pell being taken from the Latin *palus*, as used in DRM and DRP and simply meaning a pole or a stake. Figure 18 shows an image of the technique from a translation of DRM from the same period as DRP.

Figure 18, Epitoma rei militaris (Jean de Meung (trans), Bibliothèque inguimbertine, Ms. 332, c.1290-1310, f.1.

In Figure 18, the figure in the centre is performing the exercise at the pell as described, holding a club or mace. This weapon appears to be made of wood, although the material of the

[9] "*...et quilibet ioliorum iuvenum sit ornatus contra aliquem illorum palorum et quasi contra adversarium incedebat et nunc percuciebat palum in summitate nunc in imo nunc in medio"* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, f.119r.

head of the weapon is unclear. It may be made of metal but wrapped in cloth, which would allow the pell to last longer without impacting the exercise in any way. The central figure is fully armoured in mail, with plate poleyns on his knees, all of which would be unnecessary outside of battle. It may be that the armour is so closely linked to iconographic tropes of soldiers that it would be odd to have him unarmoured, but it cannot be denied that an unarmoured figurer would still be recognisably performing the exercise, and so we might suppose that requiring training soldiers to wear their armour while at the pell was also a part of the exercise; after all, they would need to wear the armour in combat, and so it is logical to have them wear it as often as possible. The figure is also in motion, with all his weight on his left leg and his right foot just lifting off the ground. This combined with the proximity to the pell implies that he is stepping either away from or around the target as he strikes. There is no overseer at this particular exercise, but there does seem to be an authority figure watching the mounting of the horse in the right section of the image. This person is the focus of the mounting knight's gaze and so may represent the drill master of the camp.

There appears to have two main purposes to the exercise at the pell. The first was to gain aptitude in striking with the weapon itself and the second to gain general stamina to assist with physical work. Giles writes, "and when youths have thus exercised in the morning and the evening, after when they come to battle, they will not be reluctant to strike with the club, nor in tolerating any amount of military labour."[10] The word "reluctant" in this translation referring to striking with the club is the latin word *gravabantur*, which might more accurately translated as "grieved by", and might imply that the reluctance was both physical, as in not being used the physical labour required, or emotional, in that the combatant might hesitate to strike another

[10] *"Et cum diu mane et sero iuvenes sic exercitati essent cum postea veniebant ad bellum non gravabantur in percuciendo cum clava vel in sustinendo quoscunque bellicos labores."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, f.119r.

person. If they were accustomed to the movement and impact of repeatedly striking a solid target, both difficulties could be eased. The exercise evidently built stamina alongside strength and accuracy with the weapon due to the way that it incorporated footwork and the use of the shield along with the use of the weapon hand. Giles wrote that the fighter should "cover himself and do all that is required in battle and fighting against an enemy."[11] This presumably meant advancing, retreating, circling the post, as well as potentially striking with the shield or at least keeping it actively extended towards the "opponent". The active shield use is likely the meaning of the recommendation to "cover himself", as practical experience indicates that keeping the shield close to the body when striking a real opponent invites unpleasant blows to the weapon hand. This is also demonstrated in the image above where the shield is being used to cover the head while striking the pole. Unlike a purely defensive motion that keeps the shield close to the fighter, the arm is extended up and away from the body. This position is very effective in narrowing angles of attack but is a great deal of work for the shoulder muscles. Part of the task of a drill-master would likely be to watch for soldiers who were not sufficiently active with their shields or movements. Such active shield use is a hallmark of their use as shown in a wide variety of iconography, particularly in the earliest surviving European armed combat manual, MS i.33, which this chapter will discuss shortly. What is being taught in this action is that any attack must be combined with a proactive defense; that actions within combat are not either offensive or defensive, but always a combination of the two. Insisting that the trainee practise covering themselves with the shield while attacking even when striking an inanimate post shows how integral the concept of pre-emptive defense was to medieval combat. This is something which is challenging to teach to modern beginners in combat arts, who often have a culturally derived narrative attitude towards fights. In performed combat, the separation

---

[11] "*...et cooperiendo se et alia faciendo que requiruntur ad bellum ac si contra hostem dimicaret.*" DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, f.119r.

of offensive and defensive motions is often a deliberate tactic to allow audiences to follow the action. If a person has only ever experienced this kind of combat through watching portrayals of combat in popular media, they are often reluctant to accept that attacks, blocks, and evasions often overlap one another or occur simultaneously. A medieval understanding of the entangled nature of these actions is revealed in the short description of the exercise at the pell in the way that it recommends all actions appropriate to active contest with an enemy to be performed while engaged in an exercise which is ostensibly about effective striking with a weapon against a static target.

It is clear that the solo exercise at the pell trained more than simple strength and stamina. However, to gain a better understanding of how combat training affected practitioners, it is necessary to consider the different between striking at a post as if it were a real adversary and combating an active and aware opponent. DRP and DRM are not sufficient sources for these questions, and so the chapter will now extend focus to manuals which explicitly discuss armed combat between two individuals, particularly with weapons likely to be used by men of upper classes.

Armed Combat: the Longsword and Elite Incorporation

There are two reasons to discuss the longsword at this point. Firstly, it was a distinctively upper-class weapon in this period and, being relatively new, it would likely be a part of a prince's martial training, even though not mentioned by Giles in DRP. Secondly, there is a great deal of literature which directly discusses the use of the longsword and reveals a method of usage that is distinctively concerned with incorporation – making the weapon a part of the fighter. This section will first examine the specifics of longsword use and then move to earlier examples of the same principles in the use of sword and buckler. Because incorporation is particularly clear in these sources, it is easier to note it there and then demonstrate examples of

the same reasoning in earlier sources than it would be to deal with the sources the other way around.

The longsword would likely have been considered a new weapon at the time of DRP's creation. Its development occurred in tandem with increasing use of armour plates on battlefields, although the significant overlap and parallel usage of older-style weapons make the emergence of the longsword-style hard to date precisely.[12] As already noted, plate armour is not a factor in Giles's recommendations, and so longswords were likely similarly absent. However, the longsword was making its earliest appearances at the time of DRP's creation, and small pieces of plated armour were staring to become commonplace, as seen in the knee poleyns worn by the knight in Figure 4.1. Although the specifics of its usage might not have been any part of Giles's knowledge or reasoning as he created the text, it is highly likely that princes and nobles who read DRP would have been taught its use as part of the required skills of the knight. The longsword is one of the most common subjects for Germanic fencing manuals of the fifteenth century, some of which were discussed in Chapter Two for their content on wrestling. The reasons for this popularity are many, but the effectiveness of the weapon against heavier armour, the requisite complexity of techniques required for effective use, and the consequent association of the weapon with higher-class individuals are all likely reasons for its common appearance in combat texts.

The most relevant theme that appears in these treatises is the concept of *fühlen*, which appeared in Chapter 2 as a way of highlighting the importance of reading an opponent through physical contact. Here, the thesis will re-examine the so-called Recital of Leichtenauer and

---

[12] "…sword forms may be grouped and classified, but only vaguely dated. They fall clearly into two groups, divided by a radical change of form brought about by an equally drastic change in the defensive armour to which they were opposed. This change took place roughly between 1275 and 1350, a transitional period of three-quarters of a century during which some specific transitional types appeared." Oakshott, Ewart. *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry,* Boydell Press, 1993, p.17.

note those aspects which cement the idea that the weapon is a sensory medium. In acting in this way, the sword is not merely an object but a sensitive aspect of a human body. This is incorporation in action. The kinaesthetic sensitivity required in this kind of armed combat was demonstrated in Chapter 2 to be a fundamental part of wrestling techniques. By the process of incorporation of weapons, the combatants sense pressure and derive information about the contest *via the sword* and deliberately maintain contact to do so. The sword therefore operated as both a weapon and an extension of the combatant's own body.

When the concept of incorporation is applied to these texts, it becomes easier to understand why they rarely mention swords in the context of an object unless to orient or localise, such as describing a target or how to hold the weapon in a particular stance. There is never an instruction to do anything "with the sword"; all instructions are simply to "fall under", "to thrust", or "to cut". The reason that the sword is rarely mentioned as the tool by which to harm the opponent is that there is no need to specify what the fighter is fighting with; it is the purpose of the manual and the purpose of the armed fighter. Once equipped with a weapon and using it in this kind of focused and sensitive way, the combatant is no longer a person holding a sword, but a swordsman; effectively a technologically augmented human, or indeed, a cyborg.

It is very clear that the sword acts as a medium for sensation by several sections of the Recital and the associated gloss that appears in the Starhemberg Fechtbuch. The Recital purports to be the work of Johannes Lichtenauer, although the glossator remains anonymous. A particularly clear part of the text reads:

> " as the swords clash together, *you shall feel with the hand simultaneously if he has bound Soft or Hard on you,* and as quickly as you have found out, then think of the

> word "Meanwhile": that is, that simultaneously as you find the same, you shall nimbly work on the sword so he is struck before he becomes aware of it."[13] (my italics)

The advice is to be alert to the degree of pressure that the opponent is applying to your sword with their own and to make your choices based on this sensation.

The text contains multiple examples of how the choices of a combatant depend upon this kind of sensitivity. For example, the Recital reads:

> "Whoever Over-hews you,
> Wrath-hew point threatens him"[14]

This cryptic phrase is expanded by the anonymous glossator of the Starhemberg text as:

> "When you come to him with the pre-fencing, if he then hews at your head from above on his right side, then hew also with him wrathfully from your right side from above, without any parrying, on his sword. If he is then Soft on the sword, then shoot in the long point straight before you and stab him to the face or the breast."[15]

There is no image from any of the texts that include this passage which shows the first part of this action, possibly because if there were, it would simply show two fighters with their swords crossed. However, Figure 19 shows an image from the so-called *Goliath Fechtbuch* (from an image of David and Goliath on the inside cover), Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS Germ. Quart. 2020, a compilation of fencing material from c.1535-1540, including some famous glosses of the Recital of Lichtenauer and the earliest visual depictions of these techniques. The image shows the end part of the described action, where the defender (on the left), having cut into

[13] "*So soltu In dem als die swert zw° sammen klitzñ zw° hant fül ob er waich oder hert an gepünden hat vnd als pald dw das emphunden hast So gedenck an das wort Inndes Das ist das dw In dem selbigen emphinden behendlich solt arbaitten am swert so ist er geslagen ee wenn er sein gewar wirt"* Cod.44.A.8, f.29r.
[14] *"Wer dir oberhawt, zorñhaw ort dem drawt"* Cod.44.A.8, f.13r.
[15] *"Merck der zorñhaw pricht mit dem ort alle oberhaw vnd ist doch anders nicht wenn ein slächter paurñ slagk vnd den treib also Wenn dw mit dem zu° vechten zu ym kumst haut er dir denn von seiner rechtñ seitten oben ein zu° dem kopff So haw auch von dein° rechten seitten von oben an alle vor satzung Mit im zornigklich ein auf sein swert Ist er denn waich öm swert so seüß im den ort gericht für sich lanck ein vnd stich im zu° dem gesicht oder der prüst."* Ibid.

their opponent's blade and discovered that the pressure felt through the sword was appropriately soft, has reoriented their point to their opponent's face while maintaining contact with the blade.

Figure 19, *Goliath Fechtbuch,* Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS Germ. Quart. 2020, c.1535-1540, f.11v.

The maintenance of contact with the weapons is partly to protect the face, but also to aid sensing the opponent's next moves. The importance of this is shown in the next passage, which gives a course of action if the opponent responds to this attempted stab by pushing the point aside.

In the Recital, the text is: "If he becomes aware of it, take off above."[16] The gloss then explains the phrase "taking off above" thus:

> "If he becomes aware of the point and parries strongly and presses your sword to the side, then wrench up over it with your sword on his sword's blade, off above from his sword, and hew him to the other side, yet on his sword's blade, into the head. This is called taking off above."[17]

There is no image of this move, but from the description it is clear that the action requires sensitivity from the use of the word "strongly", as the fighter must judge whether or not the force is sufficient to allow him to disengage the connection and strike from the opposite side, into his opponent's head.[18]

A few passages later, the text explains the required action if the initial contact with the blade shows that the opponent is resisting strongly rather than with the softness that permits the thrust to the face. The Recital reads: "Be Stronger against, Wind, Stab. If he sees, then take it down."[19] This advice is glossed as:

> "Mark, that is when you hew in on him with the wrath-hew, if he parries and remains strong with the parrying on the sword, then remain also Strong against with your sword on his, and drive high up with your arms, and Wind your hilt on his sword in front before your head, and stab him above into his face."[20]

To "wind" in this context means to lift the pommel of the sword with the left hand to a position up by the head without changing the orientation of the blade, thus displacing the opponent's blade with a twist. Figure 20 shows the image of this move in the *Goliath Fechtbuch*, allowing one to compare the subtly different hand positions.

---

[16] *"**W**irt er es gewar, So nÿm oben ab ane far"* Cod.44.A.8, f.13v.
[17] "*wirt er denn orts gewar vnd vor setzt starck vnd druckt dir dein swert auf die seittñ So reiß mit deinem swert an seiner swertz clingen vber sich auf oben ab von seinem swert vnd haw ÿm zw der anderñ seitten aber an seiner swertz klingen wider ein zu° dem kopff das haist oben ab genomen."* Ibid
[18] This is like the modern fencing move known as a *coupé.*
[19] "*Pis stercker wider wind stich siecht ers so nym es nÿder*" Cod.44.A.8, f.13v
[20] "*Merck das ist wenn du im mit dem zoren haw ein hawst vor setzt er vnd pleibt mit der vor satzu~g starck am swert so pleib auch wider starck mit deine~ swert an dem seinem vnd var hoch auf mit den armen vnd wind an seinem swert dein gehultz vorñ für dem haubt vnd stich im oben ein zu° dem gesicht"* Cod.44.A.8, ff.13v-14r

Figure 20, *Goliath Fechtbuch*, Biblioteka Jagiellońska MS Germ. Quart. 2020, c.1535-1540, f.13r.

Much like the previous section, there follows advice for action if the opponent manages to deflect the stab with his hilt.

> "If he becomes aware of the stab and drives high up with his arms and parries with his hilt, then remain standing thus with your hilt before your head, and set the point in below on his neck, or on his breast between both his arms."[21]

These examples combined demonstrate how subtle variations of potential actions are dependent on sensation. Subsequent descriptions of interactions demonstrate a vast number of permutations, but the consistent theme remains - sensing the correct moment to act via the sensation of pressure felt through the weapon.

---

[21] *"wirt er des stichs gewar vnd vert hoch auff mit den armen vnd vor setzt mit dem gehultz So pleib also sten mit deinem gehultz vor deine~ haubt vnd setz im den ort vnden an den hals oder an die prust zwischen seinen paiden armen"* Cod.44.A.8, f.14r. This is the counterpart to the "taking off above", similar to the modern fencing dégagé.

Aptitudes of the princely body: armed combat training within the life-course model of DRP

The ability to derive knowledge of an opponent's intentions did not rest solely upon physical contact of blades and bodies. As has been shown in previous chapters, the tactical considerations of a contest often depend upon the perception of the opponent's strategy and abilities. Chapter Two showed how this functioned in wrestling contests once combatants were in contact and to a limited extent prior to the bodies meeting. Chapter Three showed how the noble *habitus* was trained to organise argumentation in a strategically advantageous sequence in response to the actions of the opponent. The sources on longsword combat make it very clear that the same kind of tactical choices were encouraged to be made based on the physical positions of the opponent prior to actual physical contact.

This is demonstrated in the ways that the Recital of Lichtenauer recommends particular stances from which to begin combat and then appropriate moves to counter the potential strikes from those positions. These stances have names; examples are shown in Figures 21 and 22 below; the Ox (*ochs),* the Plough (*pflug*), the Fool (*alber*) and From the Day (*vom tag*).

Figure 22, Starhemberg Fechtbuch, Cod.44.A.8, f.1v.

Figure 21, *Starhemberg Fechtbuch*, Cod.44.A.8, f.2r.

The text then goes on to describe particular moves that counter or off-set (*versetzen*) these guards; essentially particular strikes which prompt an expected response that can then be used to advantage. This is simple in principle, but complex in practice. Two trained fighters would know which strikes countered which stance, and so adopt the stance which permits that strike in order to prompt an attack which they would then be prepared for. The progression of the contest is therefore based on a trained bodily grammar, where the poses of bodies are "read" as prompts for particular actions; effectively an offer to begin an exchange of blows beginning from these positions. Each fighter must choose whether or not to enter into an exchange on the terms offered by their opponent and then attempt to sense moments of vulnerability while engaged. If unwilling, they could simply keep their distance until their opponent shifted their position. Thus, there is a fundamental association between appearance and meaning; no fighter is ever merely holding a sword but is instead speaking to their opponent from the moment they both become aware of one another, claiming space and time by indicating their immediate bodily potentials. The ability to understand and speak this kind of bodily language comes from training in the intricacies of what happens in the midst of combat. By teaching what each stance led to and the ways in which these actions might be countered, combatants understood bodily positions and orientations as indicative of a series of intentions and pre-prepared responses. Just as the *ars obligatoria* discussed in the previous chapter was a structured verbal contest from a prearranged theoretical position, so too was this kind of combat a form of physical debate that would begin from a chosen stance. Just like a debate, victory was found in combining a sensitivity to the opponent's actions, making the appropriate choice of response, and then actually delivering that response – all skills honed by considered practice.

A person with this training would in effect have been taught a bodily language that was likely pan-European. Knowing the names of the various stances and strikes was a part of this

language, but the quality of a person's training with the weapon would be evident in the way that they responded to the stances or strikes, and so this bodily grammar could be an integral part of a person's *habitus*; the ability to comprehend this martial language serving effectively as an indicator of a person's "quality" in just the same way as language, tastes in food, clothing, or consumption of entertainment.

This kind of bodily grammar combined with kinaesthetic sensitivity appears to be a distinctive feature of combat as described in these fifteenth-century Germanic sources. Although the sources that describe longsword combat are fifteenth century, it is evident that the same habits of movement and martial interaction were a feature of the earliest surviving medieval text on martial arts, Royal Armouries MS i.33, or the Tower Fechtbuch.

The longer tradition of weapon incorporation

Analysis of earlier manuals show that the incorporation of a weapon signalled by its use as a sensory medium was an integral part of martial traditions around the time of DRP's creation, and likely before. As discussed in Chapter Two, there are no combat manuals directly contemporaneous with DRP. The closest in time concerned with armed combat is Royal Armouries MS i.33, a manuscript found in a Franconian monastery in the sixteenth century, which provides detailed guide to unarmoured combat with sword and buckler (a buckler being a small shield usually between 26cm and 30cm in diameter).[22] Known variously known as the Tower Fechtbuch (for previously being held in the Tower of London), the Walpurgis Fechtbuch (for what may be the name of a woman depicted in the manuscript), or the Luitger Fechtbuch (for the name of a cleric referenced in the text) and dated to c.1300, this text is thought by many

[22] For a detailed discussion of this manuscript, see Forgeng, Jeffrey. *The Medieval Art of Swordsmanship,* Royal Armouries, 2018.

modern scholars to give advice for the particular form of combat required by a judicial duel.[23] The text comprises sixty-four vellum pages, often with two illustrations per page and textual commentary on each image, with some discussion of alternative actions that are not depicted. The figures shown are named as the Priest (*sacerdos*) and the Scholar (*scholaris*), and the differences in their clothing assists the reader in understanding which figure is performing which action, particularly as the fighters are not always shown on the same side of the page in some illustrations. Just like the Recital of Lichtenauer, MS i.33 contains what appears to be a mnemonic verse with a prose gloss, suggesting that this type of literary construction was a pre-existing *topos* in the genre. It is also important to note that the text is primarily Latin but contains multiple technical terms in the vernacular German and some hybrid forms (such as *superior langort*), suggesting that the text describes a pre-existing martial system with its own terminology that the author was attempting to render in the Latin. This means that the text is likely indicative of martial practices prior to 1300, into the time of the creation of DRP. Although the sword and buckler found in MS i.33 is not generally associated with the upper classes, the existence of the similarity in techniques strongly imply that incorporation and sensitivity were important aspects of combat taught at the time of DRP's creation, both with established weapon systems such as one-handed swords and shields, and newer ones, like the longsword.

Much like the later longsword manuals, MS i.33 describes various positions in which to begin combat, known in this text as *custodiae* (wards or guards), and these positions are then explored as a place from which to undertake various actions. The very first detailed explanation of a moment of combat in MS I.33 reveals the sensation through the blade is an integral part of the use of this weapons system. The text advises the fighter known in the text as The Priest to

[23] Kellett, Rachel E. "Royal Armouries MS i.33: The Judicial Combat and the Art of Fencing in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-century German Literature", *Oxford German Studies* 41 (2012): pp.32-56.

adopt a stance with his weapon tucked under one arm and his shield extended. In this pose, he must await the attack (as he cannot strike at his opponent without exposing himself), but, when the attack does come, he is told to "fall underneath the sword and shield."[24] This is actually an instruction to cut upwards into the opposing weapon, but not with the intention of merely blocking or knocking it away, but to threaten the opponent's face while maintaining the contact of the weapons, as shown by the two sequential images in Figure 23.

[24] "*Dum ducitur halpschildt cade sub gladium quoque scutum"* MS i.33, f.2r.

Figure 23, Royal Armouries Leeds MS i.33, c.1300, f.2r.

Just as would become the case with the longsword, the reason for the maintenance of contact is to allow the fighter to read his opponent's actions, which the text indicates will take

one of two forms - either a thrust forwards or binding (a movement of the opposing sword by continuous pressure) and stepping forward. In practice, the thrust in this fourteenth-century text is the same as the example given previously for the fifteenth-century longsword combat where the text recommends pushing straight forwards into the face or breast. Although MS i.33 lists some options of either combatant, it is clear that the choices are reliant upon sensing the other's actions, as indicated by the phrase "but he (the Scholar) should take heed of the actions on the part of the Priest, because after the bind the Priest will be the first to act."[25] In order for the Scholar to take heed of what his opponent is doing while their swords are engaged, he must be sensing the pressure that is being applied through the bound swords. What is shown is the binding of the weapons followed by the so-called *shiltslach* technique which requires an active use of the shield to restrict the opponent's hand movements and a cut into the side of the face, shown in below Figure 24.

[25] *"Sed caveat de his que sunt facienda ex parte sacerdotis quia post religationem sacerdos erit prior ad agendum"* MS i.33, f.2v.

Figure 24, Royal Armouries MS i.33, c.1300, f.2v.

This close reading of this interaction demonstrates that, just like the longsword technique described previously, there are no “parries” or any actions in this small set of movements that could be considered purely defensive, but that all motions of the weapon are movements of the body, with an assumed sensory capability. The Priest’s opening stance is taken in order to provoke an attack to which a counter has been learned and this counter is to “fall under” the opponent’s sword and shield, not “to cut with the sword into the opponent’s sword.” The absence of the weapon in the command “to fall under” shows that the weapon is a part of the fighter. Additionally, the purpose of the movement in displacing the attack, threatening the face, and allowing perception of the opponent’s response via the contact of the blades, means that the action is simultaneously defensive, offensive, and sensitive. The cyborg nature of armed combatants is therefore manifest in the comingling of these purposes and the invisibility of the weapon itself in the actions of the fighters.

Mounted Combat: Horsemen and Men-horses

The incorporation of weapons is not the only, nor the most defining feature of the knightly martial identity. Horses were integral to knighthood, shown simply in the root of the French word *chevalier*. A greater understanding of the ways that people and horses were entangled is revealed in a close examination of the practices of accustoming the human to the animal. Chapter VII of DRP gives an example of a specific exercise in the training of mounting horses. Giles writes that “the soldiers are to practise mounting the horses”, and that there was a wooden version of a horse created by the Romans and described by Vegetius that allowed the youths to “be exercised under cover in the winter and in the summer in the field.”[26] The suggestion here seems to be that this was a constant practice, intended to occur regardless of the season or

[26] “*Septio bellatores exercitandi sunt ad ascensiones equorum. Nam vegetius recitat fiebant antiquitus equi lignei ad quos ascendentes iuvenes in heme exercitabantur subtecto estate vero in campo.”* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, ff.119r-119v.

perhaps even outside of military campaigns. Neither was the goal simply to mount the horse or the wooden facsimile, but to be able:

> "to mount those unarmed, then armed and in such a manner to be accustomed to the left and the right and all sides. And there was more. They should dismount those with unsheathed swords. Therefore they should be exercised so much around this in peace that in the tumultuous press that they will mount the horses easily and without delay."[27]

This is a high degree of preparation and gives a rare insight into the kind of training that was required of knights and soldiers outside of military contexts. Giles plainly states that this exercise would take place in peacetime in order that the youth might be prepared when they encountered the chaotic press of battle. It is unclear as to whether or not he meant in the relative peace of the fortified camp or in peacetime in general, but the ability to mount a horse was clearly valued enough to be trained into the highest class of prospective soldier, and so it seems likely that this exercise was common among young princes, nobility, and would-be knights. The choice of a wooden facsimile of a horse is interesting, as it suggests little assumed agency on the part of the horse. For an inanimate object to play the same role so that the trainee might not have to go outside in the cold weather implies that all of the training was on the part of the human in this relationship. In this exercise, all horses were passive and awaiting his mounting, if only he is able to perform it correctly. This is part of a pattern of the domination and incorporation of non-humans and humans alike which forms the central argument in this chapter, but it does not mean that the work of training a horse was irrelevant or unconsidered – it is only invisible in this particular exercise.

---

[27] "*Et primo equos allos ascendebant inermes deinde armati et adeo asuefacti ut a sinistris et a dextris et undique illos ascenderent. Immo quod plus erat evaginatis gladiis condescendebant in illos, intantum ergo circa hoc exercitabantur in pace quod tumultu prelii sine mora defacili ascendebant equos."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, f.119v.

In the same way as this chapter's previous analysis of combat training required a broadening of focus into other sources, an understanding of horse/human relationships requires inclusion of explicit discussions on the subject. Helpfully, there is such a text which dates to the same period as the creation of DRP; *De medicina equorum* by Jordanus Rufus, described as a "knight-farrier" at the Imperial court of Frederick II in the first quarter of the thirteenth century.[28] Jordanus himself died in 1256, but his work was widely read and distributed throughout Europe; it is extant in one hundred and seventy-three manuscripts, translated into eight languages, and is considered a foundational text for a long tradition of veterinary science.[29]

The root of the use of the text in veterinary science also makes it relevant for this discussion of horse/human relationships; the careful positioning of horse care as an overlapping practice with many ideas about human nature and human biology. Jordanus believed strongly in the inherent nobility of horses:

> "Of all the beasts created by God and subjected to human beings, no beast is more noble than a horse, for by this kings and princes are distinguished from humble people."[30]

This passage indicates that Jordanus believed that nobility was an innate quality shared between these animals and certain humans, which placed horses much closer to humans than any other animals. Furthermore, the association of noble humans with these animals was a key

[28] For a detailed overview of the impact of this text within the genre of hippiatric medicine/care, see Harrison, Sonny. *Jordanus Ruffus and the late-medieval hippiatric tradition: Animal-care practitioners and the horse,* PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2018. For detail on the development of human/horse communication in *De medicina equorum*, see Leet, Elizabeth S. "On Equine Language: Jordanus Rufus and Thirteenth-Century Communicative Horsemanship", *Animal Languages in the Middle Ages: Representations of Interspecies Communication,* (Alison Langdon ed) Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, pp. 175-195.
[29] Montinaro, Antonio. "Per La Tradizione Del De Medicina Equorum de Giordano Ruffo (Con Un Elenco Dei Testimoni Manoscritti)", *Medioevo Lettarario d'Italia*, Vol.7, 2010, pp.29–64.
[30] *"Come ce soit chose que entre toutes les bestes qui soient crées de Dieu et qui soient subjetes a humain lignage, nule beste soit plus noble d'un cheval, car par celui li roy, li prince sont conneüz des austres povres gens."* Prévot, Brigitte. *La science du cheval au Moyen Âge: le traité d'hippiatrie de Jordanus Rufus,* Klincksieck, 1992, p.31.

component of their nobility – that the quality of nobility was inherent in horses and that in humans it was (at least partly) a product of their subjection and incorporation of horses.

The closeness of horse and human natures was further demonstrated in the ways that Jordanus believed in the possibility of the transmission of unhelpful emotional states from humans to young horses – in a similar way as young princes and nobles were to be protected from immoral influences (as discussed in Chapter One), the human interacting with a young horse should not approach the horse in anger.

> "No man should get angry with a foal, especially at the beginning, as the horse could take from this bad vices or bad stain that is unsuitable."[31]

The importance of an appropriate emotional state when interacting with a horse speaks to the perception of a horse's emotional similarity and sensitivity to humans, and so the closeness of their nature. Such blending of emotional states was also seen as a quality of adult and trained horses in battles, as an image from *Royal MS 12 F XIII,* known as the *Rochester Bestiary*, created c.1230, shown in Figure 25.

[31] *"Nus hons ne se doit courroucier contre le poulein, especialment au commencement, car il en pourroit prendre aucun mauvés vice ou aucune mauvese tache non convenable."* Prévot, p.34.

Figure 25, *Rochester Bestiary*, Royal MS 12 F XIII, c.1230, f.42v.

The image shows a belief that in the midst of battle, horses might assume the martial desires of their riders and engage one another in combat too. However, the fundamental differences between the species were clear, as was the responsibility of the human to approach the horse in the manner in which it was accustomed. Jordanus wrote that:

> "…one should always be accustomed to touching him simply on his body and legs, until he is steady, submissive, and tamed in such a manner that one can touch his body easily all over, especially the hooves as though shoeing him."[32]

This form of tactile communication is the way in which horses communicate with one another. Horses are social and tactile animals that often engage in mutual grooming (known as allogrooming) with their mouths and teeth, as well as violent bites and kicks to reinforce social

---

[32] *"tourjours soit acoustumez de lui touchier son cors et touz les membres simplement, juques tant qu'il soit simples et humbles et dontez en tele maniere que l'en le puisse touchier seurement par tout le cors, especiaument les piez en maniere de lui ferrer."* Ibid.

relationships and power dynamics.[33] Jordanus's recommendation to adopt a calm and tactile method in training young horses means that he is advising an engagement with the animal on its own terms and in a version of its own language. More modern writers who work on horse training recommend a similar approach, such as making one's body "kinaesthetically legible" to the horse, so that there is an overlapping responsibility for the rider to read the horse's state through contact and for the horse to understand its rider's wishes by the same contact.[34] This is shown in Jordanus' text in the way that he recommends that the young horse be ridden without saddle or spurs.

> "…one must lead him around by hand, both morning and evening, for a number of days, until the young horse goes very well after the person who leads him. After this, he should be ridden without any noise, without a saddle, and without spurs in the gentlest and safest way possible."[35]

Two important points are evident in this passage. Firstly, the process of training the horse acknowledged the individual character of horses as it proceeded according to the responses of the horse itself. This is shown in the lack of a time period for the taming/training process – *par aucuns jours*. Thus, the training is led by each individual horse's responses rather than following a set timetable, much as Giles recommends a general timetable in DRP but permits the child's tutor the freedom to accelerate or slow the programme according to the child's individual development.[36] Secondly, the recommendation to begin without saddle or spurs

---

[33] Feh, Claudia. De Mazières, Jeanne. "Grooming at a preferred site reduces heart rate in horses", *Animal Behaviour,* Vo.46, Issue. 6, December 1993, pp.1191-1194.
[34] Hearne, Vicki. *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by Name*, Knopf,, 1986, p.110.
[35] *"…l'an le doit conduire a la main, le matin et le soir, de ça et de la, par aucuns jours, juques tant que li poulains aille tres bien aprés celui qui le maine. Aprés ce, soit cheveuchez sanz nule noise et sanz selle et sanz esperons le plus legerement et le plus soef que l'an puet."* Prévot, p.37.
[36] "By this method the period of seven years might be shortened or lengthened as found in the diversity of person, for some are more robust in the body at twelve years than others in sixteen. Therefore it is not possible to give a rule with such a definite end point. Somehow this must be left to the judgement of the teacher…" *Huiusmodi septennia sunt abrevianda et eligenda secundum diversitatem personarum, nam alique sunt*

means that Jordanus regarded this kind of equipment as an unwelcome separation of the human and the horse, or indeed, a kind of unnecessary force amplification. By beginning with the fundamental connection between bodies, the human/horse relationship began based upon a clear understanding by both parties of the developing interspecies language. The later equipment of saddles or spurs was a muddying of this communication, but one required for particular tasks – saddles for a combination of human comfort and the ability to strike with the lance without falling, or spurs to make particular commands urgent in the presence of significant distractions (such as the tumult of battle).

To a lesser extent, necessary equipment such as weapons and armour would also potentially confuse the communication between horse and human, but these material technologies were an integral part of chivalric practice, not just for their direct application in the examples above, but for the wider social and cultural meaning of the equipment expressed in its design and decoration. Susan Crane describes an opposition between the material, technological assemblage of the knight and the conscious cross-species relationship between knight and horse, with this supposed opposition contributing to the privileged status of the knight.[37] Yet the argument of this chapter concerning incorporation challenges this concept of opposition. Although the writings of Jordanus are explicitly concerned with the work of the horse trainer, not the work of a knight, the existence and popularity of Jordanus' text means that knights and nobles were not unaware of the work that was done to train horses, nor the sensitive, emotional, and intellectual capacities of horses, merely that it wasn't always relevant to the task at hand. The training work for the subject of this exercise described in DRP and DRM was to be done on the prince's own body so that he might mount the horse, but the horse arrived before him

---

robustiores corpore in xii annis quam alii in xvi, ideo quia de talibus punctalem regulam dare non possumus, aliqua relinquenda sunt iudio pedagogi…" DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XVI, f.71v.

[37] Crane, Susan. "Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern", *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies,* Vol.2, 2011, p.70.

already conditioned to expect to be mounted in multiple ways. Thus, the work of the horse trainer was not unknown to the nobleman or knight in training, but their identity and labour was incorporated into the wider body and bodily practices of the human, as was the knowledge and training of the horse itself. This examination of the text of Jordanus Ruffus shows that the work and knowledge of the horse and its preparation for military work was enfolded within the word "horse", much as a host of knowledge and technique was enfolded in the word "horseman" or "knight".

The terminology applied to soldiers implies that they too were individuals defined by their capabilities; even dismounted and still learning the skill of mounting, an *eques* was still an *eques*. Giles finishes the chapter of DRP concerned with specific skills of soldiers by discussing how some of these desirable capabilities of soldiers are considered more relevant to footmen (*pedites*), or horsemen (*equites*), and some to both, with the examples of stone slinging practice being only appropriate for footmen and the mounting of the horse for horsemen.[38] The word *eques* is derived from *equus* (horse), but is used to mean "horseman", and so the horse is only an aspect of an individual who is coextensive by definition, incorporating the potential of horse even when the horse is not actually present.

However, the horse is not merely a horse either. It is a trained and bred horse, and usually referred to by a more specific title – destrier, courser, palfrey, rouncey, and so on. This distinguishes the horse from a generic animal and marks it as one that has been shaped to be a particular kind of extension of humans, which enabled to them to accomplish particular tasks such as riding at speed or participating in combat. Just as trained rider is a "horse/man", the

---

[38] *"Advertendum tamen quod predictorum exerciciorum quedam sunt magis propria equitatibus quedam peditibus quedam utrisque…Nam ascendere equum est proprium equitatibus, procere lapides cum funda videtur esse proprium peditibus."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter VII, f.119v.

trained horse is a kind of "man/horse" – its synthetic nature expressed via a name, linked to its purpose.

When considering the training of incorporation, there is a crucial distinction between the kinds of incorporation that pertains to objects as there is to animals. To incorporate a sword meant to learn to use it as a medium of sensation and an extension of the body. To incorporate a horse required an awareness of its will and emotional states, even though the work on shaping the horse to be predisposed to incorporation was primarily the work of a horse trainer rather than a knight. The incorporative model was broadly similar in principle, but nuanced in specifics, as the emotional sensitivity shown in the work of Jordanus Rufus demonstrates that to incorporate a souled entity, was distinct from a soulless one. Thus, the inclusion of animal incorporation was an important step on a journey to incorporate and govern assemblages of more complex entities.

Combat was not the only work in which incorporation was clear. The same cybernetically incorporative model is revealed when the focus is broadened to other higher-class activities concerned with non-human and human relations. Hunting represents a fascinating confluence of attitudes towards the non-humans of the medieval world, situated within landscape.

Hunting: A confluence of human and non-human

Hunting was one of the most popular activities of the medieval upper-classes.[39] Although not mentioned specifically in DRP, the quantity of material that discussed hunting, the expense incurred on hunting birds or dogs, and the wealth of art that depicted or described hunting in

[39] There is a rich body of work on medieval hunting. For an overview of the subject, including non-aristocratic practices, see Almond, Richard. *Medieval Hunting*, The History Press, 2011. An earlier perspective and discussions of gendered identities within hunting is found in Goldberg, Eric J. *In the Manner of the Franks: Hunting, Masculinity, and Kingship in Early Medieval Europe*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020 and the appearance of hunting in literature is addressed by Marvin, William Perry. *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature*, D.S Brewer, 2006. For broader but more theoretically engaged discussions on human/animal relationships see, Steel, Karl. *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages,* The Ohio State University Press, 2011.

various forms that was created in the middle ages makes it hard to deny that it occupied an important role in the activities of nobility and royalty. A prime source for exploring hunting as a nexus of attitudes toward humans and non-humans is the popular hunting manual, *Livre de Chasse* was created c.1390 by Gaston III, Count of Foix (known as Gaston Fébus) and became exceedingly popular in fifteenth-century France.[40] An English translation of the first part of the text, known as the *Master of Game* was translated by Edward of Norwich in the early years of the fifteenth century.[41]

Although there were earlier texts concerned with hunting, the *Livre de Chasse* (henceforth LDC) is regarded as a focal point for previously existing attitudes, taking the form of a practical guide with many technical details rather than exemplifying a particular kind of poetic or literary genre as many previous works had. It thus functions in the same way as the fencing manuals discussed above; although it is not of the same precise time period, it expresses ideas and values from earlier times by virtue of its technical and practical focus. To put it another way, the specific practices involved in hunting were largely unchanged from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, which can be seen from earlier visual images or textual references to matters discussed more explicitly in the LDC. Thus, the text can serve as a useful guide to attitudes towards animals with a wider focus than instructions on riding. Here, there is a broadening of subject matter to include animals as part of the hunter, such as hunting hounds or hawks, as well as the game animals themselves. The discussion of animals as tools or extensions of a hunter as well as those that are the quarries of the hunter allow greater understanding of the ways in which non-humans were capable of being incorporated. Specifically, this section draws

---

[40] Forty-four extant manuscripts have been identified, the largest group of which is in the BNF, Paris. The most well known is MS Fr.616. See Vernier, Richard. *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fėbus, Count of Foix 1331-1391,* Boydell & Brewer, 2008, p.130.
[41] Originally created between 1406-1413, twenty-seven manuscripts survive. Citations are from the published translation, Edward of Norwich. *The Master of Game* (William A. Baillie-Grohman and F. N. Baillie-Grohman trans), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

together the discussion of incorporation in the chapter as a whole in a discussion of hunting as a performed embodiment of princely power through the incorporation of human and animal sensoria as well as the symbolic capacities of landscape.

A prime example of the way that the text regards animals as a potential part of a human is in its discussions of hounds. For the LDC, hounds are integral to the existence of the hunter. The prologue of LDC lists game animals that it will be discussing and explains that it will be leaving aside discussions of lions, leopards, or buffalo because they were seldom chased by hounds. For the same reason, he does not discuss much of birds or fur-bearing animals smaller than a rabbit, preferring to focus on animals that were "hunted commonly or willingly by dogs.[42]" The suggestion seems to be that a proper hunt required the use of dogs, and that those that did not were somehow lesser.

The texts divides animals into two categories, *douces* and *mordanz*, meaning literally "gentle" or "biting", referring to animals that are herbivourous or carnivorous predators. The division is the basis for Fėbus's definitions of the "nobility" of the animals - essentially a hierarchy of which is more preferable to hunt. The claim of the text is that the gentler, herbivorous animals such as the deer, were the noblest. The rationale is not explicitly stated, but Hannele Klemettilä argues that this was a part of a shift in attitudes towards hunting, influenced by a campaign by the Church to champion the hunting of deer over "diabolic bears, based on an understanding that a vegetarian diet was more holy.[43] This accords with the advice in DRP regarding man's rational control over his appetites where Giles argues that rational control of the appetitive impulse is a fundamental part of the development of a noble child, and

[42] *"Metray par chapitres de toutes natures de bestes, et de leurs manieres, et vie, que l'en chasce communement. Car aucunes gens chascent lyons, lyepards, cheuviaulx, et buefs sauvages, et de cela ne vuiel ie pas parler, car poy les chasce l'en, et pou de chiens sont qui les chascent. Maiz des autres bestes que l'en chasce communement, et chiens chascent voulentiers."* MS 616, fol. 13v.
[43] Klemettilä, Hannele. *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages,* Routledge, 2015, p.30.

that uncontrolled enjoyment of delectable pleasures was the preserve of animals.[44] If these suggestions by Klemettilä are correct, then this is an example of judging animals and their nature by the same standards as humans. Deer were thought to be purer and nobler because they exercised a noble restraint in not eating meat, and so were themselves safer to eat. This also reinforces the idea that to eat a particular creature was to ingest some of its characteristics, and so by eschewing the flesh of predators with their uncontrolled lust for meat, the human avoided polluting themselves with the irrationality of the uncontrolled appetite. By contrast, the wild boar was associated with a high number of negative emotional traits that were often associated with humanity, such as pride and cruelty. The main distinguishing feature of the boar was that it was prone to aggressively charging with little regard for its own safety, as opposed to deer which used guile to trick and avoid the hunters and their dogs. The rationality of the deer was the trait by which Gaston Fėbus's judged it a more noble beast to hunt, as the ability to reason was an indication of a more human soul.

Related texts to LDC order their animals differently, but for similar reasons, and the reasoning allows us to understand the purpose of the hunt more clearly. In the slightly earlier *L'art de Venerie* (LV) by William Twitti and in Edward of Norwich's translation of LDC, known as *Master of Game* (MG), the preference is given to the hare. This may have been due to the different availability of game in different territories. Both LV and MG were created in England, where the numbers of deer had declined steadily over the course of the thirteenth century.[45] However, both of these texts produced similar rationales for the primacy of hares. LV states that the hare carries a particular kind of fat, referred to as *grece*, that is usually only carried by non-ruminant animals, that it produces distinctive pellet droppings called *crotez*, and that it ruminates (chews cud) - but that there is no other animal that does all of these things

[44] See DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter VIII and Book II, Part II, Chapter XVI.
[45] Klemettilä. *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages,* Routledge, 2015, p.27.

together. MG is more expansive in its details, stating that hares are available to hunt all year. This is due to their fat reserves giving them insulation in the winter, although MG does not explicitly state this.[46] The cud-chewing nature of the hare means that the hare will be above ground in the morning and in the evening, and so give more opportunities for hunting, as opposed to deer hunting which can be spoiled by rain at the wrong time. MG also states that the pellet-like droppings of the hare and its lightness of foot make tracking more challenging for the hounds. There is also a long explanation of the different running habits of the hare and great praise for its stamina, which furthers the implication that a longer hunt is desirable.[47] LV argues for the primacy of the deer, specifically the red deer, for all of the same reasons; that this animal created a long and difficult hunt for the dogs.[48] The shared reasoning for these conflicting opinions express the features of a desirable hunt, including the opportunity to hunt often and at any time, the hunt taking up a lot of the day, and it being an activity that prioritises the hounds either following a scent or actively chasing the quarry.

The actual moment of the animal's capture and death is not discussed in much detail, and so was evidently not the most enjoyable or desirable part of the process. By making explicit these rationales for ideal hunts, it would appear that the most important part of the hunt was the riding through the forest with the dogs either tracking a scent or actively chasing the quarry.

---

[46] It is also stated in LV that individual hares can be either male or female, and that therefore one cannot use hunting horn signals in the same way as one might with other animals. Exactly why this make the hare a good quarry is left unclear, although the supposed gender shifting preventing horn signals presumably means that the particular horn signals usually used to encourage the hounds to follow particular animals are less applicable if their prey is able to shift gender whilst being chased, thereby making the hare a more challenging quarry. "*Et a la foithe il est male, et a la foithe female, et par cele encheson homme ne poet nent corner mene de ly com l'en fest des autres bestes, com le cerf, sengler, et de lou." The Middle English Text of The Art of Hunting by William Twiti, with a Parallel Text of the Anglo-Norman L'Art de Venerie by William Twiti, Edited from Cambridge Gonville and Caius College, MS 424/448,* (David Scott-McNab ed), Universitätsverlag Winter Heidelberg, 2009, p.3.
[47] Edward of Norwich. *The Master of Game* (William A. Baillie-Grohman and F. N. Baillie-Grohman trans), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005, pp.19-20.
[48] *"…il a plus de sagesces et de malices en garentir sa vie que mille autre beste ne homme, car il n'y a nul si bon veneur ou monde qui peust penser les malices et subtilitez que un cerf scet faire, ne n'est nul si bon veneur ne si bons chiens qui moult de foys ne faillent bien a prendre le cerf a force, et ce est par son sens et par sa malice et par sa subtilite."* MS 616, f.18v-19.

Another way of putting this is that it is not so important that the prince successfully catches the quarry as it is that he spends time being in the process of hunting. A simplistic view of a hunt is that its purpose is the death of the quarry, but a noble or royal hunt was evidently primarily a social practice. The hunting prince embodied a particular form of extended body, whether or not he found his quarry, and so the manuals that guide the practice prioritise long stretches of hunting activity and de-emphasise the kill – an event which stops the hunt. The body of the hunting prince becomes submerged in the practice, extended by hunting weapons, tools, horse, and other similarly equipped subordinate hunters, and juxtaposed with the landscape.

Similarly, the existence of the hunting manuals shows that there was a need for a trained understanding of the links between appearance and meaning in hunting, not only practical knowledge. Combat manuals teach this in the context of the meaning of different bodily stances and spatial relationships, and riding manuals in knowing the character of the horse with which one will become entangled, whereas the hunting manuals teach the same lesson by their focus on animals that permit long hunts and the use of dogs.

Most importantly for this chapter, hunting texts mirror the fencing and riding manuals in the way that they consider bodily incorporation. In the fencing manuals, the weapon becomes an aspect of the combatant. The entire operation of the hunt functions in a similar manner. The above points about how hunters of this time considered game animals to have human or human-like characteristics is another expression of the way that domesticated creatures could be incorporated into the hunter's person, and nowhere is this more evident than in discussions of the hounds. Hounds were such an integral aspect of the hunt that Fėbus uses their involvement as one of the chief manners of distinguishing between different types of animals. He also shows his belief that hounds were the main method of hunting by the large disparity in the amount of text that he uses to discuss hunting with hounds in comparison to other methods, such as shooting with bows or using predatory birds.

Crucially for a prince, the theme of incorporation also extends to the other humans involved in the hunt, who act as different aspects of the hunt leader's sensing body. Fėbus describes the day of the hunt, beginning with the assembly at which food and drink are served. Here already, there are invisible, incorporated humans acting as servitors and providers of food and drink. However, the purpose of the hunt for a nobleman was to find the greatest quality of hart possible, and so, while the lord had his morning refreshments, assistant hunters and their attendants would be engaging in the *queste*, examining the local area for tracks, droppings, and other signs that informed them of the size, number, and location of the harts that might be in the area. They would then return with reports, and it would be the lord who would then decide the next course of action. In this way, the lesser hunters acted as the lord's sensing organs, alert to the signs of the quarry, but deferring any decisions to their lord.

The use of the hunting horn is an interesting example of the way in which men and animals alike were seen as aspects of the hunting lord. Hunting texts often give descriptions of the various signals that a horn might be used to give. Hunting horns only had the ability to make a single note, and so the variation in the blowing of the horn is rhythm, blowing combinations of short and long notes.

As an example, when having found the hart with your lymer (scent-hound), LV states:

"You should blow after the meet two blasts, and if your hounds do not come to you as swiftly as you might wish, you should blow four blasts to hasten the men to you and to warn the men that the hart is up. Then you should recall your hounds three times."[49]

The horn thus functioned as a non-verbal communication tool for the practical control of both dogs and assistant hunters. Each could be summoned by particular horn signals intended

---

[49] "*Vous devez corner aprés le moete deux mootz, et si vos chenes ne vignent mye a vostre volunté si hastement come vous voldrez, vous devez corner iiij mootz pur hastier les gentz vers vous, et pur garner le gent que la cerf est meu. Donqe devez vous rechater sur voz chenes troiz foith.", The Art of Hunting,* p.6.

to communicate the lord's superior awareness of the hunt's progress and alert them to the need for their particular action. Although the other hunters are humans and have their own specialist knowledge, they are not described here as having the same levels of agency as the hunter to whom this text is directed. They bring their reports at the commencement of the hunt, and they presumably control the various other groups of horses or hounds that are specific to each part of the hunt and release them at specified moments, but they are still summoned as needed and remain relatively invisible in the hunting texts. In this way, the distinction between the hounds and the assistant hunters is blurred, in that both are auxiliaries of the Hunter, functional extensions of the hunting body. This does not diminish their nature and personal agency. There is no explicit description of lower-rank hunters in any of these texts, but their relative absence aside from ways of signalling them in the same manner as the hounds suggests that they are considered incorporated, playing their roles in the work of the hunt without much active management. The hounds require more time and space in the text, as they are less rational or easily controllable. Despite their animal nature, the hounds can appear somewhat human in some modes of interaction. This is seen in the ways that a dog might be addressed verbally, which appears in many of the recensions and translations of LAV at the moment when the hare is seen.

> "When you see the hare, if the hounds are weary and do not want to run voluntarily, you should say *Avaunt, sir, avaunt!* And if they have great desire to chase and spill far from you, you should say another term *Hou, mon ami, hou! Swef, mon amy, swef!* And if he should find where he (the hare) has been, if he is named Beaumond (or Richier) *Oyez! Beaumont the Strong! Find the coward with the short tail!"*[50]

[50] "*Quant vous devez querre le levre, si voz chenes soient las et ne voillent mye currer volunteres, vous devez dire Avant, sire, avaunt! Et s'ils eyent grant volunté de currer et ils soy aloynment de vous, vous [devez] dire un altre parole: Hou, mon amy, hou! Swef, mon amy, swef! Et si le chen trove de luy la ou [il] ad esté, s'il eit a noun Bemound (ou Richier) Oyez! A Beaumon le vaillant, pur qe quide trover le coward ové le court cow!"*, *The Art of Hunting,* p.8.

This passage shows that the hounds were not interchangeable, but had specific names, personalities, and were thought to have the ability to comprehend speech. The use of terms such as *sir*, *mon ami*, and epithets such as “the strong”, suggests genuine affection and respect for the hounds, but also that there is a practice of anthropomorphism at work as a corollary of the incorporation of the hound, just as earlier in this chapter the incorporation of the horse was shown alongside the blending of the emotional states and desires of their riders.

The idea that the hunt was also an extended manifestation of the prince’s body is seen in the way that Fėbus discusses other forms of hunting, such as by bows or by hawking; that there is nothing innately wrong with any of the methods of hunting, but that they each have their place. Some, such as using nets and traps, were suited to situations where large numbers of animals need to be caught quickly for food or for control of pests. Others, such as the use of bows or crossbows, could be more appropriate for women or lower classes, or hawking, which might be more suited to women or clergy.[51] The overall theme of these opinions is that everything has a particular place defined by the rationale for its use. The same reasoning is often applied to discussions of the body, such as the advice in DRP for not waving one’s hands while speaking, as speaking is to be accomplished with the mouth and not the limbs.[52] This is effectively Aristotle’s idea of the sense organs having their “proper objects” extended beyond faculties and into social organisation.

Yet this is not the extent of the ramifications of this idea. It has been shown that the hunting prince functions as an extended body, incorporating animals and humans as subordinate aspects with specific functions according to their nature. As will be now explored, there is an equivalent

---

[51] This is a generalisation of a popular debate; for discussion see Klemettilä, p.48, Oggins, Robin S. *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England,* Yale University Press, 2004, and Cummins, John. *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988.
[52] “*Sicut ergo habent in disciplinatos gestus qui cum volunt alios audire ora tenent aperta sic sunt in disciplinati secundum gestus, qui cum volunt loqui extendunt pedes vel crura vel nimis spissum movent brachia vel erigunt humores vel faciunt alia que ad locutionem nichil deserviunt.”* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.70r.

metaphorical dependence within DRP on the matching of form to function in animalia to justify the organisation of domestic environments. In the following section, this chapter will consider how this dependence on nature, ultimately ordained by God, reveals the prince not merely as a cyborg but as a cybernetic organism, governing his incorporated aspects just as he rules his own physical body.

The *Domus* as Natural Society

Although there might appear to be an aporia between ideas of the rule of a hunt and the rule of a domestic environment, they were in fact manifestations of the same thing; a natural society, created by God, with each thing designed for its needs. A key section of DRP on this subject reads:

> "But as the family or the house is a certain community and that it is a natural community, if we wish to define the house, it is to be considered how man should hold himself to be communicative and social. It is to be known that man is beyond other animals, and is seen to need in four ways, and from these four it is possible to prove that he is naturally communicative and social. The first way is taken by the need for food. The second from clothes which cover. The third from the putting off of restraints by which man is freed from enemies. The fourth is from learning and conversation by which we teach."[53]

Essentially DRP argues that man's nature requires more work than that of animals, and so it is necessary for people to live in communities so that the work can be shared, and all people survive. Interestingly, the comparisons given are always in reference to animals, saying that simpler beasts can eat either simple plants, or have teeth and claws than enable them to eat

---

[53] *"Sed cum familia sive domus sit communitas qaedam et sit communitas naturalis si de domo determinare volumus. Videndum est quomodo se hominum habeat ad esse communicatum et sociale. Sciendum est quod homo ultra alia animalia quatuor indigere videtur, ex quibus quadruplici via venari possumus, ipsum naturaliter esse communicatum et sociale. Prima via summitur ex victu quo homo indiget. Secunda ex vestitu quo tegitur. Tercia ex terminatione prohibentium per quam ab hostibus liberatur. Quarta ex disciplina et sermone per que instruimur."* DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter I, f.47v.

other animals raw flesh, and so do not need to butcher or cook their food. For clothing, animals are given fur or feathers as they need it. For protection, animals have horns, teeth, claws, or a certain swiftness to evade predators. These features of the animals' bodies allow them to do the work that they need for survival.[54]Yet this is a text about kingship, so why the reliance on animalia?

In this section of the text, Giles lays the foundation for specific and detailed advice on the governing of a prince's household, and subsequently, the ruling of a realm. With this section involving animals and the natural world, Giles argues for considering all the creations of mankind as being an expression of the natural world, ranging from physical creations such as tools, clothing, and buildings, to the metaphysical constructions of human society. Just as in the earlier chapter on academia, which argued for a learned ability to abstract the knowledge of physicality into conceptual interactions, DRP presents a natural and bodily basis for the structure of society. Thus, the behaviour of animals and their interactions with and subordination to humans was simply another expression of nature. By making the argument that humans form societies in order to divide and share labour in the way that animal capabilities enable them function in their environment, Giles positions the stratification of human labour as aspects of nature also. The teeth of a lion enable it to hunt and feed, and the nature of a human who is strong but not intellectual enables him to serve his betters in manual labour. Thus, when the prince who reads DRP thinks about the role that awaits him as king, he will understand the existence of the monarchy as the expression of divinely-ordained nature, demonstrated in myriad ways and scales in his environment. He might gaze up at the stars and think about the ways that the heavens were above the earth, or see a tree and think how the roots, branches, and leaves all served the tree in particular ways. However, the one constant in

[54] See the passages following that cited above, DRP, Book II, Part I, Chapter I, ff.47v-48v.

his environment was his own body, with all its senses and limbs that worked to move him, feed him, and interact with others. In many aspects of his education, the prince was shown repeatedly that there could be little distinction between the physical and the metaphysical; the same principle was at work when he felt the shifting pressure of a wrestling opponent against his arm or the resistance to a sword engagement through his weapon, as it was when a snake startled his horse, when he shifted between memories in the construction of an argument, or an assistant hunter brought him a report of a stag's tracks. The order of the prince's education, from the bodily to the conceptual, meant that everything could be understood by reference to bodily sensation.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the training of medieval combatant reflects an understanding that inanimate objects could function as extensions of the body. Weapons and tools modify the nature of the individual who uses them. DRP makes it plain that this deliberately blurred attitude towards the use of tools and instruments was not confined to the physical but was another part of the basis for attitudes towards human society. In Book II, Part III, Chapter I, Giles begins to discuss the ruling of the household and the treating of servants. Firstly, it states:

> "For in the other arts, such as the arts of smithing and weaving, they have their own instruments, and through this they accomplish their actions. So it is that the governance of the house requires its own instruments so that its work might be completed…thus he who wishes to deliver the business of the governance of the house ought to determine of buildings, of possessions, and of money."[55]

[55] "*Nam sicut cetere artes ut ars fabrilis et textoria habent sua organa per que perficiunt actiones suas. Sic et gubernatio domus requirit sua organa per que opera sua complere possint … Sic volens trader noticiam de gubernatione domus determinare debet de edificiis possessionibus et nummismatibus."* DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter I, f.75r.

This shows that Giles aimed to teach the work of ruling in the same terms as someone teaching a practical craft. The difference in this passage is that the tools of the trade are not solely physical as a hammer or an anvil but are more categories of objects. The text goes on to say: "…for as possessions, house, and monies are instruments of the governance of the house, then each servant is a kind of instrument and each instrument is a kind of servant. For, following the Philosopher, an instrument is a kind of soulless servant, and a servant is a kind of souled instrument…"[56]

This makes explicit what has been hinted at in the texts on horsemanship and hunting. This form of habitus saw the development of skills with objects such as combat training, smithing, weaving, the organisation of possessions, buildings, and finance, and the management of human workers, as all the same category of knowledge. It also demonstrates how this kind of ontological scheme conceived of all things as essentially the same kind of thing, only distinguished by the grade of soul that the thing possessed and that soul's ability to dominate the souls of others. Giles makes this clear in a slightly later passage where he further exemplifies souled and soulless instruments with an example of a ship's rudder and oars as soulless instruments, but the rowers as souled instruments.[57] The Greek term for a steersman is *kybernetes*, from which the word "cybernetics" is derived, further reinforcing this chapter's choice to conceive of the prince as a cybernetic entity. The prince is cybernetic in the classical sense that he is the steering force behind the work of these human instruments, and also in the modern sense in that his body is extended and augmented by the nature of his incorporation of these subordinates.

---

[56] "*…nam posessiones domus et numismata sunt organa gubernationis domus qua libet ergo servus est quoddam organum et quodlibet organum est quidam servus, nam secundum philosophum, organum est quidam inanimatus servus et servus est quoddam animatum organum…*" DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter I, f.75r

[57] "*…ut in arte gubernativa navium, tanque organum inanimatiim est gubernaculum sive remus, tanque animatum est ibi prorarius sive renugator."* DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter II, f.75v.

The prince can incorporate and be extended by these subordinate humans as he is ontologically distinct from them. In an important passage, Giles writes:

> "…it is appropriate for the instruments of the house to be ordered and that inferior instruments, as soulless, are moved and served by instruments that are superior by their soul."[58]

The passage goes on to describe a simile of Aristotle's, which discusses how musical instruments do not play themselves or combs comb by themselves, the implication being that things which are tools by nature, soulless or not, require a guiding force in the form of a superior entity. The section concludes:

> "…chiefs and lords require servants and attendants, and it follows that by their leadership they might move soulless instruments or instruments that lack reason, so that they might complete their work. It is shameful therefore, as set down in the order of the universe that the absolute highest might labour in dirt, but it is a law of the universe that the higher might operate in the dirt through those of the middle. (*per media).* The highest therefore in whichever business are seen to be the chiefs and the lords. At the lowest are soulless instruments. The remedies *(medici)* are attendants and servants who are ordinary souled instruments. It is inappropriate moreover for chiefs and lords themselves to be preparers of tables or porters or any other such practice, but it is more appropriate that this be accomplished by common attendants."[59]

The terminology here is significant, specifically the use of the word *media* to refer to common servants. The primary modern usage refers to things that are modes of communication

---

[58] *"…oportet organa domus ordinata esse et organa inferiora ut inanimata sunt movenda et administranda per prgana superiora…"* DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter II, f.75v.

[59] *"Ideo domini et architectores indigent ministris et servis et secundum eorum ductionem moveant organa inanimata vel organa carencia ratione ut opus proprium implere possint. Indignum est enim secundum ordinem universi ut suprema immediate administrent in fima sed lex universali est ut in fima administrentur a supremis per media. Suprema autem in quolibet negoto videntur esse architectores et domini. Infima vero sunt organa inanimata. Medici vero sunt ministri et servi qui sunt media organa animata. Indignum est autem architectores et dominos per seipsos esse preperatores mensarum vel esse hostiarios vel aliqua alia exercere talia sed congruencius est hic per medios ministros efficere."* ibid.

or channels by which information travels. The choice of Giles to use this particular word, and then take the time to explain how servants separate the high from the work of the low, shows there was more to this choice of word than simply indicating common servants. Just like weapons, horses, and hounds, humans were potential methods of operating at a remove from physical reality.

Conclusion: The Actualisation of Ontological Distinction

The evidence assembled in this chapter demonstrates that the noble or princely body was one that operated via various media, and potentially at a considerable remove from the physical body. The fifteenth-century manuals that describe armed combat include all of the same principles and techniques that are espoused in the practice of wrestling and appear in many of the same texts. The key difference is distance, as armed combat requires the domination of other bodies at a remove from one's own. Because of the physical separation, the visual senses play a more prominent role in judging the conduct of the opponent than the strong use of touch, vestibular, and proprioceptive sense integral to wrestling. As the manuals make clear in the central position given to identifying various body poses and the forms of movement that they facilitated, practical knowledge augmented sensation, just as awareness of rhetorical strategies discussed in the previous chapter facilitated a more nuanced and detailed awareness of argumentation strategies. Thus, it can be understood that sensitivity and dominance at a distance was a key aspect of a princely body, and that martial training was a common manifestation of this principle, often more widely applied.

Key to understanding this idea of embodiment at a distance is to understand how the princely body was trained to incorporate non-human objects into itself. The combat manuals show that inanimate objects such as weapons could operate as sensing extensions of the body, detecting pressure or the lack of it to inform the combatant's actions. Arguably of more

importance is the relationship between the knight and a horse. Texts which are concerned with hunting and riding demonstrate a utilitarian attitude towards non-humans, in that they work as tools and as creatures with their own will. This is not to say that princes and nobles had a casual attitude towards animals. What it reveals is that they had a graded attitude towards all creatures which assigned them value according to perceptions of their intended function, and that this value system included humans. This is also not to say that those with this habitus had no emotional responses to human or non-human suffering. It is merely that they were encouraged to use their rationality ahead of their emotional considerations, as they were in all things. Indeed, if princes never had any feeling for the suffering of the people or animals that they made use of, there would be no need for texts such as DRP to remind them that suffering was a fundamental part of their world and a constant presence in their work towards the common good.

What is also very clear from these analyses is how many of the skills taught to princes were effectively intended to effectively naturalise incorporated humans and non-humans. This is because they were enfolded into the co-extensive princely body. The passages of DRP that are concerned with the household make it clear that this process is at work in both domestic concerns and wider conceptions of governing large realms. At this point it is worth remembering that DRP is a text that addresses itself to both the prince and to others of lower rank so that they understand correct behaviour, both of themselves and their rulers. It is as important for the prince to know his place as it is that those who are below the prince in status are content to stay there.

If the advice of DRP is followed, both the prince and his immediate subjects would have a conception of society where to disobey their superiors was not merely an act of rebellion but was also an affront to the laws of nature and an injury to the body of the king. Such a perspective is inevitable when the nature of existence is considered to manifest in all aspects of existence,

and when an authority figure is thought to embody his realm. Giles more overtly links political action with metaphysical conceptions in a later work, *De ecclesiatica potestate,* where he writes that sin is when the body "rebels against the soul…whom is it appointed to serve."[60] Unpacking the conflation of bodily existence, political organisation, and universal principles is vital for modern society to grasp the way in which earlier periods regarded social disorder, treason, and rebellion. Giles writes of the natural way in which a limb springs to defend the body when threatened, likening it to how the people of ancient Rome willingly defended their polis with their lives. From within this world, rebellion is not just an injury to the body of the king, but an attack on the king's body by a part of the king's body; akin to a person's hand gaining a mind of its own and attempting to choke its owner.

This chapter has argued that the prince was a cybernetic entity, and an entity with an ontological difference from his subordinates. The origin of this difference lies at the heart of the project of DRP. As argued in Chapter 1, the prince had the potential for rule from before his birth, shown in the care given to the choice of mother and the timing and environmental conditions present in the process of his conception. However, potential is not the extent of the construction of kings, hence the program of education that DRP lays out. The work undertaken on behalf of the prince until adulthood was intended to shape his body and self to be an ontologically superior entity capable of incorporating all manner of subjects, an actualisation of his God-given potential. The following chapter will argue that the defining virtue that enabled this incorporation was prudence (*prudentia).* As will be shown, this term had a far broader semantic range than the modern meaning. More importantly, it was a virtue which relied upon knowledge, memory, and judgement, and so needed to be trained into the body. This chapter has sketched out the ways in which the practical physical training of the prince

[60] Cf Rigby, Stephen. "Aristotle for Poets: Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* as Theodicy of Privilege", *The Chaucer Review* , Vol. 46, No. 3, 2012, p.273.

habituated them to particular ways of using their physicality, while also incorporating humans and non-humans into extended bodies. The final chapter will explore this at a wider scale, tying together themes from self-rule, the rule of a military body, and the rule of a regnal body.

Chapter 5 - The Perfect King: An Embodiment of Prudence

This final chapter examines Giles's concept of an ideal adult king, with a strong focus on the virtue of prudence (*prudentia*). The chapter advances two main arguments. First: Giles's body politic is not only an idea that likens the individual body to the realm but one that appears at multiple scales of rule. I argue that ideas of the regimen of the body were mirrored in houses, hunts, armies, and cities, as well as kingdoms and that the king's body held all these scales simultaneously. His carefully constructed regal *habitus* was both an end of his education and a means that enabled his subjects to live virtuous lives, according to the will of God. Secondly, the concept of *prudentia* as a ruling meta-virtue means that prudent rulership was tailored to each specific context, rendering the ruler's actions at each moment distinct and not resolvable into simple analogies. For example, the organisation of a military force might be informed by the mechanics and operation of a human body, but the specific goals and capabilities of an army required a distinct form of *prudentia*. This is much like the operation of the senses that the early training of the body demands, where the interpretation of sensations shifts according to context. It is also shown in the varying levels of distance that a king must be from the actions that his extended body takes. In a military force, the commander must be present within the force, yet not take an active part in the fighting, regarding the different types of soldier as tools for specific work. In the ruling of a kingdom, this ruling distance is far greater. The king must embody *prudentia* and so be as distant from the implementation of acts as possible, relying on his chosen advisers to enact his will.

Before outlining these two arguments, this chapter first examines the prime role of *prudentia* in self-governance by discussing Giles's model of the virtues, passions, and manners of an individual. From here the chapter will move to presenting the chapter's main arguments: first, the consistency of the idea of ruled spaces as an extended set of bodily analogies, and

second, that *prudentia* worked as meta-virtue with variations depending on the scale of the extended body. Finally, the chapter will discuss the ramifications of these specific forms of *prudentia* within nested scales of bodily management for understanding the temporalities of the kingly body. The chapter thus closes by considering a sense of time and its production during a king's pedagogical development.

Self-governance and the Ends of Kings

Virtues

The ideal king of DRP was an embodiment of prudence, one of the cardinal virtues in the writings of Aristotle and in later medieval interpretations.[1] This is clearly stated in the section of DRP which defines the virtues and their relative importance. First, Giles describes twelve different virtues (largely following Aristotle) and their hierarchy as pertains to the business of kingship. These virtues are *prudentia*, *iusticia*, *fortitudo*, *temporancia*, *honoris amativa*, *magnanimitas, largitas, magnificentia, mansuetudo, veritas, affabilitas,* and *eutrapelia*.[2] The virtues are described in this order, beginning with prudence and Giles then indicates that there is a hierarchy of virtues, with four so-called cardinal virtues. *Prudentia* is described as being the foremost amongst these cardinal virtues, as it rules the others, followed by *iusticia*, *fortitudo*, and *temporancia*.[3] There follows a description of how *prudentia* rules moral virtues, as moral virtues have a particular goal and prudence is the means by which a

---

[1] Aristotle defines a virtue in both moral and teleological terms: "as excellence or virtue in a man will be the disposition which renders him a good man and also which will cause him to perform his function well." Aristotle. *Nicomachean Ethics* (H. Rackham trans). Loeb Classical Library 73. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926, p.91. For transformations of *phronesis, prudentia,* and prudence in medieval thought, see Payer, Pierre J. "Prudence and the Principles of Natural Law: A Medieval Development." *Speculum*, vol. 54, no. 1, 1979, pp. 55–70, and Aubert-Baillot, Sophie. "De La Φρόνησις à La 'Prudentia." *Mnemosyne*, vol.68, no.1, 2015, pp. 68–90.

[2] "*Philosophus circa finem ii ethicorum preter prudentiam et iusticiam enumerat decem virtutes morales, videlicet fortitudinem, temperatiam, honoris amativam, magnanimitatem, largitatem, magnificientiam, mansuetutidinem, veritatem affabilitatem, et eutropoliam…"* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter III, f.14v.

[3] "*Rursus qua prudentia est principalior omnibus aliis, cum sit directiva omnium aliarum…"* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter V, f.16v.

person judges their actions in relation to their end.[4] The particular kind of *prudentia* which Giles explains in his discussions on self-rule is termed *prudentia singula,* although this term only appears towards the end of the text when other forms of *prudentia* are explored.

In his description of how virtues operate in humans, Giles shows that he is as concerned with the formation of an adult's *habitus* (in the medieval sense of the word) as he was when discussing children by laying out a model of the operation of the soul, specifically the powers of the soul (*potentiae*).[5] These are divided into categories: natural, cognitive and sensitive, appetitive, and intellectual. The power to eat, grow, and reproduce are natural powers, as they are shared with plants. For the cognitive and sensitive powers, Giles writes that this includes "sight, taste, touch, and those which we share with beasts."[6] The appetitive is a separate thing, a form of desire associated with these other powers. Giles then describes how the appetite for sensation (*appetitus sensitivuus*) is called sensuality, which is shared with animals. The intellectual power, being the ability to think and reason, is specific to humans, as is the intellectual appetite (*appetitus intellectivum*) which Giles names *voluntas* or will.[7]

---

[4] "*Est enim prudentia virtutum moralium directiva. Nam virtutes morales dese inclinant in finem sibi convenientem ut temperantia inclinat in sobrietatem et in detestationem venereorum. Sed non sufficit inclinare in finem debitum temperantie vel infinem aliarum virtutum moralium nisi sciamus quom possumus consequi talem finem, quod sit per prudentiam."* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter VI, f. 16v.

[5] Although the term *habitus* is used in this thesis in the sense that Bourdieu described, the medieval concept of *habitus* was an actively discussed elaboration of Aristotle's ideas on moral character. See discussion in the thesis introduction and in Nederman, Cary, J. "Nature, Ethics, and the Doctrine of 'Habitus': Aristotelian Moral Psychology in the Twelfth Century", *Traditio,* Vol. 45, 1989-1990, pp.87-110.

[6] "*Potentie vero cognitive sensitive sunt visus, gustus, tactus et talia cum quibus communicamus cum brutis.*" DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter I, f.13r.

[7] "*Nam quidam appetitus est in homine in quo non communicat cum brutis, ut appetitus sequens intellectum nominetur voluntas secundum quem modum loquendi bruta habent sensualitatem et appetitum sensitivuum, sed non habent voluntatem id est appetitum intellctivum."* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter I, f.13r. This general description of the functional work of cognition in humans was commonly accepted amongst Giles contemporaries and was the underpinning of debates about the compatibility of free will with divine predestination. See Eardley, Peter S. "Ethics and Moral Psychology", *A Companion to Giles of Rome* (Charles F. Briggs and Peter S. Eardley eds), Brill, 2016, pp.173-211.

Crucially, Giles defines being virtuous as a *habitus laudabiles* associated with a soul's various powers.[8] As has been argued before in this thesis and by other scholars, the medieval interpretation of *habitus* is not as a static characteristic but a kind of second nature that must be developed through repeated actions becoming customary.[9] DRP first makes this point with the phrase "custom is another nature" when discussing the importance of teaching children not to lie and repeats the phrase when stressing the importance of military training.[10] This last observation is, as has been noted previously in this thesis, Giles's way of explaining the basis of his entire project and the idea of *altera natura* accords well with Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*. Yet the key distinction between the two expresses Giles's different conception of nature and time. For Bourdieu, a change in the *habitus* was only discernible in retrospect.[11] For Giles, this is part of a project of deliberately shaping a royal habitus and is therefore concerned with the future.

Consequently, intrinsic to the idea of *prudentia* was the choice of a particular goal. Like many Aristotelian thinkers, Giles understood there to be universal principles which governed the functioning of particulars, particularly in his grasp of divinely ordained *natura*. This explains his focus on the initial sections of DRP of the king's choice of goal. This goal is ultimately that of fulfilling God's will, which in the case of a king's actions, is ruling people

---

[8] "*Virtutes que sunt quidam habitus laudabiles, vel erunt in potentciis naturalibus.* " DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter I, f.13r.

[9] Regarding the distinctions between *consuetudo* and *habitus* in Thomistic thought (likely highly influential on Giles), the key difference appears to be that *habitus* is more associated with rational beings. See Miner, Robert C. "Aquinas on Habitus", *A History of Habit: From Aristotle to Bourdieu*, (Tom Sparrow and Adam Hutchinson eds), Lexington Books, 2013, pp.70-71.

[10] *"Cum ergo consuetudo sit altera natura…"*, DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter X, f. 68r. *"Consuetudo enim est quasi altera natura"* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter IX, f.120v.

[11] A *habitus* is described by Bourdieu as "systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them." Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*, (Richard Nice trans), Stanford University Press, 1992, p.53.

well for their benefit, or the "common good".[12] The relationship between a king's end goal (*finis*, to use Giles's terminology) is vital in grasping his notions of the role of *habitus* in kings, or indeed of all humans. Giles may have inherited this teleological view of human nature from earlier thinkers, but his contribution was to situate this view within the context of the developing *habitus* of princes and kings. Thus, to use Ahmed's terminology, prudence is *oriented* by the choice of end in which a king's happiness is set.[13] This is a more voluntarist perspective where kings select their ends (to rule for the common good) and consciously develop a *habitus* which serves that end. The ramifications of this point will be discussed in the final section of this chapter.

The way that the chosen *finis* orients *prudentia* is first demonstrated negatively: DRP lists numerous examples of where a king's happiness should *not* be set. A king should not set his happiness in bodily health, as it is temporal and not solely within his control, making him doomed to unhappiness.[14] Yet Giles does not suggest that bodily health is unimportant and should be left solely to fate. The same is true for civil might and material wealth. These are parts of a king's existence and should be regarded less as ends and more as instruments which aid his rule.[15] Instead, prudence should be oriented to the *finis* of the common good, allowing

[12] The medieval reception and interpretation of this term is dominated by work by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas, with Albertus arguing for a dual conception of the common good; personal and political, and Aquinas for extending the principle to all communities within Creation. Matthew Kempshall argues that there was a particular reception of Aristotle's work on the subject shared by Henry of Ghent, Godfrey of Fontaines, and Giles of Rome that acceptance of the "common good" was the basis for distinguishing for good or bad forms of government. See Kempshall, Matthew. *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought,* Oxford University Press, 1999, p.74, 341.

[13] A similar point is also made by Matthew Kempshall: "Prudence, in all its varied forms, is therefore the virtue most appropriate to the king's character because it directly facilitates the common good." Kempshall, Matthew. *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought*, pp.139-140.

[14] "*Sed quod non sit felicitas in robore, nec in sanitate, nec in pulchritudine triplici via venerari possumus. Primo qua talia bona sunt corporalia. Secundo qua sunt quodamodo exteriora. Tercio quia de facili sunt mutabilia.* " DRP, Book I, Part I, Chapter XI, f.11v.

[15] "*…quia non decens eos suum finem ponere in diviciis, nec in civili potentia nec in aliquibus talibus, sed omnibus his ut supra plenius probabatur debent uti tanquam organis ad felicitatem suam…"* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter I, f.13r.

the king to make a judgement as to how much attention he should give to maintaining his bodily condition, his private material wealth, or his civil might so that it might aid his overall purpose.

For Giles, such *prudentia* is essential to developing particular virtues or balancing certain passions. In his summary of this section, Giles writes that *prudentia* is an intellectual virtue that rules moral virtues and is a way of judging the behaviour of things that are varied and changeable by general rules.[16] Therefore Giles's definition of *prudentia* is that it is a kind of meta-virtue, governing other characteristics, dispositions, and passions. Although he states that if a king lacks any of the virtues he describes, he lacks them all, this does not mean that there is no hierarchy to them. In this way, *prudentia* is a metaphysical parallel of God, or of the king himself - a singular ruling characteristic that allows the king to make use of all the other aspects of his existence as he sees fit. With *prudentia*, he has the ability to judge exactly how much to indulge in each aspect as it serves his end – namely, the common profit and thereby the fulfilment of God's will. This should be the orientation of a king's *prudentia singula.* His choices pertain to his existence as a ruler of others, informed by his governance of his own body.

Ruling an extended body

How does this prudent king rule over his subjects? For Giles, the king rules his subordinates as if they were aspects of his own body (an extension of a broader logic that I have traced earlier in relation to humans and non-humans in the practice of hunting and the organisation of a royal household).[17] Giles's thoughts on the general concept of servitude demonstrate the close relationship that he understood between the ruling of the body and the

[16] "*…quod prudencia est virtus intellectualis, directiva virtutum moralium preceptiva secundum inventa et iudicativa secundum unium sales maximas particularia contingentia agibilia concernens, presupposens rectitudinem voluntatis."* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter VI, f.17r.
[17] See Chapter Four, p.91, 100.

ruling of others, and that kingly rule was at its heart a craft and therefore inextricably bound up with ideas about physical skills. The logic is complex and worth tracing in detail.

Giles argues that there is a ruler in all things:

> "…as if many voices are to effect some harmony it is necessary that there be a voice which is predominant following which all the harmony might be declared. Also, if many elements come together to form a mixed body it is necessary that there be given some predominant element following which the mixed body is owed to have movement and location. Indeed, it is that in all mixed bodies it is earth which is the ruler, for all such bodies are heavy and naturally tend downwards."[18]

He then argues that the same is true for animals, which have a soul and a body which is ruled by the soul. Following this pattern, Giles continues that "as in a virtuous and well-disposed man the soul has lordship and the body is obedient, so in politics it is ordained that wise men should be lords and unwise men be obedient. For unwise men are likened to wise men as the body to the soul and as the instrument to the craftsman."[19] Servile relationships are thus understood to be both an expression of the organisation of nature and also something which can be understood as a skill to be learned, as in the use of a craftsman's tools. The craft of ruling is natural in the same sense that a body wants to do things that are good for it, but this does not mean that ruling simply happens without consideration. The ruler must understand the end that nature, and ultimately God, intended, and then deliberately learn to be the master voice that ordered its lesser parts to that end.

The kings' extended body of concern included the use of its tools, including servants, and this logic extended to other domains. For example, the advice of DRP on military matters, and the

---

[18] "*…ut si plures voces efficiunt aliquam armoniam oportet ibi dare vocem aliquam predominantem secundum quam tota armonia dividicatur. Si etiam plura elementa concurrunt ad constitutionem euisdem corporis mixti oportet ibi dare aliquod elementum predominans secundum quod illi mixto conpetat debitus motus aut debitus situs. Inde est ergo quod in omnibus mixtis dominator terra, eo quod omnia talia sunt gravia et naturaliter deorsum tendunt.* " DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter XIII, f.81v.

[19] "*Sic ergo in homine virtuoso et benedisposito anima dominatur et corpus obedit. Sic in politica bene ordinata, sapientes debent dominari et insipientes obedire qua hyconparantur ad illos quasi corpus ad animus et quasi organum ad artificem."* DRP, Book II, Part III, Chapter XIII, f.81v.

types of analogies used in advice on rule in peacetime, encouraged the king to conceive of both his military force as his military body and the wider realm as his regnal body. The organisation and operation of any kind of governed body followed in similar pathways to the ruling of a king's physical body and person, with the king as a personification of the head of a body, ruling the limbs and the senses to engage in efficient and effective action. The king's carefully-trained knowledge of personal bodily management, physical mechanics and martial contest with other bodies informed his understanding of the capabilities of all forms of co-extensive entity.

The military body

Much of the discussion within DRP of military matters appears in the final part (Book III, Part III), which relies heavily on Vegetius' *De re militari* (henceforth referred to as DRM), but with Giles's focus, phrasing, and organisation. Despite its reliance on DRM, this section of DRP is clearly integrated into the overall project of DRP and should not be considered to be simply copied without thought. The work of Charles Briggs on the surviving manuscript editions of DRP shows that it was frequently gathered with the text of DRM when owned by secular figures.[20] Including both manuscripts together shows that these works were likely considered congruent and complementary. In his discussion of the military, Giles argues that the army functioned as a body:

> "For the whole host should be like one body, wherefore just as all the members of the body should help all it, so too all warriors and parts of the host should maintain one another. Wherefore, just as the work of the members might be confused if not ruled by the head itself in which sense and thought flourish, thus the soldiers of the host might

[20] Briggs describes seven separate compilations of DRP of English origin that include DRM but suggests that the same trend was not seen in Italian or French compilations. The reasons for this are unclear. See Briggs, Charles. *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum*, Cambridge University Press, 1999, p.45.

be confused if they lack a centurion or a leader who should be their head and their ruler."[21]

Elsewhere, Giles discusses how both banner carriers and the lesser grades of leader who govern small sub-sections of men (named as centurions and decani) should be superior to the other men: "for just as the head is worth more than the other members, so he who in war is placed in command of cavalry squadrons or other fighters ought to be more strong and more expert than those who are required to fight."[22] The passage demonstrates that the military body metaphor applies not just to organisation of the army but to the actual work of its constituent parts, particularly where Giles discusses the importance of soldiers following orders and remaining in formations. Just like the limbs and members of the body, the soldiers of particular orders are supposed to perform their designated tasks and no other, just as a person shouldn't wave their hands when they speak, as we speak with our mouths and not with our hands.[23] We might note here again that the correct comportment of the body, and its education into its moderation and limits, is the ground for the development of the wider metaphor.

The language of soldiers as limbs thus demonstrates the importance of the bodily, martial skills, into which a ruler was trained at an early age. Chapter 2 made it clear that the tuition of wrestling contained concepts about the interaction of physical bodies and strategic ramifications of stances and relative positions. Chapter 3 made the point that this knowledge was applicable in academic contexts, but these same concepts directly informed the positioning of the military body relative to its enemies. The martial arts manuals referred to in Chapters 2

---

[21] "*Nam totus exercitus habet se ad similitudinem unius corporis quare sicut omnia membra corporis se invicibus iuvant sic omnes bellatores et omnes partes exercitus eiusdem se invicem defendent. Quare sicut confundantur membrorum opera nisi dirigantur per ipsum caput in quo viget sensus et cognitio sic confundantur bellatores in exercitu si careant centurione aut duce qui debet esse eorum caput et eorum registrum."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter X, f.121r.

[22] "*Nam sicut caput est prestantius aliis membris, sic qui in bello preponitur aliquibus turmis vel bellatoribus aliis debet esse magis strennuus et magis expertus in his que requiruntur ad pugnam."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter X, f.121r.

[23] *Sic etiam homo non loquitur pedibus nec minibus nec spatulis sed ore."* DRP, Book II, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.70r

and 4 made it clear that bodily strength was dependent upon position and orientation relative to an opponent. Giles extends this understanding to the relative positioning of allied bodies by citing Vegetius on the arrangement of soldiers in formation: “For if they be too closely set they will be blocked so that they cannot strike the enemies. And if they are set too thin with light between them then they might be easily overcome by enemies.”[24] This is an argument for regarding cohesion of soldiers as analogous to individual bodily strength. Giles then extends this observation to stress the need for corporate training: “...he that would make war at any time he wishes should long before train his fighting men to hold this knowledge and so to this end cavalry and foot soldiers ought to be frequently led to battlefields.”[25] This training included drilling in shifting formation into squares, triangles, and circles.[26] This shows the importance of training in the task of shaping bodies into bodies that can assume particular shapes on command, just as martial arts manuals recommended different physical stances from which to engage in combat and the importance of shifting them depending on the positions of the opponent.

Analogies between personal training and the training of the army as a joint-body that extends the king’s body proliferate when we consider questions of timing. For example, in the practice of wrestling and armed combat temporal considerations were a key aspect of selecting techniques and moments to initiate them.[27] In relation to the army, Giles likewise recommends that the time of day is crucial to choosing when to engage with enemies. Armies should “…take heed of time, as when the sun is in their eyes and when the wind blows dust in their face, then

---

[24] *Nam bellantes sint ordinati et occupent debitum spacium, bene pugnare non poterant. Nam si nimis sint constricti in pediuntur ne aliquos percutere posset. Si vero nimis rari et inter lucentes aditum perstant hostibus facilius devicantur.* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XII, f.122r.

[25] “ *...qui igitur in tempore aliquo vult bellare perdiuturna debet execitare pugnatores huiusmodi ordinem servare discant et ut fréquenter tam equites tam pedites ducantur ad campos.”* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XII, f.122r.

[26] “*...imperari debet dux belli quod pugnatores ordinent se secundum formam quadrangularem et postea quod secundum triangularem et deinde quod secundum rotundam…”,* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XII, f.122r.

[27] See pp.99-100.

they should set upon them."[28] Similarly, he writes that armies should aim to surprise enemies when they are least prepared, sleeping, or unarmoured, when they are tired from long journeys, or when they have disagreement amongst themselves.[29] Although also reinforcing the understanding of relativity of strength, by indicating the importance of being aware how opposing military bodies could be more or less prepared for actions, Giles's advice extends the martial advice on acting in the "before, during, or after" (*vor, indes,* and *nach* to use the Germanic terminology) into the realm of the military body.[30]

The king's extended military body also had an extended sensorium when compared with an individual's body. If the varied formations and soldier types were the limbs and members of the body, then their senses could also be made up of men. This can be traced in DRP's descriptions of outriders and scouts: "…he should have some other most faithful horsemen who have swift horses, who with caution lightly run left, right, forward, and back and discover hidden ambushes and enemies and others hiding out of some desire to harm the army."[31] Yet the senses of a military body are not solely based upon reports from other men. Giles, for example, cites Vegetius' advice to remain aware of environmental conditions such as the time of day, the weather, the position of the sun, and the direction of the wind. These are all considerations that are evident to the king's individual sensorium, but the nature of his existence as an extended military body means that not only can his senses include information reported by other bodies, but that his personal bodily senses function differently.

---

[28] "*...debet aspicere ad ipsum quando sol reverberatur ad oculos hostium pulvis et ventus repercutiunt ad eorum vultus tunc debent eos invadere…"* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter IV, f.123v.
[29] See DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XIV, ff.123r-123v.
[30] See Chapter 2, p.99-100.
[31] "*…debet habere aliquos equites fidelissimos habentes equos veloces qui caute et a tergo et a dextro et a leva percurrunt illustantes et disco operientes insidias ne hostes et aliqui latitantes ex aliquam parte molestent exercitum."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XI, f.121v.

The regnal body

There is a strong continuity between Giles's thoughts on the governance of the self and the ruling of the realm. This continuity is summed up in DRP's use of Aristotle's *Politics 4*, which states that Aristotle **"**likens the realm to the king as the body to the soul. For just as the soul rules and saves the body, so too does the king save and govern the realm…. Just it is the worst for the body to forsake the soul and not be ruled by it, so it is the worst for the realm to forsake the king's laws… and not to be ruled by the king."[32] This connection of realm and body is extended in Giles's section on the purposes of cities and realms. Here DRP discusses how multiple cities with varied resources can help remedy lacks in one another. Again we meet the body: "For as diverse limbs of the body have not the same doing but one needs that doing of another and so it is good that the limbs be found together one body so that they may help each other, because not all cities have surfeit of the same things, it is good that cities be under one realm so that they might better help one another with things that they need for sufficient living."[33] There is therefore a cohesion founded in distinctiveness.

If a regnal body was made of multiple subordinate parts, then, in Giles's ideal, these subordinate parts had a duty to sacrifice themselves for the common good. This is shown in Giles's example of how love for the common good, of the whole over the singular good of the individual, is similar to how the body uses its limbs to protect itself.[34] Complicity in knowing

---

[32] "*...comparat regnum ad regem, sicut corpus ad animam. Nam sicut anima corpus regit et conservat, sic rex regit et gubernat regnum…Quare sicut pessimum est corpori delinquem animam et non regi per eam, sic pessimum est regni deserere leges regias…et non regi per regem."* DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XXXIV, f.114v.

[33] "*Nam sic diversa membra corporis non eandem actum habet et unum indiget alterius opera, propter quod utile est illis membris congregatis in uno corpore, ut sibi invicem subveniant. Sic quia non omnes civitates habundant in eisdem utile est eis congregari sub uno regno ut melius possint sibiinicem subvenire in hiis que requiruntur ad sufficienciam vite."* DRP, Book III, Part I, Chapter V, f.87r.

[34] "*Naturaliter enim videmus partem se exponere pro toto, ut brachium se exponit in periculo pro corpore ex naturali enim instinctu, cum quis vult percuti, ne vulnerentur membra a quibus principaliter dependet salus corporis, et ne totum corpus pereat brachium se exponit periculo. Sic etiam antiquitus se perspeximus civitatem aliquam dominare et tenere monarchiam hoc erat qua cives pro republica non dubitabant se morte exponere. Dilectio enim quam habebant ratione ad rempublicam fecit romam esse principantem et monarchiam.*" DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter III, f.37r.

one's role was not necessarily required in this model of the realm as a body. Some limbs of the body may, in fact, hamper its functioning:

> "For it is natural that a part be put in peril for the salvation of the whole, as a rotted limb is removed and cut off to save the body, so too is a thief and a miscreant who disturbs the peace of citizens and arises against the common good. Therefore natural law wills that he be killed as a rotted limb is cut off to save the common good from peril."[35]

Similar points are made in DRP's discussion of the appointment of advisers to the king, with an extension into medical metaphorics. Despite being powerful individuals, advisers were still subordinate to the king and still an aspect of his ruling body. Giles argues that advice should be sought only in relation to details of implementation, not overall goals. "Counsel is not of the end, but of the means to come to an end. A physician desires health ultimately and therefore takes no counsel on whether or not he should heal the sick. But he takes for certain that the sick should be healed and then takes counsel on the ways and means by which the sick may be best healed."[36] Giles's choice of this medical analogy again reinforces the similarity of the body and the body politic. The more significant point is that advisers are only ever being asked about details of implementation rather than goals, which are reserved for the king. The king directs and the adviser give counsel on how to achieve these directions. Similarly, the king should never ask about small, unimportant matters, as it is said that fear makes a person ask for advice,

---

[35] "*Naturale est enim quod exponatur bonum partis pro salute boni totius, ut quod abscidatur membrorum putridum ne pereat totum corpus, Sic qui a fur et maleficus et quilibet malefactor turbat pacem civium et insidiatur communi bono. Ideo naturale ius exigit ut tanque memrum putridum abseidatur et exterminetur ne exponatur periculo et ne impediatur commune bonum.*" DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XXIV, f.108v. This idea is not an invention of Giles and has a direct parallel in language used by Aquinas in *ST*, 2a2aq, q.64, a.3, 27. As discussed in the introduction, the idea of the political leader as the *medicus rei publicae* appears in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and may derive from Cicero. For more detail see Shogimen, Takashi. "Treating the Body Politic: The Medical Metaphor of Political Rule in Late Medieval Europe and Tokugawa Japan." *The Review of Politics,* Vol.70, no.1, 2008, pp.77–104.

[36] "*Oportet enim in consilio finaliter presuponere intentum et non consiliari de ipso sed de illis per que consequi possumus illud. Medicus enim qui finaliter intendit sanitatem, non consilatur utrum debeat sanare egrum, sed hoc accipit tanque certum et notum egrum sanandum esse, sed consiliatur de viis per quas facilius et melius sanetur.*" DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XVI, f.104r.

and it's not appropriate for the king to be fearful.[37] This is another example of DRP's bi-directional ontology and the importance of appearances. The king might not actually be fearful, but asking for advice might either cause him to become timid or at least make it seem as if he were. In either case, the implication is to avoid self-doubt. By seeking inappropriate counsel, questioning the position and therefore the role of his advisers, the king is destabilising the form of his ruling body.

DRP's discussions of how advisers' responsibilities should be arranged are mirrored in his discussion of how different parts of the body have different functions. Advisers should be arranged to specialise in different subjects, covering finance, food and trade, security, military, justice.[38] The division of these interests has a parallel in the virtues of the human soul, where different powers of the body were identified. The various specialisations of advisers map fairly easily onto the *potentiae* of the human soul described in the first section of this chapter, with the natural powers falling under the remit of the adviser on food, cognitive/sensitive with security, the *appetititus sensitivuum* under the adviser for trade, the *appetititus intellectus* (or *voluntas* – the will) under military, and the purely intellectual under the adviser for justice. This is another example of an effective organisation of the political body by reference to the natural organisation of the human body, the natural world, and the general structure of the universe.

---

[37] *"Dicebatur enim supra timor consili ativiis facit, qui ergo consiliatur videtur timere et dubitare ne in aliquo infortunio contingente deficiat a consecutione optati boni vel incurrat aliquod dampnum vel aliquid aliud malum que sunt ergo valde modica ut que sunt apta nata efiicere parvum bonum vel prohibere modicum malum, non sunt consiliabilia, ergo est modus attendedus in consiliis ut de magnis consiliemur."* DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XVII, f.104v.

[38] "*…vicibus de preventibus, de alimento, de custodia civitatis, de pace et bello, de legislatione."* DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XIX, f.105v.

Prudentia singula, militia, regia

Prudentia was the most important virtue of any ruler and was not a simple or unnuanced concept.[39] The key contribution of DRP is its discussion of how *prudentia* varied in its particulars according to context. This first appears as an explicit idea in his discussion on matters of warfare where he defined the expertise required as "a certain prudence, or a certain type of prudence".[40] He then divided prudence in general into five kinds: singular, economic, regnal, politic (or civil), and chivalric (military).[41] This section of the chapter will address the specifics of three of the sub-types *prudentia singula, prudentia militia,* and *prudentia regia,* as illustrative examples of how the lessons of each were broadly similar in structure, but varied in their particulars.

Prudentia singula

Governance of the self was fundamental to other forms of rule, hence the appearance of the subject at the beginning of DRP. Giles's method of proceeding through this subject mirrors the structure of DRP itself into three parts; governing the self, governing the home, and governing a kingdom. Aside from Part I which is concerned with the end which orients a king, the subsequent three parts of the first book move from the virtues a king should possess, the passions which can be ruled by a person with the correct virtues, and manners which are the

[39] There was evidently an unease prior to the twelfth century of the idea of *prudentia* as a cardinal virtue, often discussed alongside *discretio,* (discretion). See analysis in Dingjan, François. *Discretio: Les Origines patristiques et monastiques de la doctrine sur la prudence chez saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Van Gorcum, 1967. For a broader overview of the reception of *phronesis,* related classical terms, and their receptions by medieval thinkers, see Ingham, Mary Beth. "Stoic influences in the later Middle Ages", *The Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition* (John Sellars ed), Routledge, 2016, pp.99-114.

[40] "*Sciendum igitur militarem esse quandam prudentiam, sive quandam speciem prudentie"* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter I, f.115v.

[41] "*…v species prudentie videlicet prudentiam singularem, yconomicam, regnativam, politicam sive civilem, et militarem."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter I, f.115v. Despite *militia* generally meaning "military" the term could be translated as "chivalry" in this period and later. Trevisa, indeed, makes this translation in his fifteenth-century edition.

visible ruling of the passions. This mirroring of structure shows that the entire project of ruling is exemplified in the ruling of the self.

Giles's description of the varying passions of the body reveals that prudence governed these inner states and impulses as much as the other virtues. The presentation of the king as a person whose primary task is to make prudent choices is particularly clear in this section, shown in the way that the passions are described in opposing pairs. These are love/hate, desire/abomination, delectation/sorrow, hope/desperation, dread/hardiness, and wrath/mansuetude.[42] Each passion's counterpart moderated the other, and it was the king's task to find the appropriate position between each state. This position was not always the exact balance between the two, as there are some passions for which Giles recommends a certain indulgence. However, the key distinction is that every position is a choice. The king is presented as being in control of these states of being, not subject to them.

Finding the appropriate and seemly position between opposing passions was a combination of self-knowledge and self-control. This was fundamental to self-rule: "No man can rule himself well if he does not know which passions should be avoided and which followed."[43] This means that there were some passions which it was appropriate to allow and that these choices were specific to the state of kingship. For example, in the chapter on how a king should behave with regard to love and hate, Giles makes it clear that a king should make use of these contrary passions in a logical and prudent manner. Specifically, as love preserves and the object of love is a good thing, the king should love God and the common good, and love the virtues of a king. Yet this did not mean that king should not hate at all. Hate is described

---

[42] There follows a slight diversion where Giles acknowledges that mansuetude was amongst the virtues, but that properly it is the passion which is contrary to wrath. He ascribes this difficulty to a scarcity of names for these concepts. *"Computabatur enim supra mansuetudo inter virtutes sed hoc est propter vocabulorum penuriam…"* DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter I, f.36r.

[43] "*Quia nullus seipsum bene regere potest nisi sciat que passiones sint fugiende et que sequende."* DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter II, f.36r.

as a passion ordained for destruction, and DRP recommends that the king aim his hatred at vices - not necessarily men who are prone to such vices, but to the vices themselves: "…it is seemly that kings and princes be thirsty for justice and to hate vices, and that will not be done unless they are rooted out and exterminated, as by themselves men are not to be exterminated and killed, but because vices are to be exterminated and destroyed."[44] Thus hatred, a destructive force, is ordained to rationality and directed in a prudent manner, with the killing of sinful men a by-product of rooting out vice where needed, not as a goal in and of itself.

In considering these passions, then, DRP develops an account of how the king must continue to regulate and educate his "passionate" body of concern. For example, in its account of boldness and fear (*audacia* and *timor*), DRP challenges the idea that no king should have any fearfulness as it is against the majesty of a king, describing advisers who recommend this as false flatterers and saying "...he that is brave in all doings and has no fear is not strong but a fool.[45] He argues for moderate levels of fear, drawing on Aristotle's *Rhetoric* to argue that fear makes men ask for advice and that it is good for kings and princes to have occasion to ask for such. Secondly, moderate fear makes a person work more busily to avoid and lessen fear. However, the dangers of immoderate dread are more immediate. Such a passion affects the body, pulling blood inwards away from the limbs, making the person smaller and weaker. This is unseemly for a kingly body. Secondly, immoderate fear makes a man less likely to listen to advice. The third reason is that fear weakens the sinews of the body, causing trembling. Fourth, the king might become unreasonable and not do things that he is supposed to do. In this

---

[44] "*...decet reges et principes sic sitire iusticiam et odire viciam ut non facientur nisi ea extirpent et exterminent, per se enim homines non sunt exterminandi et obiendi. Sed quia vicia sunt extirpanda et obienda."* DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter III, f.37v.

[45] "*Nam qui omnibus audet nichil timet ut dicitur primo magnorum moralium non est fortis sed fatuus."* DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter VI, f.39r.

discussion we see how the passions are part of bodily regulation and the importance of continued regulation of its affective sensorium.

We can trace these procedures further in DRP's discussion of immoderate wrath. Giles cites Aristotle's *Ethics* in saying that wrath can impair the functioning of reason and affects the proper functioning of the body. This, however, is not a blanket condemnation: again, it is regulation and governance which is required. "…it is possible to accept rage so that it is the slave and servant of reason."[46] *Mansetudo* is described as the passion which moderates wrath and so finding the appropriate balance between these two is the task of a king.[47]

The common theme in all of these discussions of the passions is their presentation in antagonistic pairs and an argument that the king must use his prudence and his reason to choose the appropriate amount of indulgence in each. The key to making these choices is a knowledge of what each passion is and an awareness of how it can be detrimental. Self-knowledge is therefore being presented as building the capacity for self-rule. This has immense importance for understanding the sensing body of the king and its continued education and regulation into adulthood.

The implications of DRP's account of the body and its passions extend to its wider discussion of manners. Here life stage and the different roles of prudence as a governing virtue are at stake. For example, in the section on the manners of children, Giles argues that "not all things that are praiseworthy in one thing are simply praiseworthy in all things. For we see that to be furious is praiseworthy in a hound just as it is not praiseworthy in a man."[48] He then continues "…it is praiseworthy for children to be modest because they have less control over

---

[46] "*...possumus assumere iram, tanquam servum et ancillam rationis.*" DRP, Book I, Part III, Chapter VII, f.40r.
[47] See further McGrath, Kate, *Royal Rage and the Construction of Anglo-Norman Authority, c.1000-1250,* Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, p.136.
[48] "*Nam non quicunquet est laudabile in uno vel in alio, est laudabile in quocunque et simplicit. Videmus enim quod esse furibundum est laudabile in cane, non tame nest laudabile in homine.*" DRP, Book I, Part IV, Chapter I, f.43r.

themselves…but to be modest is simply not seemly for kings and princes."[49] Clearly, although Giles had a general rule that any habit that was unseemly in a man was more unseemly in a king, there was nuance to this rule that was situational and based on the unfolding of a body's roles in time. This nuance in relation to life stage was, as we have seen with the passions, linked to moderation between extremes. For example, Giles writes that older men are prone to being suspicious and pessimistic and that a king or a prince "should not be too easily trusting, as children, yet they ought not to be suspicious…"[50] Kings were therefore still required to make a contextual judgement as to the most appropriate balance between opposing manners and to so regulate their bodies and their emotions so as to act their age.

Prudentia militia

With these considerations in mind, the chapter now turns to examine the importance of prudence in managing the king's extended military body. This body was an intermediate point in the differing scales of embodiment within which a king could operate. War was a far broader form of extension than the household or the hunt, but still concerned with a mobile, temporal body that took primarily physical acts, rather than the regal body, which operated at the scale of an entire nation with a fundamentally atemporal existence.

For DRP, the art of battle was a form of *prudentia*, the military body governed by virtuous moderation: "Chivalry is ... a particular type of *prudentia* by which enemies and those who hinder the good of the citizens might be overcome."[51] Yet the existence of a sizeable section of DRP dedicated to military matters means that the universals of *prudentia singula* were not sufficient to allow readers of the text to simply apply them to this new context, but

---

[49] "*Sic licet verecundum sit laudabile in iuvenibus qui a ratione etatis se constinere non possunt…verecundos esse non decet simplicit competere regibus...*" DRP, Book I, Part IV, Chapter I, f.43r.
[50] "*Nam constat quod licet reges et principes non debent esse in omnibus defacili creditivi, ut pueri, non tamen decet eos esse incredibiles… "* DRP, Book I, Part IV, Chapter III, f.44v.
[51] "*Militaris ergo est quedam species prudentie per quam superant hostes et prohibentes bonum civile et commune."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter I, f.116r.

that there were specifics to *prudentia militia* that required a dedicated section. This section of DRP stresses how the ruler's prudent orders should be effectively carried out by soldiers who were instruments of his will and extensions of his regnal body: *prudentia militia* was a particular and vital form of kingly knowledge and practice, not solely for its own sake, but as a component of a regal habitus.

The knowledge of how to use this military body was based upon the trained skill of the individual martial body. As an example of this process, we can take Giles's discussion of military formations and their need to be adjusted to specific circumstances. According to DRP, “profitable shapes of formations for fighting are of pyramids and round ... if the soldiers do not feel themselves powerful enough to attack others, but sufficient to defend themselves then they should form a round shape...if the enemy is of lesser strength then there should be formed the shape of a pair of shears.”[52] Just as the practice of wrestling taught the importance of relativity of strength, so too does this advice recommend that the disposition of the military body be adjusted to suit the differing circumstances of engagement. The individual soldiers must be trained to assume the shapes of different formations, due to the unlikelihood of them knowing the geometrical principles that underpin them: “...not all men understand this method of geometry, so the leader should take the fighters to the field…”[53] This habit of forming these shapes on command without any engagement in the rationale is much like the training of the body to reflexively assume advantageous shapes and postures in response to the position and stance of the enemy. Thus, the soldiers are not simply a body commanded by a head, but a trained body that embodied its own knowledge through habitual responses.

---

[52] “*Forme autem acierum secundum se ad bellandum utiles sunt piramidalis et rotunda…Si ergo bellantes non sentiunt se tante potencie ut alios debellare possint sed sufficit eis ut se defendant tunc est construenda acies secundum rotundam formam…si hostes sunt valde pauci construenda est acies secudum formam forficularem…*” DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XII, ff.122r-122v.

[53] “*…quod omnes hos modos geometrios rapiunt ductis pugnatoribus ad campos…”* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XII, f.122r.

Giles thus makes it clear that self-knowledge of the military body is key to making prudent actions with that body, even as that body is habituated to non-reflective actions following the will of the king. He then divides this kind of knowledge into what should be known of one's own military body and those which concern the enemy and the environment. For self-knowledge he lists numbers of men, their experience, health, strength and physical hardiness, their knowledge of battlecraft, and their courage. For the wider considerations that include the enemy and the circumstances/environment, he lists: the ratios of cavalry to foot soldiers, the ratio of archers to melee fighters, supplies of food, the qualities of the location of any battle, the time of day (to know sun position and wind direction), and whether or not there are allies nearby.[54]

Yet self-knowledge was not the entirety of *prudentia militia*. It also included a specific understanding of responses by enemies and an awareness of the particular goals of military action, which did not always correlate precisely with individual bodily action, even if those actions were martial. One of those is the recommendation that enemies not be manoeuvred in such a way that they have no escape. The argument emerges through a citation of Scipio; "Never should the enemy be enclosed, so that they have no way to flee. For a fleeing enemy is no danger and in flight there is much danger to them from the nuisance of pursuit."[55] This kind of tactic would make no sense in personal combat but is appropriate in a military conflict where the purpose is not to slaughter every individual soldier but to defeat the opposing military body in the most efficient manner possible.

---

[54] DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter IX, f.120r.

[55] "*Numquam claudendos sic esse hostes, quod non pateat eis aditus fugiendi. Nam fugientibus hostibus nullum est periculum, et in fuga periclitantur multi absque nocumento persequentium."* DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XV, f.124r. This advice attributed to the famed Roman general Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus appears in DRM and was a relatively conventional piece of advice in Latin and Greek sources. See discussion in Allmand, Christopher. *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission, and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge University Press, 2011, p.38.

This expression of *prudentia militia* also makes use of the commander's understanding of human reactions to physical danger, as described in DRP discussions of fortitude. In Book I, Giles writes "For we do not know death so clearly when are sick, for sickness is hidden within, neither do we feel the peril of the sea as we do the danger of war and battle, nor do we feel the pain of the touch of water as we do the touch of the sword."[56] This discussion is meant to make clear the definition of fortitude in withstanding danger and how harms that are more directly physical in their potential for violating the body are more acute and immediate. Yet the practical knowledge of emotional states and their potential roles in military work is a parallel of the practical emotional knowledge trained in rhetoric, discussed in Chapter 3. This knowledge of how humans respond to threats of different kinds underpins management of the self according to the virtue of fortitude, as emotional self-awareness underpinned the persuasion of a target audience in rhetoric; here this knowledge of the military commander allows environmental and topological considerations to inform actions of the military body, such as surrounding an enemy formation in such a way as they are driven towards a body of water or simply in such a way as they retreat. This is a prime example of the specific kind of trained skill and judgement that makes up *prudentia militia* and how embodying a military body alters the specifics of *prudentia singula*. In the section above on the extension of the senses of the military body the effects of sun position or wind direction on the enemy were described and this environmental awareness exists incidental to context; an individual would see the same thing, but an individual who embodies an army understood these sensations differently. The nature of the extended military body changed the potential prudent or imprudent understandings and manipulations of that body.

---

[56] "*Non enim sic aperte apprehendimus mortem cum egrotamur, quia egritudines instrinsice latent, nec sic sentimus pericula maris, sicut pericula bellica, nec ex tactu aque sic sentimus ut imaginamur lesionem sicut ex tactu gladii."* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter XIII, f.21r.

Prudentia thus functions in this military setting as an essential aspect of the king's extended body. He controls his military body in a way that it is informed by his individual wisdom (*prudentia singula* - control of his physical body, passions, and manners in a way that they are subordinate to his reason) but is also specialised to suit the military circumstances. These circumstances require him to be present as an individual, moving with the army, experiencing the environment and weather, speaking with advisers, looking at maps, taking decisions, and being seen by the troops. Yet he is also required to act as the head of the body, not taking part in fighting personally, nor personally commanding soldiers. His concern with the disposition and quality of the soldiers is that of a person rationally observing the characteristics of tools and deciding if they are the correct tool for the work. This is the theme of several chapters in Part III, which cover subjects like the warlike qualities of men from hot or cold lands, the kinds of privations they should be able to withstand, and the relative advantages and disadvantages of soldiers who are peasantry, gentry, or noblemen.[57] There is a link in the theme of this advice to the sections of the hunting texts discussed in Chapter 4 that were concerned with characteristics of hunting dogs. The dogs were an extension of the hunting body, with the work that the dog was suited to expressed in its body. In DRP, soldiers are categorised in similar ways, and the knowledge of the commander forms the basis for his decisions on how, when, and where to deploy them.

However, these physical acts of a military body were not taken in isolation. The deployment, manoeuvres, expense, and relative success of failure of a military body could have enormous ramifications for a realm. These concerns are specific to the king as the ruler of a

[57] Relevant chapters and their titles are Chapter II "In which regions are useful fighters and from which professions are fighting men to be gathered.", Chapter III "In which age children should be accustomed to the business of war and from which signs we can know men to be warlike.", Chapter IV "What things and how many should men have so that they fight well and that they might suffer war well." See Appendix A for a full list of chapter headings.

realm and so fall more under the sphere of *prudentia regia.* The king's body is the common factor in all scales, and so his individual body, combined with its specific knowledge of the work of the military body, assists the business of the regnal body. This process is clearly described by Giles in the final chapter of DRP where he writes,

> "For battles should be among men as drenches and bloodletting in the body of mankind…Wherefore as by bleeding and by drenches superfluity of humours is brought out due to the way that superfluity impedes the health of the body, so by battles enemies should be borne down and slain that impede the common profit and peace of citizens and of those that be in the realm."[58]

By considering the realm at war as a body that is sick and military action as an intervention by a physician to aid the healing process, we are reminded that the governance of the realm is the king's ultimate concern – that its body is his body.

Prudentia regia

If *prudentia singula* was defined by a self-knowledge and control of appropriate balances of virtues, passions and manners, and *prudentia militia* by a careful manipulation of location, timing, and relative orientations to enable acts upon opposing military bodies, then I argue that *prudentia regia*, the sub-form of prudence required for the rule of realms, is defined by the maintenance of a deliberate distance between the ruler and the disparate parts of the realm while retaining cohesion. The realm was still a kind of body with aspects analogous to the physical body that must be understood in order to operate. Arranging advisers was one way of prudently organising this political body for the desired end (to enact God's will by ruling for the common good), but I contend that Giles believed that the primary work of that body, the actual business of governing, was primarily concerned with the giving and maintaining of

[58] "*Nam sic se debent habere bella in societate hominum sicut se habent potiones et flebotomie in corpore humano….Quare sicut per flebotomiam et potionem superfluitates humorum sunt eiiciende per quam turbatur sanitas corporis. Sic per bella sunt hostes conculcandi et occidendi per quos impeditur commune bonum et pax civium et eorum que sunt in regno.*" DRP, Book III, Part III, Chapter XXIII, f.129r.

laws in such a way as to make sure that the king's personal involvement was as distant as possible.

Justice (*iusticia*) was subordinate to *prudentia*, as Giles writes "For the law is a certain soulless prince and the prince is a certain souled law; then in as much as the souled thing surpasses the soulless thing, in so much a king or a prince should surpass the law."[59] Giles used this point to argue for the importance of a sense of justice in a king, but the capacity of the king to make judgements as he sees fit for his chosen *finis* (the common good) relied upon the virtue of *prudentia*.

Making law was fundamental to the work of kingship for Giles: "no law is made but by he that should rule others to the common good. For as the law of God and of nature is made by God that rules all things and is the most common good and profit, for he is the good of all good, so the positive law of mankind is made by the prince…"[60] Positive law was law made by men, in theory always based upon natural laws, made by God.[61] This likening of the prince or king to the position of God within his realm reminds us of the cosmological perspective that Giles brings to his observations of kingship. This perspective is literally cosmo-logical; just as the *logos* of God creates the *cosmos*, the king made social reality by giving laws and embodied the concept of rulership by acting in accordance with the divinely-given laws of nature. As Reason

---

[59] "*Nam lex est quidam inanimatus princeps. Princeps vero animate lex, quanto ergo animatum inanimatum superat tanto rex sive princeps debet superare legem.*" DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter XII, f.20v.

[60] "*Nulla est igitur lex que non sit condita ab eo cuius est dirigere in bonum commune. Nam si est lex divina et naturalis, condita est a deo, cuius est omnia dirigere in seipsum que maxime est commune bonum qua est bonum omnis boni. Lex aut humana et positiva que condita est a principe…*" DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter 27, f.110r.

[61] For a general description of the distinctions between natural law and positive law, see Lewis, Ewart. "Natural Law and Expediency in Medieval Political Theory", *Ethics*, January 1940, vol.50, no.3, pp.144-163 and Silving, Helen. "The Twilight zone of Positive and Natural Law", *California Law Review*, July 1955, Vol.43, No.3, pp.477-513. For the relevance of the distinctions in matters of medieval prudence and leadership, see Westburg, Daniel. "The Relation between Positive and Natural Law in Aquinas", *Journal of Law and Religion,* 1994-1995, Vol.11, No.1, pp.1-22.

ruled the self, the head ruled the body, the commander ruled the army, and God ruled nature, so too did the king alone give laws.

As indicated by the argument that a king should surpass the law, the virtue of *iusticia* informed by *prudentia* enabled him to set, alter, or disregard laws informed by the meta-virtue. Giles describes this combination as a way of allowing the king's perfection to extend to his subjects: "aside from *prudentia*, that is more perfect than other virtues as it rules all the other moral virtues, all moral virtues that make a man perfect in himself are subject to *iusticia* that makes a man perfect in relation to others, as subjects that in some way rule only themselves are subject to the prince whose goodness and ruling stretches to others."[62] So, in principle, prudence was still the governing virtue of the self, but the virtue of *iusticia* enabled the king to make laws that affected his subjects. *Prudentia* ruled the self and laws were the method by which a king ruled others, making him a bridge between natural law and positive law.

This means that the positive law given by the king operated as the expression of the reason of the state, which worked to structure the ruled body (the realm) to the end that God intended (the common good). The working of law required a state to have a memory by which it retained knowledge of legal precedent and an understanding of human behaviour, gleaned through experience. Chapter 3 of this thesis laid out the ways in which the prince's memory was trained through the deliberate experience of education to function via the operation of an embodied mind in a mental space. In the embodied realm, the king's lawyers and judges functioned as this embodied memory, intrinsic but always subordinate aspects of the king as the embodied rationality of the realm.

---

[62] "*Nam excepta prudentia, que aliis virtutibus perfectior est quia est eorum directiva. Omnes alie virtutes morales que perficiunt hominem in se, videntur habere iusticiam que perficit hominem in ordine ad alterum, sicut subditi que quod amodo solum habent regere seipsos. se habent ad principem cuius bonitas et regnum ad alios se extendit."* DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter XII, ff.20v-21r.

The importance of distance between the king as law-giver and the implementer of the law shows how judges were an incorporated aspect of the regal body. Giles advises strongly against allowing freedom for judges to interpret laws. This is because any who are not the king himself have inferior judgement by comparison. If there is a situation which is not explicitly covered within a law, it is the task of the judge to decide and so the advice of DRP is to have as many laws as possible, covering all eventualities, so that the judge never needs to make decisions.[63] Giles then gives many examples of how having the responsibility to decide makes the judges' task all the more difficult, and how this can be avoided if the judge has no active role in the process.[64] Rather than making judgements himself, the judge is actually giving the king's judgement. The king is not literally present in every legal case, but by virtue of the laws that he gives, the king is figuratively always present and active. The judge thus acts as a mediator of the king's presence in the law, an extension of regal presence.

Combining the observations that it was better to be ruled by a king than a law, and that there should be as many laws as possible to reduce the personal agency of judges, we come to grasp how a regal distance was so intrinsic to *prudentia regia*. The distance the king maintained from implementation and judgement was vital as, perversely, the more distant the king was in practice, the more omnipresent he became in theory. By making a law for every conceivable eventuality and ensuring that judges were the instruments through which the king's judgements were given (as opposed to their own), the king operated as the omnipresent soul that governed the body politic.

Conclusion: The perpetual ruler

---

[63] "*...et quantum possibile est sunt omnia legibus determinanda et quam pauciora possunt arbitrio iudicum committenda...*" DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XX, f.106r.

[64] These are that it is hard to find wise men to be judges, that laws are made on the basis of long experience, and that judges often have ulterior motives. It is also noted that judgements create personal enmity against judges, which can influence their decisions. See DRP, Book III, Part II, Chapter XX, ff.106r-106v.

Giles's use of *altera natura* - the alternative or "second nature" that habits or customs become - is critical to binding together these reflections on the king's extensive body and its relationship to situational deployments of prudence. In an ideal situation, the king chooses his *finis*, which is to rule for the common profit of all. The king does not simply choose this goal, but "sets his felicity in it", making it intrinsic to his happiness. The parts of the king that are his basic, God-given *natura* are limited in their direct bearing, being concerned with the ontological realities of human existence, the basics of growth and social interaction. However, as ontology deals with changing states as well as fixed categories, the choice of his particular *finis* (to rule for the common good) directs the development of his *habitus* and forming of his *altera natura*. This "second nature" is to become a part of his being as much as his "nature" and it is this which makes him a good king. This observation leads to a further point about the existence of manuals to guide kingship, even when the king is ruling. If *consuetudo* becomes *altera natura*, this does not mean that the process stops when a king takes their throne. The maintenance of a regal *habitus* was continuous, which meant that a good king could fall into bad habits and become a bad king. Thus, the advice of DRP and similar texts was as necessary for an experienced king as it was for a child prince.

Although this discussion of virtues would seem to move the mode of analysis away from the sensory, the training of prudence works similarly to the training of the senses. This thesis has consistently argued for the importance of the ways that physical and mental training are intertwined in the body of concern. Chapter 1 showed how appropriate regal sensing as a habit was an essential component of *prudentia singula*. The subsequent focus on martial training, both wrestling and armed combat, showed that the functioning of the senses had two components, basic sensations and then interpretation - the understanding of what the sensation means in different contexts. This latter component is given by experience and the huge variation of contexts and experiences accounts for the cultural specificity of sensoria. Training

is a form of focused and guided experience, whether it be with wrestling skills trained by the physical performance of paired exercises or conceptual skills like dialectic argumentation trained by exercises in the *ars obligatoria*. There is a general approach which argues for the senses to be subject to reason, both in terms of their usage and the body's responses to them, and there are specific approaches to training particular senses to operate in certain ways – such as learning to understand the social ramifications of particular habits of speech, or the meaning of an armed opponent's stance and relative distance and orientation. This is a form of sensory *prudentia* – the ability to judge what is good or bad for a person and their chosen *finis* by experience and training.

The manner of training *prudentia* was mirrored in the ways that the senses were trained to operate, with universals governing interactions with particulars. This is clearly shown in Giles's initial framing of *prudentia*; "Prudence…is held to be likened to diverse things, and as it is likened to diverse things, it may be received differently".[65] *Prudentia* is then defined as being "a virtue which follows universal maxims, concerned with particular deeds."[66] His elaboration of the differing receptions of prudence (*singula, economica, regia, politica,* and *militia*), combined with the definition of prudence as a way of applying universals to particulars, means that the project of DRP should be regarded as a way of training prudence generally and specifically. Thus, *prudentia* was therefore as culturally and contextually contingent as sensing. This also means that there is a temporal aspect to command, and that the regal *habitus* is, for Giles, fundamentally future-oriented. Although rooted in the past (through knowledge of scholars, deeds of royal ancestors, and personal experience) and the

---

[65] "*Prudentia…ad diversa comparari habet et prout ad diversa comparator aliam et aliam notificationes suscipit.*" DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter VI, f.16v.
[66] "*...quod prudentia est virtus secudum universales maximas perticularia facta concernens.*" Book I, Part II, Chapter VI, f.17r.

present (through self-knowledge and habits of self-governance), *prudentia* was a way of sensing and controlling the future.

Lessons from each form of *prudentia* can be transferable to other forms. This is why it matters so much to note the common deployment within DRP of expansion from universals to particulars, such as the likening of a king's body to a house, a city, a realm, and the wider structure of the universe. The king's body and bodily senses were required to be governed by *prudentia singula*, which gained knowledge of its surroundings and made judgements of action based on this knowledge. Giles writes "That those who we estimate as prudent are those who are able to see and provide good for themselves and for others. Therefore, it is a certain eye through which good and what is required for a purpose is perceived."[67] So prudence in its varied sub-forms expands the king's capacity for sensation. By virtue of his nature and his training, the perfectly prudent king can literally see what others cannot, and then act through his extended body to effect his hegemony for the common good. As the definition of good is to be in accord with nature, as ordained by God, the king's *prudentia* is a temporal virtue, in that he allows things to become what they are destined to be. This makes his rule natural and, as per the intention set out in the Prologue to DRP, perpetual.

---

[67] "*Quod illos estimamus prudentes, qui sibi et aliis possunt bona speculari et providere. Ergo est quidam oculus per quem bonus et debitus finis perspicitur.*" DRP, Book I, Part II, Chapter VII, f.17r.

Conclusion

This thesis has approached the question of the sensing medieval body through the framework of the life-course, oriented by Giles of Rome’s DRP. Beginning from the observation that the medieval regal life-course was cyclical and quasi-eternal, the thesis re-organised the prescriptions within DRP to reveal the model according to which the masculine/male body was crafted as a sensory *habitus*. In so doing, the thesis also cast particular light on a series of practices designed to extend the royal body of concern. These extensions included not only martial accoutrements, but other objects, people and animals, as well as landscapes, and ultimately the realm itself. DRP was thus re-interpreted to shed light not only on the configuration of the medieval sensorium, but the ordering of a world. The pervasive concept of the body politic was expanded from a relationship between the individual and the realm to include scales between the two. In doing so, the thesis has traced the multiple ways in which the sensory body was central to the practice of ruling.

This conclusion takes the form of two sections. In the first part, it offers an overview of the thesis and a summary of the arguments of each chapter. In the second part it turns to consider the possible impact of the work and future avenues for research.

Overview of thesis

Chapter 1 examined the earliest stages of the king’s life and the ways that methods and tools of shaping the royal body were supposed to shift according to the royal child's level of maturity. At first, when their existence was conceptual, such tools were as broad as the realm itself; the time of year and the weather were given consideration alongside the physical characteristics of both parents. When the infant became actual, their diet, their immediate environment and their passive sensory experiences of their surroundings were the focus. As a royal child gained the ability to move and act, concern broadened to their active sensory

habits, teaching habits of bodily and emotional self-control to form a rationally centred *habitus*. The work of shaping a rational *habitus* prior to the body of concern's development of rational faculties was a form of orientation, creating habits that would be rationalised later. The analogy of Sara Ahmed in describing the orientation of the mould of a person is apposite in this case, given the common deployment of metaphors associated with crafting items related to the royal life, such as wax seals and metal weapons. A gendered comparison of techniques of shaping children showed how ideas of the potential of the subjects governed their pedagogies, and how ideas of social and gender inequality were rooted in Giles's theological and teleological understanding of nature. Ultimately, the nascent king was oriented, shaped, and constructed through methods tailored to suit their developmental stage, even when pre-natal. This process moved from passive and environmental to active and sensory, orienting their *habitus* towards a rational self-governance that would guide the interpretation of their specific experiences in later life.

Chapter 2 examined the opening out of the *habitus* beyond the enclosed infant into a wider social world through a study of the practice of wrestling. The tuition of wrestling taught how ideas of self-control and self-awareness could be expanded to derive knowledge of other bodies and guide actions intended to master such bodies. The spatio-tactile aspects of the sensorium were central to wrestling and were tuned through practice to sense imbalance and opportunities for action via physical contact and the reading of bodily stances. From this the royal body of concern gained a conceptual foundation for their future, one that prized habits of physicalising strategic choices and modes of interaction. As a corollary to these methods of tuition, the importance of learning through witnessed exchanges or dialogues was impressed into the students; a method paralleled in academic schooling. The self-governance of the *habitus* formed in early years was now expanded to a method of mastering others, with a strong focus on the strategic implications of sensation.

Chapter 3 followed the subject's education via the *trivium*, and showed how physical knowledge from wrestling training could be abstracted into techniques of memorisation, dialectic argumentation, and rhetorical persuasion. At the same time, these abstract skills were materialised; built into the bodily *habitus* through medieval understandings of memory as spatial, argumentation as sequential, and persuasion as deliberately emotional. This education built upon an assumption of growing bodily self-awareness by underscoring the potential for the royal body to operate as a metaphysical entity. At this stage in the royal life course, a thought, a word, or a citation could become as meaningful and readable as a stance or a physical action. Furthermore, just as wrestling training developed a physical sensitivity and capacity for judgement, methods of performance within the pedagogical techniques for subjects of the *trivium* demonstrated to the student that their high levels of knowledge and skill formed them into a being with a superior capacity to judge the arguments of others. Although royal children came with different potential to common children, as ordained by God, this potential was actualised by higher levels of skill and judgement. Judgement would come to be fundamental to their political lives, but as yet they needed to understand how their habits of self-rule could be expanded to not just affect others, but to incorporate and rule their future subjects. Through entwined physical and academic schooling, the *habitus* had now gained a defining aspect of its ontological superiority that would make such incorporation possible.

Chapter 4 returned to martial techniques of the physical body, beginning with more advanced martial skills, and then shifting to the habits of rule. The intricacies of armed combat enfolded many of the lessons of wrestling, such as a trained sensitivity and capacity to interpret physical sensation, combined with an appreciation of the links between appearance and meaning. Yet the crucial aspect of such training was the mediation of sensation via an object as an extension of the body. Contemporary sources on riding show a

similar but distinctive approach to the incorporation of horses, including the emotional sensitivity introduced in rhetorical training. Hunting literature expanded these lessons to an assemblage of humans and non-humans in pursuit of a complex and often anthropomorphised quarry where the process of pursuit took precedence over the moment of the kill. Such lessons in governance translated easily into discussions of the domestic environment in DRP where the concept of servants as souled instruments overtly evoked the Aristotelian description of the *kybernetes* – the one who rules the rowers of a ship. The evolution of this term into cybernetics inspired the chapter's use of the image of the cyborg as a guide to the ramifications of incorporation. Here the ruler's ontological difference was the defining factor that enabled dominance while retaining distinction. The princely *habitus* was now capable of embodiment at a distance, enabled by an ontological distinction that had been actualised by education.

To more clearly define the enabling factor in the act of incorporation the thesis then delved into the concept of *prudentia*. Chapter 5 argued for the primacy of *prudentia;* the virtue which ultimately unifies the subjects of this thesis. Each form of study was undertaken, not for its own sake, but so as to serve rulership. The king was not to be a warrior any more than he was an orator, a huntsman, or a military general. Instead, he was required to know how to fight, to speak, to manage a hunt, and to command an army sufficiently to make informed judgements on these activities and many others. The most important work of the king as a ruler of a realm was the giving and interpretation of law, and the habit of incorporation discussed in Chapter 4 disposed his *habitus* well to embodying law at a remove. Yet this did not mean that he was solely concerned law as a ruler. The expanded idea of the body politic illustrates this need for multiple forms of *prudentia*. Rather than being a dialectic existence between an individual body and the metaphorical body of the realm, the existence of a king required him to operate at a multiplicity of nested scales, each with their

own sub-form of *prudentia; singula, politica, economica, militia,* and *regia*. Crucially, the king's body contained all these scales simultaneously, his regal *habitus* being both an end and a means to rule.

<u>**Impact of the work**</u>

This thesis reframes and adds nuance to three key approaches in existing scholarship. First: histories of education have until recently predominately focused on the means by which particular sources on a specific subject further expertise in that subject. This work broadens that discourse by the linking of the training of the martial body to the metaphysical self. This model of analysis invites historians of education to consider the relationships between specific subjects and the phronesis of varied social roles. Second: biographical histories of medieval kings can be expanded by the new perspectives on the royal body and the body politic in this thesis. More specifically, the king's extended body and its multiple scales of incorporation, allow a richer and more complex account of medieval kingship to emerge than that often offered in the scholarship. Third: the focus on the physical training of the future king allows a reconsidering of martial body within wider social and more specific histories of gender.

<u>Medieval pedagogy as training of bodily *habitus*</u>

This thesis has shown the value of considering the shaping of the physical body alongside more academic schooling. The presence of the body in histories of the *trivium* is significant as shown by the physical basis for methods of tuition. Giles Constable argued that dialogue and dialectic played a fundamental part in the thought processes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. But if, as this thesis has argued, the physical training of the body formed the conceptual framework by which these disputative skills were organised and assimilated, then it may be that the physical capabilities of the body formed the basis for these thought

processes, at least according to DRP.[1] The kind of martial analogies that appear in this thesis's account of the trivium were not drafted by knights and warriors, but by intellectual figures such as John of Salisbury and Peter Abelard. Thus, histories of the sensing, martial body can complement studies of intellectual culture in new and exciting ways.

The king's many bodies

The expansion of the concept of the body politic from a dialectic between an individual and an eternal realm was espoused by Kantorowicz, who argued that the concept of the king's body as a realm was a juridical fiction employed by theologians and lawyers to defeat death via the symbolic body. This was ultimately an application of theological concepts of the body of Christ to the political realm. This thesis's focus on rule as a *habitus* expands the dualistic relationship between a physical body and a symbolic body to a physical form with multiple extended bodies. Reading kingly actions in different contexts as expressions of a regal *habitus* is a valuable tool for biographical approaches. Awareness of the symbolic resonances of behaviour was not reserved for chroniclers or historians (of any period) but was a part of the king's *prudentia*, and so we should consider this awareness when engaging with biographical material on princes and kings. Kings may have undertaken particular acts or modes of behaviour as individuals, or as one of the many varieties of extended ruling body and made certain that it was chronicled as a way of embodying their reign, both for the present and the future.

The notion of the extended royal life course as being both temporal and atemporal shows how a particular conception of time was a central part of the regal *habitus*. For a king, *prudentia* was the ability to apply their knowledge of what was best for any given situation as would best serve their end. This end, as God willed, was the common good of all their

[1] Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* Cambridge University Press, 1996, p.130.

subjects, and DRP argued that an absolute ruler was the best way to achieve this good. But despite their multiple extended bodies, the individual body of the king was still temporal and the atemporal concept of the King required embodiment. Thus, for a king to create a successor with the same end and the same *habitus* was as prudent an act as giving the correct law. The king's conception of time required him to accept both his temporal and atemporal aspects and make decisions with ramifications that he would never personally perceive, including providing for his own death and replacement.

Of course, kings were demonstrably different from one another. In the ideal model that DRP describes, there would be no inconsistency and the king's rule would be, in Giles's words, natural and perpetual. That this was the purpose of DRP speaks to the perception for its need. Yet if we were to compare, Phillipe IV of France (reigned 1285-1314), the supposed recipient of DRP, with either his father Phillipe III (reigned 1270-1285), or his son and successor, Louis X (reigned 1314-1316), it is clear that each of these figures had their own ideas on how to rule that often contrasted with their forebears.[2] We might then regard DRP as the articulation of an ideal, but also an intervention with the aim of encouraging political stability. If so, Giles did not live to see positive results from his work. Indeed, some of his arguments within DRP for the importance of monarchical authority could be interpreted as granting an enormous degree of authority to secular figures who determined that their interpretation of "common good" was superior to another. The late thirteenth and early fourteenth century saw a serious dispute between Phillipe IV and the papacy, ending with the physical capture and death of Boniface VIII, and eventual movement of the seat of the papacy

---

[2] Phillipe III embarked upon a military venture against Aragon, and it has been argued that the future Phillipe IV was an extremely reluctant participant, even potentially negotiating an unofficial withdrawal pact with Peter of Aragon. See Strayer, Joseph, *The Reign of Phillip the Fair*, 1980, p.70. Louis X reversed or halted many of his father's administrative reforms and prosecuted many former ministers, executing some. See Emmerson, Richard Kenneth and Sandra Clayton-Emmerson. *Key Figures in Medieval Europe: An Encyclopedia,* Routledge, 2006, p.528 and Wagner, John A. *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War*, Greenwood Press, 2006, p.203.

to Avignon in 1309.[3] While not causing the dispute between secular and ecclesiastical authorities, DRP may have energised the argument.

(Re)Orienting Medieval Gender

To ask how people's bodies were shaped for the work for which they were intended is a question that ideally suits the material on medieval kingship. The role of a king was often debated, but the importance of a king fulfilling their role was so immediate that DRP is only one of multiple examples of regal conduct literature. Consequently, we can (and should) regard this material as not only concerned with politics, but onto-politics. An extension of the method used in this thesis to ideas of medieval queenship (or indeed princess-ship, or nun-ship, or monk-ship, or peasant-ship) would likely require a broader range of evidence sources, but given the impossibility of discussing gender and social roles separately, have potential to tie together many rich histories of medieval femininities, masculinities, and histories of practice. As the brief foray into the subject in Chapter One made clear, the use of orientation as an analytical term directs our attention to the ways that medieval women could be pointed towards or away from certain spaces, bodies, or practices. In doing so, they shaped themselves while, as passive objects of desire, they contributed to the orientation and shaping of men. Yet a queen was a highly specific social role, outside of the scope of the project of DRP. To apply the same method of analysing the queenly body of concern and the understanding the tension between her role as an extension of her royal husband's family, but also a powerful individual in her own right would be fruitful, and has in some respects

---

[3] A detailed chronicle of the confrontation between Sciarra Colonna and Boniface VIII can be found in Giovanni Villani, *Historia universalis*, Book VIII, chapter 65. (R. E. Selfe and P. H. Wicksteed eds and trans), *Selections from the First Nine Books of the Croniche Fiorentine of Giovanni Villani,* Westminster, 1898, pp. 346–350. For a general study of Phillipe's relationship with the Church, including this incident, see Strayer, *The Reign of Phillip the Fair*, pp.237-300. A key intervention in the crisis was the publication of a famous papal bull, *Unam sanctam,* which Arthur Monahan argues was drafted by Giles. See Monahan, Arthur. *Giles of Rome on Ecclesiastical Power,* E.Mellon Press, 1990, Introduction.

already been done.[4] There is significant potential for a case study with this method centred on such a figure as Isabella of France, a seemingly ideal queen as a child who faced a crisis of social role, and eventually spear-headed an armed rebellion against her husband.[5]

Returning to medieval masculinities, this thesis's method of foregrounding *habitus* and the practical methods of its shaping from the earliest stages of life adds a valuable perspective on aspects of historical masculinities that are often left without analysis, namely the experiences of childhood and the details of practice. In general, and with notable exceptions, medieval masculinities remain under-interrogated.[6] The anthology *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (1994) traces the contours of a varied collection of masculinities yet treats the formative process of such masculinities very lightly, and the chapter concerned with the experience of being male in the Middle Ages centres its arguments on sexual performance, virility, and the transgressions of feminine men.[7] Derek Neal wrote in *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England* (2008) that a cyclical model of the interactions between mind, body, and discourse would "refresh thinking about the relationship between maleness and masculine identity" and that this would "admit the historicity of male bodily experience."[8] However, Neal's analysis is based on analysing masculinity in adolescence and young adulthood, with no consideration of childhood and, despite his comment on male bodily experience, he primarily analyses literary romance with a psychoanalytic method of accessing a supposedly private dimension of masculinity. As this

---

[4] For work on the construction of authoritative personae, see Weiker, Katherine. Authority, *Gender and Space in the Anglo-Norman World, 900-1200*, Boydell & Brewer, 2020.
[5] For biographies of Isabella, see Doherty, Paul C. *Isabella and the Strange Death of Edward II*, Carroll & Graf, 2003 and Warner, Kathyrn. *Isabella of France: The Rebel Queen*, Amberley Publishing, 2016.
[6] For examples see Walker-Bynum, Caroline. *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women*, University of California Press, 1987, *Fragmentation and Redemption: Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion,* Zone Books, 1990, and Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*, Cambridge University Press, 1991.
[7] Bullough, Vern L. "On Being a Male in the Middle Ages", *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (Clare A. Lees ed), University of Minnesota Press, 1994.
[8] Neal, Derek G. *The Masculine Self in Late Medieval England,* University of Chicago Press, p.186

thesis has shown, attention to the specifics of what a body did, could do, and what was thought appropriate to do within the life course model allows a synthesis of bodily and social understandings. Most saliently, Ruth Karras's influential and important *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (2003) showed this via a study of medieval chivalric masculinity in the areas of martial prowess, courtly love, and the acquisition of wealth and honour.[9] This thesis expands Karras's intervention from knighthood to kingship, and views the experience of chivalric knighthood from within the 'atemporal' life course which also contains preconception, early years education, and the materializing of martial prowess.

This thesis used those details to show the shaping of an ideal regal masculinity and the tightly entwined understandings of physical particulars with metaphysical universals. The regal body of concern was carefully conceived, shaped through correct use of the senses and experience and oriented towards rationality, and then trained to physically defeat other bodies. More importantly, it was then taught to translate that understanding into the metaphysical world of argumentation and persuasion, and ultimately use this superior understanding as the basis for incorporating and mastering myriad humans and non-humans so that they might accurately embody forms of *prudentia* suited to multiple contexts of rule. This is a model of masculinity that is both nuanced and far-reaching in its ramifications.

If minds and identities are shaped by bodies and bodies are shaped by activities, it is crucial to interrogate physical activity. The sources of this thesis that pertain to martial training are the most accessible, in that they describe deliberate training, often with an explicit rationale, and yet these sources had to be read against the grain, and in new contexts, in order to reveal their claims not just on martial expertise, but also on the making of bodies.

---

[9] Karras, Ruth. *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003.

Another extension of the method of this thesis might be to address those actions which are less considered and by individuals further from the top of the social hierarchy than a king. Inspired by Judith Butler's language of repeated performances as citational precedents, Rosemary Joyce reinterpreted archaeological material to analyse social practices marking lifecycle transitions in sixteenth-century Aztec children.[10] We might combine this strand of thought with reflection upon the cyclical effects of actions on bodies and on environments. Charlotte Perkin Gilman writes of the ways that a woman's body is shaped by the ways they inhabit domestic interiors; "So, to the home-bound woman came much sitting, and much sitting called for ever softer seats."[11] Sara Ahmed directs our attention to the ways that spaces shaped for particular work by particular genders can still be queered, with the idea of the kitchen table as a writing space.[12] Combining these thoughts, we might, for example, examine the effects of the repeated actions involved in the work of being a lord's souled instrument – the *media* discussed in Chapter Four. Although hugely varied by context and role, such individuals would be extensions of their superior, but also their own person. A case study might follow one or possibly a group of individuals of the more middle class as they found service in households. As Chapter One raised the question of how different material assemblages were invoked in the metaphysical making of royal girls (bridles) and royal boys (stamps, tongs), how might the metaphysics of others' bodies be tied up within other materials, spaces, and temporalities? In the interests of examining social roles under tension, might we look to biographies of those who moved between social roles; soldiers who were granted rule of lands or entered monastic orders? Although the rigidity of medieval society

---

[10] Joyce, Rosemary A. "Girling the Girl and Boying the Boy: The Production of Adulthood in Ancient Mesoamerica", *World Anthropology,* Vol.31, No.3, 2000, pp473-483.
[11] Gilman, Charlotte Perkin. *The Home: Its Work and Influence,* Alta Mira, 2002, pp.27-28.
[12] Here, Ahmed uses the example of the Kitchen Table Press as a producer of feminist literature. Ahmed, *Queer Phenomenology,* p.61.

has often been overemphasised, the strictness of social stratification relative to more modern society permits us to more easily ask how a *habitus* could or could not transform.

Reconsidering the martial body

As the thesis makes clear, the *habitus* of a person is formed both consciously and unconsciously. DRP shows this as a deliberate project which assumes a great deal of agency on the part of its royal subjects. But Giles had his own *habitus*, that of an intellectual and a theologian, just as we too have our own *habitus*. Despite the physical basis of techniques of pedagogy that Giles would have experienced in his own studies of the *trivium*, and consequently the *quadrivium*, the overwhelming focus of the work of intellectuals of this time was to sit, to read, to compose writing, and to think. This may explain why, despite the overt deployment of martial analogies and metaphors in some sections of DRP, the relationships between the shaping of the physical body and the *prudentia* of the king needed the work of this thesis to make them explicit. Either the relationships were so clear to Giles that he did not feel the need to explain them, or they simply did not occur to him.

The aspects of this research that are concerned with martial training are influenced by the author's personal experience of reconstructing and teaching medieval combat techniques. This forms a *habitus* predisposed to find correlations between martial practice and pedagogy - a somewhat unusual *habitus* by the standards of modern medieval historians (although perhaps less so amongst scholars of material martial culture). Studies on the history of martial techniques are a small but lively strand of research within modern medieval scholarship, yet one predisposed to being somewhat insular. This can manifest in a preoccupation with the material aspects of weapons or armour, or a desire to reconstruct practices "correctly". The confluence of physical experience and pedagogical practice within this thesis shows the potential impact of tying together techniques of body and wider currents of social history. Martial techniques were only some of the myriad methods by which individuals were shaped,

but the underlying principles were persistent within many pedagogical approaches. The presence of these principles within royal education, together with the idea of the body politic, meant that the impacts extended beyond bodies to houses, cities, armies, and kingdoms.

As the paper by Anne Cutler on the perceptions of rhythm in language demonstrates, it is possible to miss the importance of aspects of thought when bodily practice is minimised.[13] Experience is impossible without a sensing body and historic sensoria were cultural constructions. There is considerable scholarly utility in investigating such experience; we can speak the words as well as reading the texts. We might even try to sing the songs, dance the dances, cook and eat the food, wear the clothes, or swing the swords. We will never do it as they did, nor should we think that we can. But we will be reminded that minds are embodied, and recentre experience in a host of historical studies.

[13] See p.117.

Bibliography

Manuscripts

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Prayer Book of Hildegard of Bingen, CLM 935.

Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana

Starhemburg Fechtbuch Cod.44.A.8.

Bibliothèque nationale de France

Livre de Chasse, MS Fr. 616.

Florius de Arte Luctandi, MS Latin 11269.

Biblioteka Jagiellońska

Goliath Fechtbuch, MS Germ. Quart. 2020.

Bodleian Library, Oxford

The Ormesby Psalter, MS Douce 366.

British Museum

MS Royal 1 D X.

British Library

MS Arundel 157.

The Queen Mary Psalter, MS 2 B VII.

Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Pol Hausbuch, MS 3227a.

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Die Blumes des Kampfs, Codex 5278.

J Paul Getty Museum

Il Fior di Battaglia, MS Ludwig XV 13.

Royal Armouries – Leeds

The Tower Fechtbuch, MS i.33.

Royal Library of Belgium

Politics and Economics, MS 11201-02.

Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek Erfurt/Gotha

Talhoffer Fechtbuch, MS Chart.A.558.

Universitätsbibliothek Augsburg

Codex Wallerstein Cod.I.6.4o.2.

Primary Printed Works

Anonymous

De disciplina scholarium, (Olga Weijers ed), Brill, Leiden, 1976.

Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London: Letter Book H, Circa A. D. 1375-1399, (Reginal Sharpe, ed) London, 1907.

Rhetorica ad Herennium. Translated by Harry Caplan. Loeb Classical Library 403. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1954.

The Roll and Writ File of the Berkshire Eyre of 1248, (M. T. Clanchy, ed) London, 1973.

Aristotle

Nicomachean Ethics (H. Rackham trans), Loeb Classical Library 73. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1926.

On the Soul. Parva Naturalia. On Breath. (W. S. Hett trans). Loeb Classical Library 288. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Physics, Volume I: Books 1-4 (P. H. Wicksteed, F. M. Cornford trans), Loeb Classical Library 228. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957.

Posterior Analytics, (Hugh Tredennick, E. S. Forster trans), Loeb Classical Library 391. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Topica, (Hugh Tredennick, E. S. Forster trans), Loeb Classical Library 391. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960.

Augustine,

The Confessions, (Henry Chadwick trans), Oxford World Classics, 2008.

The City of God, (Henry Bettenson trans), London, Penguin, 1984.

Soliloquies and Immortality of the Souls, London University Press, 1990.

Boethius

The Consolation of Philosophy, (Peter Walsh trans), Oxford World Classics, 2008.

Soliloquies and Immortality of the Souls, London University Press, 1990.

Bertrand of Brittany

Vercel, Roger, *Bertrand of Brittany: A Biography of Messire du Guesclin*, Yale University Press, 1934.

Cicero

On the Orator: Books 1-2. Translated by E. W. Sutton, H. Rackham. Loeb Classical Library 348. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1942.

Edward of Norwich

The Master of Game (William A. Baillie-Grohman and F. N. Baillie-Grohman trans), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.

Geoffrey Chaucer

The Riverside Chaucer, Oxford University Press, 1988.

Giles of Rome

De regimine principum, London, British Library (IC.5448), Imprint: Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 27 June 1473.

Exposito super libros rhetoricorum, Venice 1515, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1968.

Li Livre du Gouvernement des Rois: A XIIIth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's

Treatise De regimine principum, New York and London, 1899.

Superlibrum 1 Sententiarum (Ordinatio): Venice 1492; Venice 1521, repr. Frankfurt am Main 1968.

The Governance of Kings and Princes: John Trevisa's Middle English Translation of the "De regimine principum" of Aegidius Romanus (D.C Fowler, C.F Briggs, and P.G. Remley eds), New York, 1997.

Hippocrates

Ancient Medicine. Airs, Waters, Places. Epidemics 1 and 3. The Oath. Precepts. Nutriment. Edited and translated by Paul Potter. Loeb Classical Library 147. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022.

Jocelyn of Brakelond

Monastic and Social Life in the Twelfth Century, as exemplified in the Chronicles of Jocelin of Brakelond from A.D. 1173 to 1202. T. E. Tomlins (trans), Camden Society,1844.

John of Salisbury

The Metalogicon of John of Salisbury: A Twelfth-Century Defense of the Verbal and Logical Arts of the Trivium (Daniel D. McGarry trans) University of California Press, 1971.

Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers, (Cary J Nederman, ed & trans), Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Jordan of Saxony

Jordani de Saxonia Liber Vitrasfratrum [...], (R. Arbesmann, W. Hümpfner eds)*,* Cassiacum, Studies in St Augustine and the Augustinian Order, vol. 1, Cosmopolitan Science & Art Service Co, 1943.

Marie de France

Marie de France. *The Fables of Marie de France: An English Translation,* Summa Publications, 1984.

Peter Abelard

Historia Calamitatum: A History of My Misfortunes, Beloved Publishing LLC, 2015.

Philostratus

Heroicus. Gymnasticus. Discourses 1 and 2. Edited and translated by Jeffrey Rusten, Jason König. Loeb Classical Library 521. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014

Robert Grosseteste

Ethica Nicomachea, translatio Roberti Grosseteste Lincolniensis, (R. A. Gauthier ed) Brill, Desclée de Brouwer, 1973

Theocritus

Theocritus. Moschus. Bion. Edited and translated by Neil Hopkinson. Loeb Classical Library 28. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015

Thomas Aquinas

St Thomas Aquinas Summa Theologica (Fathers of the English Dominican Province trans), Christian Classics, 1981.

Villard de Honnecourt

The Medieval Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, Dover Publications, 2006.

Vegetius

Epitome of Military Science (N.P Milner (trans). Liverpool University Press, 2011

Vincent of Beauvais

*De eruditione filiorum nobilium, (*Arpad Steiner ed) Medieval Academy of North America, 1938

William Twitti

Scott-McNab, David (ed), *The Middle English Text of The Art of Hunting by William Twiti, with a Parallel Text of the Anglo-Norman L'Art de Venerie by William Twiti, Edited from*

Cambridge Gonville and Caius College, MS 424/448, Universitätsverlag Winter Heidelberg, 2009

Secondary Sources

A History of Habit: From Aristotle to Bourdieu, (Tom Sparrown and Adam Hutchinson eds), Lexington Books, 2013.

Allmand, Christopher. *The De Re Militari of Vegetius: The Reception, Transmission, and Legacy of a Roman Text in the Middle Ages,* Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Almond, Richard. *Medieval Hunting*, The History Press, 2011.

Ahmed, Sara. *Queer Phenomenology: Orientations, Objects and Others*, Duke University Press, 2006.

Astell, Ann W. "A Discerning Smell: Olfaction Among the Senses in St. Bonadventure's 'Long Life of St.Francis'." *Franciscan Studies,* No.67, 2009, pp.91-131.

Aubert-Baillot, Sophie. "De La Φρόνησις à La 'Prudentia." *Mnemosyne*, vol.68, no.1, 2015, pp. 68–90.

Austin, Nicholas. *Aquinas on Virtue: A Causal Reading,* Georgetown University Press, 2017.

Bachrach, Bernard. "The Practical Use of Vegetius' "De Re Militari" During the Early Middle Ages", *The Historian,* Vol.47, No.2, 1985.

Bedos-Rezak, Birgitte M. "Status: An Impression", *Seals and Status: The Power of Objects,* (John Cherry, Jessica Berenbeim, and Lloyd de Beer eds), The British Museum, 2018, pp. 45-53.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* Routledge, 1984.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of A Theory of Practice,* Cambridge University Press, 1972.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Logic of Practice*, Polity Press, 1980.

Brendan Nagle, D. *The Household as the Foundation of Aristotle's Polis*, Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Briggs, Charles. *A Companion to Giles of Rome,* (Charles F. Briggs, Peter S. Eardley eds), Brill, 2016.

Briggs, Charles, F. *Giles of Rome's De Regimine Principum: Reading and Writing Politics at Court and University c.1275-1525,* Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Butler, Judith. *Bodies That Matter: On the discursive limits of "sex",* Routledge, 2011.

Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity,* Routledge, 1990.

Campbell, Richard. ''The Systematic Character of Anselm's Thought,'', *Les Mutations Socio-Culturelles au Tournant des XIe - XIIe Siècles: Etudes Anselmiennes,* Editions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, pp.549-560.

Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture,* Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Casagrande, Gino, and Kleinhenz, Christopher. "Literary and Philosophical Perspectives on the Wheel of the Five Senses in Longthorpe Tower." *Traditio,* Vol. 41, 1985, pp.311–27.

Caseau, Beatrice. "The Senses in Religion: Liturgy, Devotion, and Deprivation", *A Cultural History of the Senses in the Middle Ages* (Richard Newhauser ed), Bloomsbury, 2014.

Cannon, Christopher. "The Art of Rereading", *ELH*, Vol. 80, No. 2 (summer 2013).

Champion, Matthew. "Senses at the Altar in Medieval Northern Europe", *Questiones Medii Aevi Novae 22,* 2017, pp.127-147.

Classen, Constance. "McLuhan in the Rainforest: The Sensory Worlds of Oral Cultures", *Empire of the Senses: The Sensual Cultural Reader,* David Howes (ed), Routledge, 2005.

Colish, Marcia L. *The Mirror of Language: A Study of the Medieval Theory of Knowledge,* University of Nebraska Press, 1983.

Contamine, Phillipe. *La noblesse au royaume de France de Phillipe le Bel à Louis XII - essai de synthèse*, PUF, 1997.

Constable, Giles. *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century,* Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Copeland, Rita, Sluiter, Ineke. “Aelius Donatus, Ars minor, Ars maior, Life of Virgil, CA. 350”, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory,AD 300-1475,* Oxford University Press, 2015.

Copeland, Rita. *Emotion and the History of Rhetoric in the Middle Ages,* Oxford University Press, 2022.

Copeland, Rita, Sluiter, Ineke. *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory,AD 300-1475,* Oxford University Press, 2015.

Corbin, Alain. *The Foul and the Fragrant: Odor and the French Social Imagination,* Harvard University Press, 1986.

Corbin, Alain. *Time, Desire, and Horror: Towards a History of the Senses,* Wiley, 1995.

Cornelius, Ian. “Boethius’ De consoltione philosophiae”, *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature: Volume 1: 800-1558,* (Rita Copeland ed), Oxford University Press, 2016.

Cox, Virginia, “Medieval Rhetoric and Politics,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Rhetorical Studies*(Michael J. MacDonald ed), Oxford University Press, 2017, pp. 329–40.

Crane, Susan. “Chivalry and the Pre/Postmodern”, *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies,* Vol. 2, 2011.

Cripps-Day, F.H. *The History of the Tournament,* AMS Press, 1982.

Cummins, John. *The Hound and the Hawk: The Art of Medieval Hunting*, Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988.

Cutler, Anne. “The Perception of Rhythm in Language”, *Cognition,* Vol.50, 1994.

de Hartman, Carmen Cardelle. *Lateinische Dialoge 1200–1400: Literaturhistorische Studie und Repertorium,* Brill, 2007.

Delaborde, Henri-François *Jean de Joinville et les seigneurs de Joinville, suivi d'un catalogue de leurs actes,* Paris, 1894.

Dempsey, Karen, Gilchrist, Roberta, Ashbee, Jeremy, Sagrott, Stefan, Stones, Samantha, "Beyond the martial façade: gender, heritage and medieval castles", *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 2020, Vol.26, No.4.

de la Marche, Lecoy. *La Chaire francaise au moyen age,* Paris, 1886.

de Rijk, L.M. *Die mittelalterliche Traktate De modo opponendi et respondendi,* Neue Folge, Band 17, 1980.

DiLorenzo, Raymond D. "Non Pie Quaerunt: Rhetoric, Dialectic, and the Discovery of the True in Augustine's Confessions", *Augustinian Studies,* Volume 14, 1983.

Dingjan, François. *Discretio: Les Origines patristiques et monastiques de la doctrine sur la prudence chez saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Van Gorcum, 1967.

Donati, Silvia. "Studi per una cronologia delle opere di Egidio Romano,I: Le opere primadel 1285—I commenti aristotelici," *Documentie studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale* 1 (1990) and 2 (1991).

Eastman, J.R. 'Das Leben des Augustiner-Eremiten Aegidius Romanus (ca. 1243-1316)', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 4th series, 38, Vol.100, No.3, 1989.

Enders, Jody. "The Theater of Scholastic Erudition", *Comparative Drama*, Fall 1993, Vol. 27, No. 3.

Every Inch a King; Comparative Studies on Kings and Kingship in the Ancient and Medieval Worlds (Lynne Mitchell and Charles Melville eds), Brill, 2013.

Feh, Claudia. De Mazières, Jeanne. "Grooming at a preferred site reduces heart rate in horses", *Animal Behaviour,* Vo.46, Issue. 6, December 1993, pp.1191-1194.

Finley, Jessica. *Medieval Wrestling: Modern Practice of a Fifteenth-Century Art*, Freelance Academy Press, 2014.

Forgeng, Jeffrey. *The Medieval Art of Swordsmanship,* Royal Armouries, 2018.

Foucault, Michel. *History of Sexuality, Volume I,* Knopf Doubleday Publishing Group, 2012.

Fragments for a History of the Human Body, Zone Books, 1989.

Framing Medieval Bodies, (Sarah Kay and Miri Rubin eds) Manchester University Press, 1996.

Gaposchkin, Cecilia M. *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages,* Cornell University Press, 2008.

Gilchrist, Roberta. *Medieval Life: Archaeology and the Life Course,* Boydell, 2012.

Glorieux, Palémon. *Robert de Sobon: L'Homme, Le College, Les Documents,* Aux Origines de la Sorbonne, 1, Paris, 1966.

Goldberg, Eric J. *In the Manner of the Franks: Hunting, Masculinity, and Kingship in Early Medieval Europe*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020.

Haidu, Peter. *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State*, Indiana University Press, 1993.

Hankinson, R.J. *The Cambridge Companion to Galen*, Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Haraway, Donna J. "A Cyborg Manifesto : Science, Technology, and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century", *Simians, Cyborgs and Women : The Reinvention of Nature,* Routledge, 1991.

Harrison, Sonny. *Jordanus Ruffus and the late-medieval hippiatric tradition: Animal-care practitioners and the horse,* PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 2018.

Haskins, C.H. *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, Harvard University Press, 1927.

Hassall, W.O. 'Plays at Clerkenwell', *Modern Language Review*, vol 33, 1938.

Hearne, Vicki. *Adam's Task: Calling Animals by Name*, Knopf, 1986.

Hewson, M. Anthony. *Giles of Rome and the Medieval Theory of Conception. A Study of the*

De formatione corporis humani in utero, London, Athlone Press, 1975.

Hicks, Ruth Isley. “The Body Political and the Body Ecclesiastical”, *Journal of Bible and Religion,* Vol.31, No.1, Jan. 1963, pp.29-35.

Hockey, Jenny, and Draper, Janet. “Beyond the Womb and the Tomb: Identity, (Dis)embodiment and the Life Course”, *Body & Society,* Vol. 11, No.2, SAGE Publications, 2005.

Holstein, Bettina Elena. *A Commentary on the De predestinatione et prescientia, paradiso et inferno by Giles of Rome on the Basis of MS Cambrai BM 487, Doctoral Thesis,* Technische Universität Berlin, 2007.

Howes, David. “The Cultural Life of the Senses”, *Postmedieval,* Vol.3, 2012.

Huizinga, Johann. *The Waning of the Middle Ages,* Penguin, 1987.

Ingham, Mary Beth. “Stoic influences in the later Middle Ages”, *The Routledge Handbook of the Stoic Tradition* (John Sellars ed), Routledge, 2016.

Kaeuper, Richard. *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Karras, Ruth Mazo. *Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe,* University of Pennsylvannia Press, 2003.

Kantorowicz, Ernst. *The King’s Two Bodies; A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology,* Princeton University Press, 1957.

Kaster, R.A. *Guardians of Language: the Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity* University of California Press, 1988.

Keen, Maurice. *Chivalry,* Yale University Press, 2005.

Kellett, Rachel E. “Royal Armouries MS i.33: The Judicial Combat and the Art of Fencing in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-century German Literature”, *Oxford German Studies,* No. 41, 2012.

Kempshall, Matthew. *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought*, Oxford University Press, 1999.

Klemettilä, Hannele. *Animals and Hunters in the Late Middle Ages,* Routledge, 2015.

Kobayashi, Kiyoshi and Sharp, Harold. *The Sport of Judo*, Tuttle Publishing, 2014.

Krostenko, Brian A. "Binary Phrases and the Middle Style as Social Code: 'Rhetorica ad Herennium' 4.13 and 4.16", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology,* Vol.102, 2004, pp.237-274.

Latour, Bruno. "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern", *Critical Inquiry,* Vol.30, No.2, 2004.

Leet, Elizabeth S. "On Equine Language: Jordanus Rufus and Thirteenth-Century Communicative Horsemanship", *Animal Languages in the Middle Ages: Representations of Interspecies Communication,* (Alison Langdon ed) Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.

Le cinq sens au Moyen Age (Eric Palazzo ed), Cerf, 2016.

Leng, Rainer. *Fecht- und Ringbücher* fascicle. 1/2 of vol. 4/2 of *Katalog der deutschsprachigen illustrierten Handschriften des Mittelalters*, (Hella Frühmorgen-Voss, Norbert H. Ott, Ulrike Bodemann, Christine Stöllinger-Löser eds), In Kommission bei Beck, 2008, pp. 110-113.

Leoni, Tom and Mele, Greg. *Flowers of Battle, Volume 1: Historical Overview and the Getty Manuscript*, Freelance Academy Press, 2017.

Lewis, Ewart. "Natural Law and Expediency in Medieval Political Theory", *Ethics*, January 1940, vol.50, no.3, pp.144-163.

Lowenthal, David. *The Past is A Foreign Country,* Cambridge University Press, 1985.

Lovejoy, Arthur O. *The Great Chain of Being; A Study of the History of an Idea,* Harvard University Press, 1936.

Lynch, Andrew. "Emotion and Medieval 'Violence': The Alliterative Morte Arthure and The Siege of Jerusalem", *Writing War in Britain and France, 1370-1854,* Routledge, 2018.

Marmo, Costantino. "Logic, Rhetoric, and Language", *A Companion to Giles of Rome* (Charles F. Briggs, Peter S. Eardley eds), Brill, 2016.

Mauss, Marcel. *Sociology and Psychology: Essays*, (Ben Brewster trans), Routledge, 1979.

McGrath, Kate. *Royal Rage and the Construction of Anglo-Norman Authority, c.1000-1250,* Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Marvin, William Perry. *Hunting Law and Ritual in Medieval English Literature*, D.S Brewer, 2006.

McLuhan, M. "Inside the Five Sense Sensorium", *The Canadian Architect,* 6: 1961, p.49-54.

Mcvaugh, Michael. "Galen in the Medieval Universities, 1200-1400", *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Galen, Volume 17,* (Petros Bouras-Vallianatos and Barbara Zipser eds) Brill, 2019.

Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages, University of Minnesota Press, 1994.

Medieval Political Theory: A Reader. A Quest for the Body Politic, 1100-1400, (Cary J. Nederman and Kate Langdon Forhan eds), Routledge, 1993.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *The Phenomenology of Perception,* Routledge, 2012.

Merleau-Ponty, Maurice. *The Primacy of Perception* (James M Edie trans), Northwest University Press, 1964.

Miller, Stephen G. *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources,* University of California Press, 2014.

Montinaro, Antonio. 'Per La Tradizione Del De Medicina Equorum de Giordano Ruffo (Con Un Elenco Dei Testimoni Manoscritti)', *Medioevo Lettarario d'Italia*, 7, 2010.

Nagel, Thomas. "What Is It Like to Be a Bat", *The Philosophical Review,* Vol.83, No.4, October 1974, pp.435-450.

Nederman, Cary, J. "Nature, Ethics, and the Doctrine of 'Habitus': Aristotelian Moral

Psychology in the Twelfth Century”, *Traditio,* Volume 45, 1989-1990.

Nobles and Nobility in Medieval Europe, (Anne Duggan ed), Boydell and Brewer, 2000.

North, John. “The Quadrivium”, *A History of the University in Europe, Volume I: Universities in the Middle Ages,* (Hilde de Ridder Symoens ed), Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Novikoff, Alex J. *The Medieval Culture of Disputation,* University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Oakshott, Ewart. *The Sword in the Age of Chivalry,* Boydell Press, 1993.

Oggins, Robin S. *The Kings and Their Hawks: Falconry in Medieval England,* Yale University Press, 2004.

Ong, W.J. “World as View and World as Event”, *American Anthropologist,* Vol.71, No.4, 1969, pp.634-637.

Orme, Nicholas. *From Childhood to Chivalry: the education of English Kings and aristocracy 1066-1530,* Metheun, 1984.

Papi, Fiammetta. “Aristotle's Emotions in Giles of Rome's "De Regimine Principum" and in its Vernacular Translations (with a Note on Dante's "Convivio" III, 8, 10)”, *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia, serie 5*, Vol.8, No.1, 2016, pp. 73-104.

Parsons, Ben. *Punishment and Medieval Education,* Boydell & Brewer, 2019.

Parsons, Ben. “The Way of the Rod: The Functions of Beating in Late Medieval Pedagogy”, *Modern Philology,* Vol.113, No.1, 2015.

Palazzo, Eric. “Art, Liturgy, and the Five Senses in the Early Middle Ages”, *Viator Medieval and Renaissance Studies,* Vol.41, No.1, 2010, pp.25-561.

Pashayev, Ruslan C. “Lutte Provencales Wrestling in France”, *Applications of Traditional Wrestling in the World* (Mehmet Türkmen and Adem Kay eds), Nova Science Publishers, 2021, pp.93-100.

Payer, Pierre J. “Prudence and the Principles of Natural Law: A Medieval Development.” *Speculum*, vol. 54, no. 1, 1979, pp. 55–70.

Pini, Georgio. “Building the Augustinian Identity: Giles of Rome as Master of the Order," in *Philosophy and Theology in the Studia of the Religious Orders and at Papal and Royal Courts*, (eds.) Kent Emery, Jr., William J. Courtenay, and Stephen M. Metzger, Brepols, 2012.

Poliakoff, Michael, B. *Combat Sports in the Ancient World: Competition, Violence, and Culture,* Yale University Press, 1987.

Prazniak, Roxann. *Sudden Appearances: The Mongol Turn in Commerce, Belief, and Art,* University of Hawai’i Press, 2019.

Prévot, Brigitte. *La science du cheval au Moyen Âge: le traité d’hippiatrie de Jordanus Rufus,* Klincksieck, 1992.

Reed, Michael. “Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries”, *Discovering Past Landscapes,* Croom Helm, 1984.

Rigby, Stephen. “Aristotle for Poets: Giles of Rome’s *De regimine principum* as Theodicy of Privilege”, *The Chaucer Review* , Vol. 46, No. 3, 2012.

Roberts, Edward. “Boundary clauses and the use of the vernacular in eastern Frankish charters, *c*.750–*c*.900”, *Historical Research,* Vol.91, Issue 254, November 2018.

Rodgers, Robert H. *An Introduction to Palladius,* University of London, Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement 35, 1975.

Rogers, Clifford J. "The Vegetian 'Science of Warfare' in the Middle Ages". *Journal of Medieval Military History*. Vol.1, 2003.

Roy, J. “’Polis’ and ‘Oikos’ in Classical Athens”, *Greece and Rome*, Vol. 46, No.1, 1999, pp.1-18.

Schmitt, Jean-Claude. *La raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval,* Gallimard, 1990.

Schriber, Carolyn P. "Edward II and the Tactics of Kingship," *Quidditas*: Vol. 13, Article 2,

1992.

Smith, Mark M. *A Sensory Manifesto,* Penn State Press, 2021.

Sensory Perception in the Medieval West (Michael D J. Bintley and Simon C Thomson eds) Brepols, 2016.

Shogimen, Takashi. “Treating the Body Politic: The Medical Metaphor of Political Rule in Late Medieval Europe and Tokugawa Japan.” *The Review of Politics,* Vo.70, no.1, 2008, pp.77–104.

Silving, Helen. “The Twilight zone of Positive and Natural Law”, *California Law Review*, July 1955, Vol.43, No.3, pp.477-513.

Sinclair, Patrick. “The Sententia in Rhetorica ad Herennium: A Study in the Sociology of Rhetoric”, *The American Journal of Philology,* Vol.114, No.4, Winter 1993, pp.561-580.

Skoda, Hannah. *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270-1330*, Oxford University Press, 2013.

Stahl, William Harris. *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts,* Columbia University Press, 1971.

Steel, Karl. *How to Make a Human: Animals and Violence in the Middle Ages,* The Ohio State University Press, 2011.

Strayer, Joseph R. *The Reign of Phillip the Fair,* Princeton University Press, 1980.

Stump, Eleonore. “The Logic of Disputation in Walter Burley's Treatise on Obligations”, *Synthese,* Vol.63, No.3, June 1985.

Stump, Eleonora. “Dialectic and Aristotle’s Topics”, *Boethius’s De topicis differentiis,* Cornell University Press, 1978.

Stump, Eleonore. *Dialectic and its Place in the Development of Medieval Logic,* Cornell University Press, 1989.

Strutt, Joseph. *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England,* Metheun, 1801.

Spencer, Dale. C. *Ultimate Fighting and Embodiment: Violence, Gender, and Mixed Martial*

Arts, Routledge, 2013.

Stahl, William Harris. *Martianus Capella and the Seven Lilberal Arts,* Columbia University Press, 1971.

Steinbock, Anthony. *Home and Beyond: Generative Philosophy after Husserl,* Northwestern University Press, 1995.

Stevens, J., Goldberg, D. *For the learners' sake: A practical guide to transform your classroom and school,* Zephyr Press, 2001.

Tobler, Christian Henry. *In Saint George's Name: An Anthology of Medieval German Fighting Arts*, Freelance Academy Press, 2010.

The Ciceronian Tradition in Political Theory (Daniel J. Kapust and Gary Remer eds), University of Wisconsin Press, 2021.

The Ontology, Psychology and Axiology of Habits (Habitus) in Medieval Philosophy (Nicholas Faucher and Magali Roques eds), Springer, 2018.

The Rhetoric of Cicero in Its Medieval and Early Rennaisance Commentary Tradition (Virginia Cox and John O. Ward eds), Brill, 2006.

Vale, Malcolm. *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France, and Burgundy at the end of the Middle Ages,* Duckworth, 1981.

Vernier, Richard. *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fėbus, Count of Foix 1331-1391,* Boydell & Brewer, 2008.

Vodička, Ondřej. "Origin of the oldest German Fencing Manual Compilation (GNM Hs. 3227a)", *Waffen und Kostümkunde* Vol.61, No.1, 2019, pp.87-108.

Walters, Brian. *The Deaths of the Republic: Imagery of the Body Politic in Ciceronian Rome,* Oxford University Press, 2020.

Ward, John O. "The Medieval and Early Renaissance Study of Cicero's De inventione and the Rhetorica ad Herennium", *The Rhetoric of Cicero in its Medieval and Early Renaissance*

Commentary Tradition (V. Cox and J. O. Ward eds), Brill, 2006.

Ward, John O. "What the Middle Ages Missed of Cicero and Why", *Brill's Companion to the Reception of Cicero, Volume 2* (William H.F Haltman ed), Brill, 2015.

Weijers, Olga. *In Search of the Truth: A History of Disputation Techniques from Antiquity to Early Modern Times,* Brepols, 2013.

Welle, Rainer. *"... und wisse das alle höbischeit kompt von deme ringen". Der Ringkampf als adelige Kunst im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert - Eine sozialhistorische und bewegungsbiographische Interpretation aufgrund der handschriftlichen und gedruckten Ringlehren des Spätmittelalters*, Centaurus, 1993.

Weijers, Olga. "Methods and Tools of Learning", *A Companion to Twelfth-Century Schools,* (Cédric Giraud ed), Brill, 2020.

Westburg, Daniel. "The Relation between Positive and Natural Law in Aquinas", *Journal of Law and Religion,* 1994-1995, Vol.11, No.1, pp.1-22.

Walker-Bynum, Caroline. *Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion,* Zone Books, 1992.

Walker-Bynum, Caroline. "Why All the Fuss about the Body? A Medievalist's Perspective", *Critical Enquiry,*, 22:1, Autumn 1995

Wacquant, Loïc. "A concise geneaology and anatomy of habitus", *Sociological Review*, 2016, Vol.64, No.1, p.64-72.

Wacquant, Loïc, *Body and Soul: Notebooks of an Apprentice Boxer,* Oxford University Press, 2004.

Woolgar, Chris. *The Senses in Late Medieval England,* Yale University Press, 2006.

Woolgar, Chris. "The Social Life of the Senses: Experiencing the Self, Others, and Environments", *A Cultural History of the Middle Ages,* (Richard G Newhauser ed), Bloomsbury, 2014.

Wielockx, R. "Apologia", *Aegidio Romani Opera Omnia III,1*, Olschki, 1985.

Yates, Francis. *The Art of Memory*, Ark Paperbacks, 1984.

Zabinski, Grzegorz. "Several Remarks on the Bloßfechen Section of Codex Wallerstein", *Journal of Western Martial Art*, April 2001.

Zoltán Kátai, Katalin Juhász, Alpár Károly Adorjáni. "On the role of senses in education", *Computers and Education*, Vol 51, Issue 4, December 2008.

Appendix A – DRP Chapter Titles

Book I

Part I

Chapter 1 – What might the manner of process be in the governance of princes. *Quis sit modus procedendi in regimine principum.*
Chapter 2 – What is to be the order of things that are said. *Quis sit ordo dicendorum.*
Chapter 3 – What utility there might be in the things that are said. *Quanta sit utilitas in dicendis.*
Chapter 4 – How many methods of living there are and how happiness is to be had in them. *Quot sunt modi vivendi et quomodo in eis felicitas habet esse.*
Chapter 5 – That it is most expedient to a king's majesty to know his end and his happiness. *Quod maxime expedit regie maiestati suum finem et suam felicitatem recognoscere.*
Chapter 6 – That it is not seemly to a king's majesty to set his happiness in pleasures. *Quod non decet regiam maiestatem suam felicitatem ponere in voluptatibus.*
Chapter 7 – That it is not seemly to a king's majesty to set his happiness in riches. *Quod non decet regiam maiestatem suam felicitatem ponere in divitiis.*
Chapter 8 – How it is not seemly to a king's majesty to set his happiness in honours. *Quomodo non decet regiam maiestatem suam felicitatem ponere in honoribus.*
Chapter 9 – That it is not seemly to a king's majesty to set his happiness in glory or in fame. *Quod non decet regiam maiestatem suam felicitatem ponere in gloria vel in fama.*
Chapter 10 – That it is not seemly to a king's majesty to set his happiness in civil power. *Quod non decet regiam maiestatem suam felicitatem ponere in civili potentia.*
Chapter 11 – That it is not seemly to the king's majesty to set his happiness in strength of the body, or in beauty or in other good things of the body. *Quod non decet regiam maiestatem suam felicitatem ponere in robore corporali, vel in pulcritudine, vel in aliis bonis corporis.*
Chapter 12 – How happiness is to be set in a state of prudence. *Quomodo in statu prudentie est ponenda felicitas.*
Chapter 13 – How much benefit it is to the king to rule well the people who are entrusted to him. *Quantum sit premium regis bene regentis populum sibi commissum.*

Part II

Chapter 1 – How the powers of the soul might be divided and in which powers the virtues are held. *Quomodo dividuntur potentie anime et in quibus potenciis habent esse virtutes.*
Chapter 2 – That, the virtues having been distinguished, how they are held in the intellect and the appetite. *Quod distinguuntur virtutes quomodo se habeant in intellectu et appetitu.*
Chapter 3 – How many moral virtues there are and how the number of them shall be supposed. *Quot sunt virtutes morales et quomodo eorum numerus est sumendus.*
Chapter 4 – That one may know that some good dispositions are virtues, that some are above virtues, that some serve virtues and are preparations to a virtue. *Quod bonarum dispositionum quedam sunt virtutes scilicet, quedam supra virtutes, quedam ancillantes sunt virtutibus et preparationes ad virtutum.*
Chapter 5 – That some virtues are principle and cardinal, and in truth, some are linked. *Quod virtutum quedam sunt principales et cardinales, quedam vero annexe.*

Chapter 6 – How diversely it may be known what prudence is. *Quomodo diversitate notificari potest quid est prudentia.*
Chapter 7 – That it is seemly for kings and princes to be prudent. *Quod decet reges et principes esse prudentes*
Chapter 8 – How many and what things a king ought to have if he is to be prudent. *Quot et quid oporteat habere regem si debeat esse prudens.*
Chapter 9 – How kings and princes might make themselves prudent. *Quomodo reges et principes possunt seipsos prudentes facere.*
Chapter 10 – How many manners of justice there are and what justice is held to be concerned with, and how it is distinguished from other virtues. *Quot modi sunt iusticie, et circa que iusticia habet esse et quomodo ab aliis virtutibus est distincta.*
Chapter 11 – That without justice kingdoms will not stand. *Quod absque iusticia regna nequeunt subsistere.*
Chapter 12 – That it is most seemly for kings to be just and in their kingdom for justice to be observed. *Quod maxome decet reges esse iustos et in suo regno iusticiam observare.*
Chapter 13 – What is fortitude and what it is concerned with, and how we might make ourselves strong (*fortes*). *Quid est fortitude et circa que habet esse et quomodo possumus facere nosipsos fortes.*
Chapter 14 – How many types of fortitude there are and it follows it is seemly that kings might make themselves strong. *Quot sunt species fortitudinis et secundum quam fortitudinem decet reges esse fortes.*
Chapter 15 – What it temperance, what is is concerned with, what types there are, and how we might makes ourselves temperate. *Quid sit temperantia et circa que habet esse et quot sunt species eius et quomodo nosipsos possumus facere temperatos.*
Chapter 16 – Whether it is worse to be intemperate or timid and that it is most seemly for kings and princes to be temperate. *Quod detestabilius est esse intemperatum quam timidum et quod maxime decet reges et principes esse temperatos.*
Chapter 17 – What is liberality and what things it is concerned with and how we might make ourselves liberal. *Quid est liberalitas et circa que habet esse et quomodo nosipsos possumus facere liberales.*
Chapter 18 – How it is impossible for kings and princes to be wasteful, that it is most detestable among them to be misers and that it is most seemly for them to be liberal. *Quomodo reges et principes impossibile est esse prodigos et qua maxime detestibile est inter eos avaros esse et quod potissime decet eos esse liberales.*
Chapter 19 – What is magnificence and what things it is concerned with and how we might make ourselves magnificent. *Quid est magnificienta et circa que habet esse et quomodo possumus nosipsos magnificos facere.*
Chapter 20 – That it is most detestable for king and princes to be cheap and that it is seemly for them to be magnificent. *Quod maxime detestibile est reges et principes parvificos esse et quod decet eos esse magnificos.*
Chapter 21 – What are the properties of magnificence and that it is seemly for kings and princes to have those properties. *Que sunt proprietates magnifici et quod proprietates illas reges et principes debent habere.*
Chapter 22 – What is magnanimity and what things it is concerned with and how we might make ourselves magnanimous. *Quid est magnanimitas et circa que habet esse et quomodo possumus nos magnanimous facere.*

Chapter 23 – What are the properties of magnanimity and that it is seemly for kings and princes to be magnanimous. *Que sunt proprietates magnanimi et quod decet reges et principes magnanimos esse.*
Chapter 24 – That it is seemly for kings and princes to be lovers of good things and what kind of virtue it is that is called *honoris amativa*. *Quod decet reges et principes esse amatores bonorum et quails est virtus illa que dicitur honoris amativa.*
Chapter 25 – That *honoris amativa* can be called humility and that all magnanimity is humility. *Quod humilitas dici potest honoris amativa et quod omnis magnanimus est humilis.*
Chapter 26 – What is humility and what things it is concerned with and that it is seemly for kings and princes to be humble. *Quid est humilitas et circa que habet esse et quod decet reges et principes esse humiles.*
Chapter 27 – What is mansuetude and what things it is concerned with and how it is seemly for kings and princes to be gentle. *Quid est mansuetudo et circa que habet esse et quod reges et principes decet esse mansuetos.*
Chapter 28 – What is amicability and what things it is concerned with and how it is seemly for kings and princes to be amicable. *Quid est amicabilitas et circa que habet esse et quomodo reges et principes decet amicabiles esse.*
Chapter 29 – What is truthfulness and what things it is concerned with and how it is seemly for kings and princes to be truthful. *Quid est veritas et circa que habet esse et quomodo reges et principes decet esse veraces.*
Chapter 30 – What is charm and what things it is concerned with and how it is seemly for kings and princes to be charming. *Quid est iocunditas et circa que habet esse et quomodo reges et principes decet esse iocundos.*
Chapter 31 – That it is most seemly for kings and princes to have all virtues, that if he lacks one he has nothing. *Quod maxime decet reges et principes omnes virtues habere, qua si una careat nullam habet.*
Chapter 32 – That there are degrees of good and bad and in what degree kings and princes ought to be. *Quod diversi sunt gradus bonorum et malorum et in quo gradu reges et principes debent esse.*
Chapter 33 – How many degrees of virtues there are and in what manner kings and princes should have them. *Quot sunt gradus virtutis et cuiusmodi virtutes decet habere reges et principes.*
Chapter 34 – How some virtues pertain to good dispositions, some are above virtues, some are joined to virtues and some are disposed to virtues. *Quomodo bonarum dispositionum quedam sunt virtutes, quedam sunt supra virtutes, quedam annexe virtutibus, quedam disponentes ad virtutes.*

Part III

Chapter 1 – How many passions of the soul there are and how the number of them is to be taken. *Quot sunt passiones anime et quomodo accipiendus est eorum numerus.*
Chapter 2 – Which of the aforesaid passions are foremost and which come after and which have order together. *Que predictarum passionum sunt priores et que posteriors et quem ordinem habent adinvicem.*
Chapter 3 – How it is seemly that kings and princes to have themselves in hate and love. *Quomodo decet reges et principes se habere ad odium et amorem.*

Chapter 4 – How and what things kings and princes should desire and abhor. *Quomodo et que reges et principes debeant desiderare et abhominari.*
Chapter 5 – How king and prince should have themselves in hope and desperation. *Quomodo reges et principes se habere debeant circa spem et desperationem.*
Chapter 6 – How kings should have themselves around bravery and fear. *Quomodo se reges habeant cica audaciam et timorem.*
Chapter 7 – How anger and hate differ, and how kings and princes should have themselves in anger and the opposite thereof. *Quomodo differ ira ab odio, et quomodo reges et principes se habere debeant ad iram et eius oppositum.*
Chapter 8 – How kings and princes should have themselves concerning delectations and sadness. *Quomodo reges et principes se habere debeant cica delectationes et tristicias.*
Chapter 9 – How some of these passions are more principal and some less. *Quomodo harum passionum quedam sunt magis principales et quedam minus.*
Chapter 10 – How passions of the soul might be reduced to passions of character. *Quomod passiones anime ad passiones habitus reducuntur.*
Chapter 11 – Which of the aforesaid passions are praiseworthy and which censurable and how kings and princes should have themselves in these passions. *Que predictarum passionum sunt laudabiles et que vituperabiles et quomodo reges et principes ad illas debeant se habere.*

Part IV

Chapter 1 – Which manners of youths are praiseworthy and how kings and princes should have themselves those manners. *Qui sunt mores iuvenum laudabiles et quomodo reges et principes ad mores illos debeant se habere.*
Chapter 2 – Which manners of youths are censurable et how kings and princes should have themselves to this method of manners. *Qui mores iuvenum sunt vituperabiles et quomodo reges et principes ad huiusmodi mores debeant se habere.*
Chapter 3 – Which manners of old men are censurable et how kings and princes should avoid these said manners. *Qui mores senum sunt vituperabiles et quomodo reges et principes vitare debeant dictos mores.*
Chapter 4 – Which manners of old men are praiseworthy and which are the manner of those who are in middle age, and in what way kings and princes should have themselves to these manners. *Qui mores senum sunt laudabiles et qui sunt more eorum qui sunt in statu et qualiter reges et principes se habere debeant ad illos mores.*
Chapter 5 – Which are the manners of noblemen and how kings and princes should have themselves to these manners. *Qui sunt mores nobelium et quomodo reges et principes se habere debeant ad illos mores.*
Chapter 6 – Which are the manner of rich men and in what way kings and princes should have themselves to these manners. *Qui sunt mores divitum et qualiter reges et principes se habere debeant ad illos mores.*
Chapter 7 – Which are manners of the powerful and how kings and princes should hold themselves to these manners. *Qui sunt mores potentium et quomodo ad mores illos reges et principes se debeant habere.*

Book II

Part I

Chapter I – That it is natural for man to live in society and that it is seemly that kings and princes diligently give attention to this. *Quod naturale est homini vivere in societate et decet hoc reges et principes diligenter advertere.*
Chapter 2 – How the community of the house should have itself to other communities and in what way these types of communities might be necessary in human lives. *Quomodo se habeat communitas domus ad communitates alias et qualiter huiusmodi communitas sit necessaria in vita humana.*
Chapter 3 – That the community of the house is in someway the first community and that it is a natural community and that kings and princes and all citizens should not be ignorant of this. *Quod communitas domus est aliquo modo communitas prima et quod communitas naturalis est et quod reges et principes et universaliter omnes cives hoc ignorare non debent.*
Chapter 4 – What the community of a house might be and that a house is required to be established out of many people. *Qualis sit communitas domus et quod oportet domum ex pluribus constare personis.*
Chapter 5 – That it is required for there to be in a house at least two communities and that it is required that it consist of at least three types of people. *Quod oportet in domo saltem duas communitates esse et quod oportet eam consistere saltem ex tribus generibus personarum.*
Chapter 6 – That in a perfect house there are required to be three communities, four types of people and three types of ruling, and following this that it is required that this be divided into three parts. *Quod in domo perfecta oportet tres communitates esse, quatuor genera personarum et tria genera sive regimina et quod oportet hunc secundum divider in tres partes.*
Chapter 7 – That man is naturally a conjugal animal and that they that do not wish to be married do not live as men but rather as beasts or divines. *Quod homo est naturaliter animal coniugale et quod nolentes nubere non vivunt ut hominess ed aut sunt bestie vel dy.*
Chapter 8 – That all citizens and principally kings and princes should cleave to their spouses indivisibly. *Quod omnes cives et maxime reges et principes debent suis coniugibus indivisibiliter adherere.*
Chapter 9 – That all citizens and principally kings and princes should be content with one wife only. *Quod omnes cives et maxime reges et principes una sola uxore debent esse contenti.*
Chapter 10 – That all citizens wives and principally those of kings and princes should be content with one husband. *Quod coniuges omnium civium et maxime regum principum uno viro debent esse contente.*
Chapter 11 – That it is seemly for all citizens and principally for kings and princes not to take spouses in one who is joined to them by blood. *Quod decet omnes cives et maxime reges et principes non ducere coniuges in una consanguinitate sibi coniunctas.*
Chapter 12 – How it is fitting that kings and princes and generally all citizens take wives with exterior goods. *Quomodo reges et principes et universaliter omnes cives deceat uxores accipere ornatas exterioribus bonis.*
Chapter 13 – That it is seemly that all citizens and principally kings and princes seek to find in their spouses not only exterior goods but also interior, as much of the body as the soul. *Quod decet omnes cives et maxime reges et principes querere in suis coniunges non solum bona exteriora sed etiam interiora tam corporis quam anime.*

Chapter 14 – That it is not seemly for all citizens and principally kings and princes to rule their wives in the same way that children are ruled. *Quod omnes cives et maxime reges et principes non decet suas uxores regere eodem regimine quo regendi sunt filii.*
Chapter 15 – That it is not seemly for all citizens and principally kings and princes to rule their spouses in the same way that they rule their servants. *Quod omnes cives et maxime reges et principes non decet suas coniunges eodem regimine regere quo regendi sunt servi.*
Chapter 16 – That it is detestable for all citizens and principally in kings and princes to use too much marital coupling in a youthful age. *Quod detestabile est in omnibus civibus et maxime in regibus et principibus in etate nimis iuvenili uti copula coniugali.*
Chapter 17 – That cold times when northern winds blow more is to be given over to the work of creating children rather than the hot times when the southern winds blow. *Quod tempore frigido quo flant venti boreales magis es dandum operam procreation filiorum quam tempore calido quo flant venti australes.*
Chapter 18 – That in women there are certain things which are praiseworthy and certain things that are censurable. *Quod in mulieribus quedam sunt laudabili quedam vituperabilia.*
Chapter 19 -How all citizens and principally kings and princes should rules their spouses. *Quomodo regimine omnes cives et maxime reges et principes debeant suas coniuges regere.*
Chapter 20 – In what way all citizens and principally kings and princes should have themselves to their spouses. *Qualiter omnes cives et maxime reges et principes debeant ad sua coniuges debite se habere.*
Chapter 21 – How wives should have themselves concerning ornaments of the body. *Quomodo mulieres circa ornatum corporis debeant se habere.*
Chapter 22 – That it is not seemly for kings and princes and all citizens to be too jealous of their spouses. *Quod non decet reges et principes et universaliter omnes cives erga suas coniuges nimis esse zelotypes.*
Chapter 23 – What is the advice of married women like and that it is not to be used simply but with caution. *Quale sit coniugium mulierum et quod eorum consilio non est utendum simpliciter sed in casu.*
Chapter 24 – How it is seemly for kings and princes and all citizens to keep their counsel away from their own spouses. *Quomodo decet reges et principes et universaliter omnes cives propriis coniugibus sua apperire consilia.*

Part II

Chapter 1 – That it is seemly that all parents be concerned about their own sons. *Quod decet omnes parentes circa proprios filios esse solicitos.*
Chapter 2 - That principally it is seemly that kings and princes are concerned about the governance of their sons. *Quod maxime decet reges et principes solicitari circa regimen filiorum.*
Chapter 3 – That fatherly ruling comes originally from love and that to the same the governance of royal sons should not be as the ruling of servants. *Quod regimen paternale sumit originem ex amore et quod non ex eodem regimine debent regi dilii quo regendi sunt servi.*
Chapter 4 – That the love which is owed between father and son sufficiently declares that fathers should rule their sons and that sons should be obedient to their fathers. *Quod amor qui debet esse inter patrem et filum sufficienter iudicat patres debere regere filios et filios patribus obedire.*

Chapter 5 – That it is seemly for all citizens and principally kings and princes should be thus concerned with the governance of their sons in order that they be instructed in faith as infants. *Quod decet omnes cives et maxime reges et principes sic solicitari circa regimen filiorum ut ab ipsa infantia instruantur in fide.*
Chapter 6 – That it is seemly for all citizens and principally kings and princes to be thus concerned with their sons that they as infants be imbued with good habits. *Quod decet omnes cives et maxime reges et principes sic solicitari erga filios ut ab ipsa infantia bonis moribus imbuantur.*
Chapter 7 – That noble sons and principally those of kings and princes should as children be given teaching in reading. *Quod filii nobelium et maxime regum et principum ab ipsa infantia sunt tradendi litteralibus disciplinis.*
Chapter 8 – What sciences noble sons and principally those of kings and princes should learn. *Quas scientias debent addiscere filii nobelium et maxime regum et principum.*
Chapter 9 – What manner of teacher should be placed over noble sons and principally those of kings and princes. *Qualis debeat esse magister qui filiis nobelium et maxime regum et principum est ponendus.*
Chapter 10 – In what way youths are to be instructed concerning speech, sight, and hearing. *Qualiter circa loquelam visum auditum instruendi sunt iuvenes.*
Chapter 11 – How many ways of erring there are in food and in what way they should have themselves concerning the same. *Quot modis peccatur circa cibum et qualiter debeant se habere circa ipsum.*
Chapter 12 – In what way are children to be instructed and have themselves concerning drink and concerning sex and concerning relationships with their spouses. *Qualiter instruendi sunt pueri ut se habeant circa potum et circa venerea et circa coniugia contrahenda.*
Chapter 13 – In what way children up until youth should have themselves in games, in gestures, and in clothing. *Qualis pueri sub iuvene se habere debeant in ludis in gestibus et in vestitu.*
Chapter 14 – That in the age of youth it is of great importance to be cautious of bad company. *Quod in etate iuvenili maxime cavenda est prava societas.*
Chapter 15 – In what way the care of children might be managed from when they are first born until seven years. *Qualis cura gerenda sit de pueris in principio nativitatis usque ad septem annos.*
Chapter 16 – In what way care is to be had from the seventh year until the fourteenth and thereafter. *Qualis cura habenda sit ab anno septemo usque ad xiiii et deinceps.*
Chapter 17 – How all youths are to be exercised in riding and exercises of the body and labour. *Quomodo omnes iuvenes equaliter exercendi sunt ad corporalia exercicia et labores.*
Chapter 18 – That the daughters of citizens and principally of nobles, kings, and princes are to be prevented from wandering and straying. *Quod filie civium et maxime nobelium et regum et principum a discursu et evagatione cohibende.*
Chapter 19 – In what way all citizens and most importantly many nobles and kings and princes should be concerned that their daughters do not wish to live idly. *Qualiter omens cives et multo magis nobiles et reges et principes debent solicitari erga filias ne velint vivere ociose.*
Chapter 20 – That it is seemly for kings and princes and all citizens to concerned that their daughters merely might be appropriately silent. *Quod decet reges et principes et universaliter omnes cives solicitari erga filias ut sint modo debito taciturne.*

Part III

Chapter 1 – That the ruling of the house not only consider the role of the servants but also of the things that furnish bodily requirements, and that these two matters are linked. *Quod ad gubernationem domus non solum spectat determinare de servis sed etiam de his que suplent indigentiam corporalem et quod hee due materie sunt connexe.*
Chapter 2 – How the instruments of governing the house are to be distinguished and in what way they can be compared. *Quomodo distinguenda sunt organa gubernationis domus et qualiter ad invicem comparantur.*
Chapter 3 – What kind of buildings kings and princes and generally all citizens should have for so much as for the work of industry and temperate airs. *Qualia edificial deceat habere reges et principes et universaliter omnes cives quantum ad operis industriam et aeris temperamentum.*
Chapter 4 – What kind of buildings there are to be as much as regards clean water and as regards its place in the world. *Qualia debent esse edificaria quantum ad salubrtatem aquarium et quantum ad ordinem universi.*
Chapter 5 – That possession is in some way natural to man and that those who renounce possessions are in some way not living as men but are better than men. *Quod possession est homini quondammodo naturaliter et quod abrenunciantes possessi omnibus quondammodo non vivunt ut hominess ed sunt hominibus meliores.*
Chapter 6 – That it is useful in anyone who lives the politic life to rejoice in their own possessions. *Quod utile est in vita politica quemlibet propriis gaudere possessionibus.*
Chapter 7 – How exterior things are to be used and what manner of life is permitted. *Quomodo est utendum exterioribus rebus et quis modus vivendi sit licitus.*
Chapter 8 – That citizen and most importantly kings and princes should not desire endless possessions. *Quod cives et multo magis reges et principes non debent infinitas possessions appetere.*
Chapter 9 – How many types of exchange there are and what things are needed to get coin. *Quot sunt species commutationum et que sunt necessitas invenire denarios.*
Chapter 10 – How many types of money there are and which of them are laudable and which censurable. *Quot sunt species pecuniative et que illarum sit laudabilis et que vituperabilis.*
Chapter 11 – That usury is simply detestable and that it is seemly that kings and princes prevent it. *Quod usura est simpliciter detestabilis et quod decet reges et principes eam prohibere.*
Chapter 12 – That there are diverse ways of earning money and that some of these methods are congruent with kings and princes. *Quod dicersi sunt modi lucrandi pecuniam et quod aliqui illorum modorum sunt regibus et principibus congruentes.*
Chapter 13 – That some men are naturally servants and that it is expedient for some men to be subject to others. *Quod aliqui sunt naturaliter servi et expedit aliquibus aliis esse subiectos.*
Chapter 14 – That besides natural servitude that is as it were simple servitude, there is to give service legally and positively. *Quod preter servitutem naturalem que est quasi servitus simpliciter est dare servitutem legalem et positivam.*
Chapter 15 – Whereby besides servitude or natural and legal service there is to give service for pay and for care. *Quare preter servitutem vel ministrationem naturalem et legalem est dare ministrationem conductam et delectivam.*
Chapter 16 – How in the houses of kings and princes servants are to be entrusted to offices. *Quomodo in dominibus regum et principum sunt minstris officia committenda.*
Chapter 17 – How the servants of kings and princes are to be provided with clothing. *Quomodo a regibus et principibus providenda sunt indumenta ministris.*

Chapter 18 – What is courtesy and that it is seemly for the servants of kings and princes to be courteous. *Quid est curialitas et quod decet ministros regum et principum curialis esse.*
Chapter 19 – How kings and princes should have themselves towards their servants. *Quomodo reges et principes erga suos ministros se habere debeant.*
Chapter 20 – That when kings and princes and all nobles are sitting at table, then it is not seemly for servants to overflow with speech. *Quod in mensis regum et principum et universaliter nobilium tam recumbentes quam minstrantes non decet in eloquiis habundare.*

Book III

Part I

Chapter 1 – That the community of the city is in some way most principal and it is established for the sake of some good thing. *Quod communitas civitatis est aliquo modo pincipalissima et est alicuis boni gratia constituta.*
Chapter 2 – How many and what good things men achieve from the establishment of the political community that is called a city. *Quot et que bona homines consequuntur ex constitutione communitatis politice que civitas nuncupatur.*
Chapter 3 – That man is naturally a civil animal is cannot be denied, although it sometimes happens that some do not live civilly. *Quod homo naturaliter est animal civile non obstante quod contingit aliquos non civiliter vivere.*
Chapter 4 – In what way in can be reasoned that the city is natural and that man is naturally a political and civil animal. *Quibus rationibus probari potest civitatem quid naturale et hominem naturaliter esse animal politicum et civile.*
Chapter 5 – That in addition to the community of the city it is useful in human life that there be the community of a kingdom. *Quod preter communitate civitatis utile fuit in vita humana esse communutatem regni.*
Chapter 6 – That there are diverse methods of creating a city and a realm and that it is appropriate that this third book in which conclusions are determined about this method of ruling be divided into three parts. *Quod diversi sunt modi generationis civitatis et regni et quod oporteat hunc tercium librum in quo determinatur de huiusmodi regimine divider in tres partes.*
Chapter 7 – What Socrates and Plato said about how a city was to be ordered and what they understood of the ruling of a city. *Quod Socrates et Plato dixerunt civitatem ordinandam esse et quid senserunt de civili regimine.*
Chapter 8 – That it is not appropriate that a city have the most unity and conformity as Socrates and Plato stated. *Quod non oporteat civitatem maximam unitatem et conformitatem habere ut Socrates et Plato statuerunt.*
Chapter 9 – That it is not expedient for a city for all things to be held in common as Socrates declared and that it is seemly for kings and princes to know this. *Quod non expedit civitati sic omnia esse communia ut Socrates ordinavit et quod eges principes hoc decet cognoscere.*
Chapter 10 – How many evils will follow if in the city wives and sons are to be held in common. *Quot mala sequuntur si in civitate exores et filii ponantur esse communes.*
Chapter 11 – How it is expedient for the city that possessions to be individual and how they can be communal. *Quomodo expediat civitati possessions proprias et quomodo communes.*
Chapter 12 – That kings and princes should not dispose the city so that wives are ordered to the work of war as Socrates stated. *Quod reges et principes non debent sic disponere civitatem quod mulieres ordinantur ad opera bellica ut Socrates statuebat.*

Chapter 13 – That kings and princes should not dispose the city so that the same men are always placed in high offices. *Quod reges et principes non sic debent disponere civitatem ut semper idem in eis de magistratibus preponantur.*
Chapter 14 – How the Plato and Socrates' rulings concerning the rule of the city can be yoked to good sense. *Quomodo Plato et Socrates circa regimen civitatis trahi possit ad bonum intellectum.*
Chapter 15 – That the city is not to be ordered as Socrates stated. *Quod non sic ordinanda est civitas ut Socrates statuebat.*
Chapter 16 – That the philosopher Phaleas stated that the city should be ordered. *Quod philosophus Felleas statuebat civitatem ordinandum esse.*
Chapter 17 – That it is not appropriate for possessions to be equal as Phaleas stated. *Quod non oportet possessions esse equatas ut Falleas statuebat.*
Chapter 18 – That the principal intention of the law giver should be concerned with the repression of covetousness and not concerned with equality of possessions as Phaleas ordained. *Quod princialis intentio legis latoris debet esse circa reprehensionem concupiscentiarum et non circa equalitatem possessionum ut Felleas ordinavit.*
Chapter 19 – What was the politics of Hippodamus and what the philosopher Hippodamus stated concerning the rule of the city and the kingdom. *Qualis fuit politica Yppodonii et quid Yppodonius philosophus statuit circa regimen civitatis et regni.*
Chapter 20 – What things and how many things are reprensible in the things that Hippodamus stated concerning the governance of the citizens. *Que et quot sunt reprehensibilia in his que statuit Yppodonus circa gubernationem civium.*

Part II

Chapter 1 – How cities are to be ruled at a time of peace and what things and how many should be considered in such ruling. *Quomodo regende sunt civitates tempore pacis et que et quot consideranda sunt in tali regimine.*
Chapter 2 – What types of ruling there are and which of them are good and which evil. *Quot sunt species principatuum et qui illorum sunt boni et qui mali.*
Chapter 3 – That it is better that a city and a realm be ruled not by many but rather by one ruler. *Quod Melius est civitatem et regnum regi non quam pluribus et quod regnum est optimus principatus.*
Chapter 4 – By what reasons it is possible to prove that it is better for a city or a province by ruled by many rather than one and how these reasons can be assailed. *Quibus rationibus ostendi potest quod appareat Melius esse civitatem au provinviam regi pluribus quam uno et quomodo solvi possent rationes ille.*
Chapter 5 – That it is better that rule of a king or a prince pass by heredity and the succession of sons than through the election of others. *Quod Melius est regimen regni et principatus ac per hereditatem et successionem filiorum quam per electionem aliquam.*
Chapter 6 – What are the things in which a king should exceed others and how a king may put off tyranny. *Que sunt in quibus rex alios debet excedere et quomodo rex differat a tiranno.*
Chapter 7 – That tyranny is the worst kind of rule and that kings and princes should be most careful that their reign does not turn into tyranny. *Quod tirannides est pessimus principatus et quod summer debent cavere reges et principes ne eorum dominium in tirannidem converrtatur.*

Chapter 8 – What is the office of a king and in what way the king should have himself in the ruling of a city and a kingdom. *Quod est officium talis regis et qualiter rex se habere debeat in regimine civitatis vel regni.*
Chapter 9 – What things are there that a true king does which a tyrant pretends to do. *Que sunt illa que debet operari verus rex que similar se facere tirannus.*
Chapter 10 – What and how many precautions does a tyrant depend upon to preserve his lordship. *Que et quot sunt cautele quibus tirannus nititur se in suo dominio perservare.*
Chapter 11 – How many are the precautions of a tyrant reducible to and that a king should take care that he not become a tyrant because the works of a king are good and those of tyrants are truly wicked. *Quot sunt illa ad que reducuntur cautele tirannice et quod reges cavere debent ne efficiantur tiranni quia opera regia sunt optima tirannica vero sunt pessima.*
Chapter 12 – That it is foul and detestable for a king's majesty to descend into tyranny and for everything which is of corruption which is shared in others is gathered wholly in tyranny. *Quod detestabile est regiam maiestatem declinare in tirannidem et quicquid corruptionis est in aliis perversis participantibus totum in tirannide congregatur.*
Chapter 13 – That it is most expedient for kings to govern the people rightly and to take care not to be tyrants because of the many causes that will cause subjects to repudiate tyrants. *Quod summe expedit regibus recte gubernare populum et cavere ne tirannisent quia multis de causis contingit subditos infidiari tirannis.*
Chapter 14 – That a king should be careful that they not become a tyrant as there are more methods by which a tyrant might be undone than there are for kings and princes. *Quod maxime rex cavere debet ne efficiantur tirannus eo quod pluribus modis corrumpantur tirannides quam regiminis principatus.*
Chapter 15 – What things there are that save the lordship of a kingdom and what is appropriate for a king to do that serve his rule. *Que sunt que salvant dominium regni et que oporteat regem facere ut in suo principatu servetur.*
Chapter 16 – What are counsels and concerning that to which counsel should be applied. *Que sunt consiliabilia et circa que oporteat consilia adhibere.*
Chapter 17 – What is a council and in what way are they made? *Quid sit consilium et qualiter consilia sunt fienda.*
Chapter 18 – What kind of advisers it is fitting for a king's majesty to accept. *Quales consiliarios assumere deceat regiam maiestatem.*
Chapter 19 – In how many things it is appropriate for advisers to stand and concerning how many things advisers should be applied to. *Quot oporteat stare consiliarios et circa quot sunt consilia adhibenda.*
Chapter 20 – That as many things as possible are to be determined by law and that as few things as possible are to be decided by the will of a judge. *Quod quantum possibile est sunt omnia legibus determinanda et quam pauciori possunt arbitrio iudicum esse committenda.*
Chapter 21 – In what way judgement should proceed and how many passionate words are to be forbidden before a judge. *Qualiter est in iudicio procedendum et quot sermons passionales sunt coram iudice prohibendi.*
Chapter 22 – What things and how many are needed for judges to have so that they might judge. *Que et quot oportet iudices habere ut contingat eos debite iudicare.*
Chapter 23 – How many and what things are appropriate for judges to consider how to spare men and so that they might be more merciful than cruel. *Quot et que oportet iduices considerare ut indulgeant humanis et ut sint clementes pocius quam crudeles.*

Chapter 24 – That there are diverse laws and diverse ways of judging and that positive law and other laws lead back to the laws of nature. *Quod diversa sunt legum et diversi sunt modi lusticie et quod in ius naturale et positivum cetera talia reducuntur.*
Chapter 25 – In what way the law of men and the law of animals is held to be separate from natural law. *Quomodo ius gentium et ius animalium a iure naturali habet esse distinctum.*
Chapter 26 – In what manner is the law of mankind to be and that to make such laws are made for the utility of the realm and the city. *Qualis debeat esse lex humana et quod condere tales leges fuit utile regno et civitati.*
Chapter 27 – That not every man should make laws and that if laws are to be held binding with force it is appropriate that they be promulgated. *Quod non cuilibet est leges ferre et quod leges vim obligandi habeant oportet eas promulgatas.*
Chapter 28 – How many and what works laws should contain that are made by kings and princes. *Quot et que opera debent continere leges que a regibus et principibus sunt condende.*
Chapter 29 – In what way a city or a realm is better ruled; whether it is better to be ruled by a perfect king or a perfect law. *Qualiter Melius regetur civitas aut tegnum, utrum Melius regatur optimo rege vel optima lege.*
Chapter 30 – That besides law of man and law of nature it is appropriate to give laws of the Gospel and of God. *Quod preter legem humanam et naturalem oportuit dare legem evangelicam et divinam.*
Chapter 31 – That as much as possible laws should first be observed and that it is advised to be wary of making new laws or changing laws. *Quod quantum possibile est sunt leges prime observande et quod cavendum est advescere innovare aut immutare leges.*
Chapter 32 – What is a city and what is a realm and what kind of people is it appropriate to exist in the realm and the city. *Quid est civitas aut quid est regnum et qualem oportet esse populum existentem in regno et in civitate.*
Chapter 33 – That then it is best for a city and best for a realm and best for the people when they most consist of middle-class people. *Quod tunc est optima civitas et optimum regnum et optimus populus quando est ex multis personis mediis constitutis.*
Chapter 34 – That is expedient for the people to obey the king with great reverence and to observe the king's laws with the utmost diligence. *Quod expedit populo cum magna reverentia regibus obedire et cum summa diligentia leges regeas observare.*
Chapter 35 – In what way citizens and all the citizens of a realm should have themselves lest kings be provoked to anger against them. *Qualiter se debent habere cives et universaliter habitatores fegni ne reges provocentur ad iracundiam contra ipsos.*
Chapter 36 – How kings and princes should have themselves so that they are beloved of the people and how they might be feared and it is granted that either might be necessary, whereby nevertheless they ought to be more loved than feared. *Quomodo reges et principes debeant se habere ut amentur a populo, et quomodo ut timeantur et licet quod utrunque sit necessarium quare tamen plus debent appetere quam timeri.*

Part III

Chapter I - What is chivalry, and to what is it established, and that all works of battle are contained under chivalry. *Quid est militia et ad quid est instituta et quod omnis bellica operatio sub militia.*

Chapter II - In which regions are found better warriors and from which trades fighting men are to be chosen. *Que sunt regiones ille in quibus meliores bellatores et ex quibus artibus sunt eligendo homines bellicosi.*
Chapter III - In what age are youths to become accustomed to the works of war and by which signs might we know men able to be warriors. *In qua etate asuescendi sunt iuvenes ad opera bellica et ex quibus signis cognoscere possumus homines bellicosos.*
Chapter IV - What things and how many things fighting men should have so that they fight well and so that they might strongly come to battle. *Que et quot habere debent homines bellicose ut bene pugnent et ut eos strenue bellare contingat.*
Chapter V - Who are the best warriors - gentlemen and noblemen or farmers and countrymen. *Qui sunt meliores bellatores an urbani et nobles vel agricole et rurales.*
Chapter VI - That in the work of war extreme training of arms is healthy, and that to march step by step here and there, and running, and jumping are exercises of warriors. *Quod in opere bellico nimium valet exercitatio armorum et quod ad incedendum gradatim et passim et ad cursum et saltum exercitandi bellantes sunt.*
Chapter VII - That it is not sufficient to march in earnest and step by step, to run and to leap as warlike exercises but that there are many exercises for fighting men. *Quod non sufficit ad inducendum serio et gradatim ut ad cursum et saltum exercitare bellantes sed sunt plura ad que exercitandi sunt homines bellicosi.*
Chapter VIII – That it is useful with an army to make ditches and to construct castles and what thing are to be attended to in the construction of castles. *Quod utile est in exercitu facere fossas et construere castra et que sunt attendenda in constructione castrorum.*
Chapter IX – What things and how many are to be considered in war if they should engage in official war. *Que et quot sunt consideranda in bello si debeant publica bella committi.*
Chapter X – That it is useful in war to bear banners and to appoint leaders and in what kind of things should be in he who carries the banners in an army and who should be set over horsemen and footmen. *Quod utile est in bello ferre vexilla et constituere duces et propositos et quales esse debeant qui in exercitu vexilla portant et qui equitibus et peditibus preponuntur.*
Chapter XI – Which cautions the leader of an army should use lest he be struck on the road. *Quibus cautelis debet uti dux belli ne suus exercitus ledatur in via.*
Chapter XII – In what way should formations be arranged if we should fight against enemies or against adversaries. *Qualiter ordinande sunt acies si debeamus contra hostes vel contra adversarios dimicare.*
Chapter XIII – That all those in battle who strike with cutting should be derided and that it is more desirable to strike by stabbing. *Quod deridendi sunt in bello omnes percutientes cesim et quod eligibilius est percutere punctim.*
Chapter XIV – What things and how many make enemies more powerful and how many ways and in what way we should attack enemies. *Quot et que sunt illa que hostes potentiores reddunt et quot modis et qualiter debemus hostes invadere.*
Chapter XV – In what manner fighting men should stand if they wish to strike enemies and in what manner they should surround them and in what manner they should divert from fighting if it might not be good to commit to fighting. *Quomodo homines bellatores stare debeant si velint hostes percutere et quomodo debent eos circundare et quomodo debent declinare a pugna si non sit bonum pugnam committere.*
Chapter XVI – How many types of battle there are and how many manners there are of overcoming fortifications and towns and what time is best to besiege cities and castles. *Quot*

sunt genera bellorum quot modis devincende sunt munitiones et urbanitates et quo tempore melius est obsidere civitates et castra.
Chapter XVII – How besiegers should defend themselves and how through they should besiege fortifications through tunnels. *Quomodo se debent munire obsidentes et quomodo per cuniculos impunari debent munitiones obsesse.*
Chapter XVIII – What and how many types of machine there are by which fortifications might be strongly attacked and it is possible to defeat cities and castles. *Que et quot sunt genera machinarum e icientium lapides per que impugnari valnet munitiones obsesse et devinci possunt civitates et castra.*
Chapter XIX – How through buildings made of wood driven against the walls of a city or castle it is possible to attack fortifications that are besieged. *Quomodo per edificia lignea impulsa ad muros civitatis vel castri impugnari possunt munitiones obsesse.*
Chapter XX – How should castles and cities be built lest they might be easily overcome by attacks of besiegers. *Qualiter edificanda sunt castra et civitates ne per pugnam obsidentibus faciliter devinvantur.*
Chapter XXI – How to cities and castles are to be fortified and generally all fortifications so that they will be more difficult to capture by besiegers. *Quomodo muniende sunt civitates et castra et universaliter munitiones ut ab obsidentibus difficulius capiantur.*
Chapter XXII - How assaults should be resisted that are made through tunnels and by way of stone-throwing engines and other constructions equipped for a siege. *Quomodo resistendum est impugnationi facte per cuniculos et qualiter machinis lapidariis et aliis edificiis obsessi debeant ornari.*
Chapter XXIII – How ships are to be made and in what way naval warfare should be committed and to what single thing wars are ordained. *Qualiter constituenda est navis et qualiter committendum est navale bellum et ad quid bella singula ordinantur.*