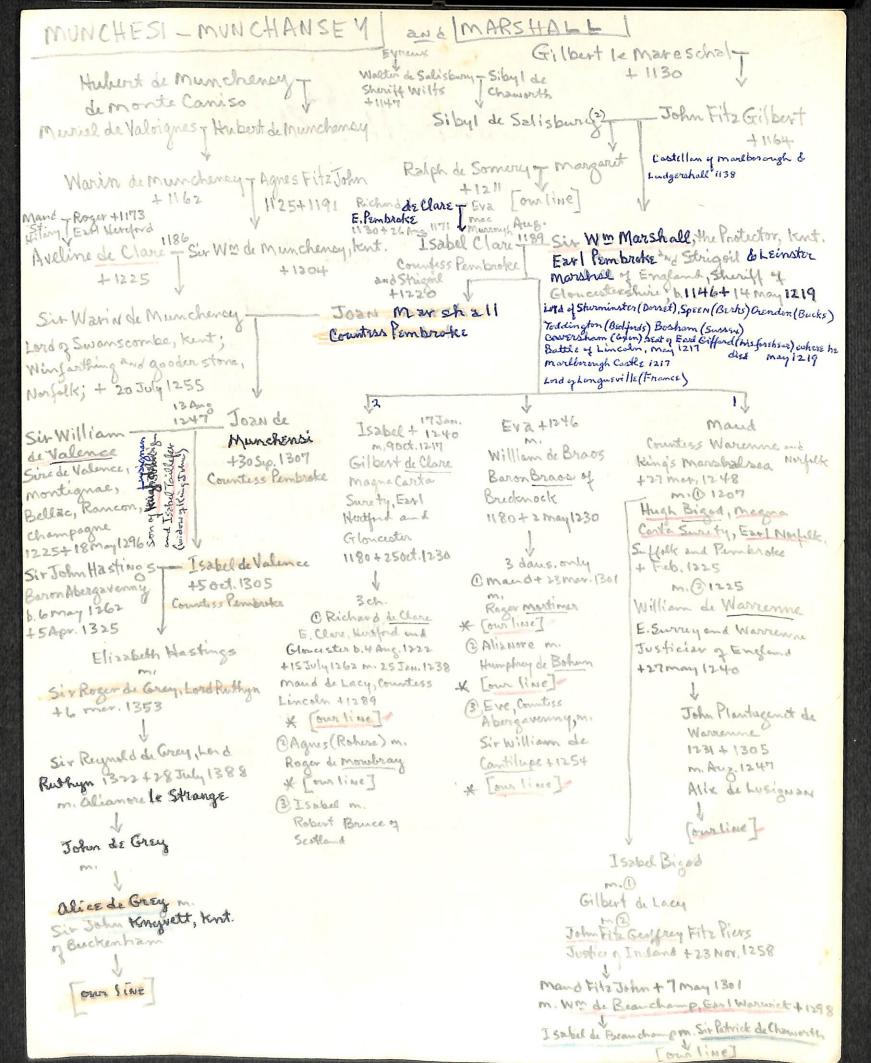
William marshall marshal by Sidney Painter Johns Hoppins Press, Baltimore 1933 TWalter Papard Shrift +1147 Chaworth Gilbert le Manshal y of Wildshire Temp. Henry I 41030 Baron (2) Sibile Patrick John Fitz Gilbout of Wiltshine Sols heiness de Selis biory Constable of Marshal + 1165 William Chancellor Salisbury 1138 took possession of castles of 1149 Earl Salisbury Walter Gilbert Mariborough & Ludgershall in d. V. p. + Lusignan 1168 +1166 1138 Count lembrakes Isobel 2 3 some Braumont Wiltshine - Castellan Earl William Matilda elected Queen 8 April 141 William Marshal 6.1170 2.1220 John survived burning of Wherevell Isabel de Clare + 1194 John Henry Is Monthal Dram 1146+14 May 1219 Abbery, losing one EyE; Mobilda at Counters Pembroks Margaret 1189 Shoult of Earl Pembroks 21199 Yorky Ludgershall. Yorkshire à Striged + 1220 Strigul & Leinster Bishop 1191 Shoriff Newbury Costle 1152 Ralph de 18 Leinster EXEMP Marshal of England Stephen + 25 Oct 1154 Sibul - Robert de Somery 1189 maness of 19 Dec 154 Henry Plantagent crowned, Westcombel tall with brown hair) +12110 Pont de l'Arche knighted at Drin court BEdwin, Wilts. of Hampshire John got manors of Marlborough. & Bosham, Sussex Wext combe & Cherchill until his death. ausal 1185-87 dis.p. Lord of Cantrall
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Courier, Sun., Dec. 17, 1967 CHARLESTON, S. C.

## In Your



#### MARSHALL

The name derives from the Old French word "mareschal" which meant literally "horseservant". It referred specifically to a man occupied in the treating of horse diseases, such as a shoeing smith or farrier. The name was introduced into Britain by the French at the time of the Invasion of 1066 and is frequently found entered on the earliest written rcords of that country. In County Wiltshire, England, the name of Goisfridus Marescal appears on the Geld Rolls of 1084.

A high officer of state or an officer in the military was often given the title of Marshall. This title was applied to a law-officer in the wild west of the United States. The descendants of Farl William Mareschall recorded on the Assize Rolls of Staffordshire in 1220, may claim this official origin, but most Marshalls derive their surname from the humbler occupation of horse-servant or groom.

The name appears also on the early records of Scotland. In the year 1136, one Maledoni Marscal was witness to gift of the lands of Perdeyc to the Church of Glasgow. In 1290, Richard Marshal and Agnes Marshal received a dispensation from the Pope to intermarry.

The French surname Marechal and the German Marschall, both meaning groom or horse-servant, are still quite common in their

respective countries.

The Marshall name appears repeatedly throughout American history. James Marshall, in company with John Sutter, discovered the first gold in California, which started the famous gold rush of 1849. John Marshall, chief justice of the United States Supreme Court from 1801-1835, by his important decisions, established the fundamental principles for Constitutional interpretation.

The coat of arms depicted here was granted to a Marshall, Earl of Pembroke. The shield is blazoned: "A background of gold and green, over all a red lion rampant". Descendants of this Earl of Pembroke still possess tracts of land in the Southern part of Ireland and rent continue to be paid to the Earl's es-

tates.

# Earl of Pembroke

Knight of Old 1171) of Leinster.

French social and economic historians-Fernand Braudel being perhaps the best known among them has altered and quickened our whole sense of the past. Through the technical studies published in Annales, and the brilliant books of popularization and general argument published by Annales contributors, the vital role of remembrance in our culture has been of personal experience, of the intimagiven a fresh immediacy. Shifting away from public history in the old style-from dynastic, military, and biographically focussed narratives of great events as we find them in nineteenth-century historians-the "annalists" have inquired into daily life, into private emotions, into the delicate but determinant interplay between changing technologies and those crises and reorderings of the sensibility of common men and women which are the tidal motion beneath the froth and

swiftly scattered spume of battles, royal imbroglios, and the circus of politics.

Following on the pioneering works of Henri Pirenne, Marc Bloch, Lucien Febvre, the Annales school has sought to trace the history of men's mental attitudes, beliefs, tastes, and world image under the shaping pressure of material, climatic, and even physiological circumstance. The food that men and women consume at different economic levels and geographical locations in any given culture, the domestic architecture, the lighting, the heating or absence of heating within which they conduct their private and professional existence are the very substance of history and of historical change. (In the American context, the work of Daniel Boorstin exemplifies this grasp of the everyday, this vision-

journal, Annales, a school of logical insight.) How at different stages in Western history have children been perceived? What have been the economics, the ritual, the metaphoric domestication of death, of terminal illness, of burial and commemoration? (On both these themes, the seminal work has been that of Philippe Ariès.) The coming of eyeglasses transforms innumerable facets tions and uses of space, and, indeed, of time. (Together with improved lighting, it makes crucially available for reading, for work of every kind, hours previously ruled by darkness.) But does it, asks Febvre in one of his most arresting conjectures, correspondingly enfeeble that sense of smell, of precise discrimination between safe and unsafe odors, which is of the utmost importance to the hunter, to the primitive rural community, and, until the later fifteenth century, to the walker in the



"You used to start off each day with a song."

ROUPED around a famous ary concreteness of social-psycho- often fetid, refuse-choked, poisoned air and streets of the European towns and cities? What were the cadences, the agendas of daily life like in the Western world before the availability of personal and portable timepieces-before a man or a woman could, by merely glancing at a watch, say to himself or to herself or to another, "I am early," "You are late," "I must go now in order not to miss my next appointment"? In what several ways are even the most intimate, spontaneous of our psychic experiences the consequence of material and sociological changes? Long obscured by the fundamentally anti-historical bias of psychoanalysis, the realization that dreams have their history, their social determinants, their altering strategies of fear or wish fulfillment is now being documented. The seed of Marxism is obviously dynamic in the Annales vision. But this vision and its application are of a far subtler, more humanely

alert kind. The economic and social factors are of great importance, but so are the autonomous energies of the imagination, of unreason, of spirituality. Hence the inspired attention, the animate tact that Bloch, Febvre, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie have brought to the ubiquity in Western civilization of the possibly paradoxical, objectively perhaps groundless role of religious beliefs and institutions.

Much in this approach is kindred to the patient specificities of the classical novel. If Marx and Michelet are in its direct ancestry, so are Scott and Flaubert. In both genres, the document breeds intuition and the archive is made witness. But what is astonishing is the strength of the Annales techniques when they are applied to societies and epochs in which almost no writ-

ship of Georges Duby, a professor at more and more receding from the Dark Ages. Drawing on ingenious research in the history of climates, on urban and rural archeology, and on the novel insights that chemical analyses yield into the diet, health, and general biological milieu of early medieval man, Duby has restored to exact imagining that world of vast Seven years went into his gathering of

forests, isolated farmsteads, monastic beehives, and decayed Roman urbanity from which feudal Europe developed. Extending his inquiries forward into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, Duby has done much to clarify the opaque, stubborn conflicts between Latin Christianity and secular modes of autonomy and violence which led to the Western conception of marriage, of incest, of

familial organization. Via architecture and canon law, Duby has traced the advance of the great monastic orders-of the Cistercians, in particular-across the perilous map of a partly pagan, often anarchic "pre-Europe." Decisive tracts of mental and physical experience that lie between that relate late classical antiquity to the incipience of the nation-state are now emerging into view. In such books as "The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined" and "The Knight, the Lady and the Priest," Duby has shown himself to be a master geologist of consciousness.

In contrast with some of Duby's previous studies, his new book, "William Marshal: The Flower of Chivalry" (Pantheon; \$15.95), is founded on a specific document. Duby retells, analyzes, summons to felt life the biography of a twelfth-century French warrior and feudal lord, one William Marshal, who was born c. 1145 and died in his chamber in the spring of 1219. A single manuscript copy of this life history, the "Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal," written by a scribe not altogether competent to deal with the high idiom of the original, has come down to us—a pure stroke of luck. But "masterpieces have a tenacious life," observes Duby. The memoir consists of a hundred and twentyseven parchment leaves (not one is missing!), and on each side of each leaf are two parallel columns of thirty-

signal part to the imaginative scholar- poem of almost twenty thousand verses. It is composed in Angevin the Collège de France, darkness is French, the supple, musical speech of that region of France still regarded as the native ground of what is purest in the language. In the early thirteenth century, Angevin French was the tongue spoken by the English royal court and the higher levels of society. The begetter of the text was William Marshal's son, also called William.

> the material. An eldest son owes fidelity of remembrance to his illustrious father. Of the actual poet we know nothing except the name Jean. Duby says, "He is a splendid writer: words both accurate and fresh, narration limpid, characterizations vivid, dialogues pointed, scenes clear; he has performed his task to perfection: to render the earl 'present,'

to make him 'alive.' " He is also a historian of exceptional scruple, seeking to distinguish certain fact from the aura of legend. To a degree perhaps unique in medieval perceptions, Duby adds, the poet-biographer knows that in estoire—in serious history, which is truth-"no one may knowingly tell a lie." He is a truth-finder, a trouvère in the proper etymological sense. And Duby recaptures the presence, and gives joyous echo to the labors, of this Jean le Trouvère. Lightly, acutely translated by Richard Howard, "William Marshal" is an enchanting and profoundly instructive book.

It begins with the death of the hero. In the Annales method, the rites of decease—the divisions of property which the death of the parent or lord may entail, the social and symbolic usages that surround the dying, the economics of burial and commemoration—are a key marker. They allow the historian a privileged insight not merely into the relevant body politic and the fabric of fiscal-societal relations but into that central domain of implicit world-representation wherein a culture argues, conceptualizes, disguises therapeutically its sense of the proper distance between this world and the next. William Marshal's farewell to this earth is exemplary in its attention to private and to public duties:

That night is the last time he saw his five daughters, and when he had sent them back to their mother, he seemed, though

ten records were produced. Owing in eight lines—a biographical narrative usually so much the master of his feelings, greatly moved. Forcing back his distress, he quickly moves on to serious matters, describes in detail to his son the arrangements of his funeral ceremonies: let William the Younger be closest to him when he enters—when his body enters London. He also wants the poor to be thought of. He is certain they will gather round the cortege in great numbers. A service of such opulence is not often seen. Of these poor folk, he determines that at least a hundred will be fed, given drink, and clothed after the ceremony.

> The dying lord must divest himself of his worldly treasures lest their actual weight drag his soul to Hell. Strongboxes and bins, treasure chests, and his ample wardrobe must be emptied. Donations are made to the monks and other churchmen who will pray for his salvation, and to those who have been the faithful servants and familiars of his household:

> The earl is a good seigneur. It is in this aspect that he wishes to abide in the memory of his people, in the plenitude of the virtues suited to his state, which are of a sumptuous generosity. Thus the night was spent in the distribution of squirrel, of silk, of sable. All the knights put on the fairest of what their master's body had worn. The little that remained, the least good, was abandoned to the poor.

Duby's comment is penetrating: "In each of the men who thus sported his finery, one might imagine that the dying man was restored to life." Now, in possession of nothing but his shroud, the earl marshal of the realm is ready for the journey.

On that journey, the moment of actual death is only a stage. The funereal procession makes halt at the abbey church in Reading, then at Staines. Local lords gather around the mortal remains of their high peer. These sanctified remains, moreover, were not mute. As the Archbishop of Canterbury explained during the burial service, the reduction to a clump of earth of "this man who raised himself to the pinnacle of human values" was to each Christian an eloquent proof of the vanity of earthly ways. When news of these solemnities reached the French royal court, William Marshal was proclaimed "God's first lieutenant upon earth . . . the flower of chivalry." The ascent to such renown had not been an easy one.

During the seventy-five years spanned by Jean le Trouvère's narrative, Plantagenet England, the French Crown, and the rival House of Aquitaine were in more or less open conflict. The Anglo-Norman aristocracy was, by virtue of its use of Angevin and Norman French and by virtue of

## THE NEW YORKER

its immediate descent from the piratical warriors of the Norman Conquest, complexly divided. Very gradually, a part of that baronial pack began to feel itself English. But even after Philip Augustus of France had reconquered Normandy, Maine, and Anjou the knights of England felt thoroughly at home with their kindred adversaries across the Channel. Pagans and the men of Aquitaine were another matter. It was against this tense political background that William, second son of John Marshal, who was a follower of Henry Plantagenet, learned the trade of arms. At an early age, the son is sent to Normandy, to be trained in the household of the King's chamberlain, one William of Tancarville. Thus, he enters into that "net of deferential friendship," of pupilage (lasting some eight years), crucial to the feudal system. Our young man is dubbed a knight in, most probably, the spring of 1167. As a younger son, William Marshal enters on his chivalric career with nothing but his sword and a shirt of mail, badly torn in his very first skirmish.

The only way to material advancement lay through tourneys. In these mock battles, often bloody, the unhorsed and battered opponent had to pay ransom. Thus a successful young challenger could acquire weapons, warhorses—an absolutely vital requisite—and ready cash. Luck smiles on the fearless.

A rebel miscreant, the Sire de Lusignan, dared ambush Eleanor of Aquitaine, England's royal queen. William Marshal was of her escort and hurled himself into the fray. Grievously wounded, he was carried off by the assailants. Eleanor, moved by the young knight's reckless bravery, gave hostages for his release and took him into her entourage. Aged approximately twenty-five, William Marshal now found himself a close servant to the Crown, an intimate of the sovereign's household. During the dynastic struggles of 1173-74, William Marshal remained absolutely true to the King's rebellious son, to whom Henry II had attached him. Such fidelity was held to prevail over all other duties, and when Henry II pardoned his Absalom he bore no grudge against William. Returning to France and Flanders, William again excelled in the savage and rapacious art of the tourney. His feats became legend: between one Pentecost and the following Lent, William Marshal and his Flemish companion at arms, Roger de Gaugi,

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captured one hundred and three knights. With these victories came social elevation. By 1187, the penniless fourth child of John Marshal stood at the highest level of chivalric aristocratic society. Nevertheless, he remained poor. Then a brilliant marriage, arranged by the King in recompense for his vassal's exploits, brings him sixty-five and a half fiefs. William literally carries off Isabel, damsel of Striguil. A friend provides the nuptial bed. William Marshal is now nearly fifty, Duby writes.

At last he has left his youth behind. On this night, applying himself to deflowering the damsel of Striguil, to getting her with child, he has crossed the line, has gone over to the right side, the side of the seigneurs. His fortune—nothing more is needed—his very great fortune is made.

He will become Earl of Pembroke; he will win a great victory for his sovereign at the Battle of Lincoln, in the summer of 1217. Preparing for death, William can look upon a household as illustrious, as moneyed, as crowded with young lions as any he knew in his combative youth. There is, on the other hand, scarcely a limb, a fibre of the body he will soon depart from, that does not carry the scars, the aching rent, of physical punishment-of bruising cavalcades across devastated lands, of Channel crossings on tossed cockleshells, of the deadly heat and venomous thorns of the Holy Land. William Marshal was a crusader in 1185-87.) The peril and the pain are loud in the poem. The Marshal's last words are precisely those of battle: "I cannot defend myself from death."

It is the vehement humanity of this singular text which thrills the imagination. We have nothing quite like it between St. Augustine's "Confessions" and Benvenuto Cellini's great autobiography. As Duby emphasizes, the "Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal," which was first published, in 1891-1901, by the eminent medievalist Paul Meyer, is an invaluable source of information about the practice of war, about standards of chivalric behavior, about property relations and the status of women in the West European feudal order. Its tumultuous but lucid account of some of the major tournaments in which the hero starred is the best we have of this essential but in many ways esoteric institution. But what matters most is the intimation given us of being in direct contact with a thoroughly human persona from a world at once exceedingly remote and somehow proximate to ours.

This is, in part, a matter of geography, of the poet's skill in giving each episode a local habitation and a name. Tancarville has known other terrible battles since; Winchester, Reading, the Channel ports, the low fields around Lincoln retain enough of the dense presentness of the past for us to envisage William Marshal's passage. It may be, too, that our sense of nearness to this ancient chronicle has its sadder reason. Ours also is an age of hostages and homicidal violence, of armed greed and political subterfuge. What we know too little of is those codes of magnanimity, those agreed intervals between hatred (the Pax Dei), those habits of pardon which inspired the ideal and at times the practice of a "parfit gentle knight." There is a chime in Chaucer's famous phrase as of an unrecapturable hope.

—George Steiner

## BRIEFLY NOTED

FICTION

ARAB FOLKTALES, translated from the Arabic and edited by Inea Bushnaq (Pantheon; \$19.95). "Kan ma kan La han wa la han": when these words (an Arabic variation on "Once upon a time") are spoken, anything may follow—ghouls that chew gum and use date palms for toothpicks; a boy who turns into a white mule that turns into a fish that turns into a razor that turns into a dove that turns into a pomegranate; a man who tussles with an ant over a sesame seed; a dove that sheds tears of pearls and coral; city streets that flow with honey and boiled butter. "Embroidery with Word and Thread" heads the introduction to this exceptionally handsome volume (the sixteenth in Pantheon's Fairy Tale and Folklore Library), and black-and-white prints of embroidery decorate (and sometimes illustrate) its pages. In an afterword, Inea Bushnaq, a New Yorker with a degree in classics from Cambridge, tells how she returned to her native Palestine and tracked down some of these stories on donkeyback, and how other stories reached, by way of late-nineteenth-century German philologists, the Oriental Division (Room 219) of the New York Public Library.

STONE VIRGIN, by Barry Unsworth (Houghton Mifflin; \$17.95). Mr. Unsworth's new, Byzantine-like novel has to do with lust and love

