EARLY MODERN LITERARY STUDIES

The Agency of Truce in Early Modern Culture: Negotiating Appeasement and Entente

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On his deathbed, Giacomo Attendolo Sforza reputedly told his son Francesco: 'If you have three enemies: make peace with the first, broker a truce with the second, and attack and destroy the third'.[1] Often ignored due to that betweenness illustrated by Sforza's rhetoric, truce is an essential feature of the conduct of military and political affairs. Relying on examples taken from Plutarch, Cicero, Livy, and recent history, early modern political thinkers referred to or investigated truce, its legal shape, political and even ethical ramifications.

The early modern discussion differs from The Peace and Truce of God movement as it does not officially issue socially structuring measures. The movement that lasted between the tenth and thirteenth centuries and officially aimed to limit the use of violence, protect the defenceless and curtail the development of private wars.[2] The religious aspect, as seen in this collection of essays (Mathieu, Reid, Lafont), remained an important part of early modern truces. Yet the discussions were increasingly secularised. As shown in several articles (Daniel, Rivere de Carles, Gonzalez and Hampton), the literature of and about truce flourished in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but it was more

[1] Marcel Brion, *Machiavel* (Paris, Taillandier [1948] 2016), p. 35.

[2] See H. Cowdrey, *The Peace and the Truce of God in the Eleventh Century*. *Past & Present*, 46, 1970, pp. 42-67; and Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Continuum, 2003), p. 4.

historical, legal and literary. It fed into the reflections on war (Iyengar) and observed and tested the various types and implementations of truces from the battlefield to drama and translation (Decaix, Lafont).

Starting with the historian's perspective and Francesco Guicciardini's event-based view, truce was viewed as an uncertain military tactic in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. Nevertheless, as a tactic in a wider strategy of war, truce was increasingly paired with the possibility of its inclusion in a strategy of peace as Jean Bodin's and Alberico Gentili's views suggested. The influence of the jurisconsults' vision on the function of truce rather than its shape climaxed with its rationalising by Hugo Grotius on the back of the end of the Twelve Year Truce in 1621. This introduction does not aim to repeat the brilliant discussion of truce in Frederic J. Baumgartner's *Declaring War in Early Modern Europe*,[3] but rather to add to it by introducing Guicciardini's and Bodin's perspectives on the concept. We posit that the legal turn given by Bodin, Gentili and Grotius added an ethical dimension to the discussion of truce and reasserted its possible inclusion in a dynamic of attainable peace.

The Historian's Perspective: The Truce as a Military Tactic

Francesco Guicciardini's *Storia of Italy* (1561) was first published in English in 1579 as *The historie of Guicciardin conteining the warres of Italie and other parties*. It was translated or rather 'reduced into English' as mentioned in its title by Geoffrey Fenton in 1579 who dedicated the work to Queen Elizabeth.[4] His translation was published again in 1599 and during the reign of James I in 1618 – strangely enough still featuring the dedication to Elizabeth in spite of a frontispiece mentioning it was a revised edition containing previously unpublished parts of book IV. The sequentiality of Guicciardini's historical narrative offers only scattered references to truces in Italy and in Europe and the following paragraphs offer a comprehensive analysis of these fragments.

Guicciardini referred to truce as a 'suspension of arms', a moment juxtaposed to an ongoing war, the latter being the main time frame of action. He quotes to that effect the example of Henry VIII sending a Herald to Francis I to declare war, just in case the King of France refused the general truce with the Emperor in 1522. Like Machiavelli,

[3] Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Declaring War in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 19-22, 29, 76, 80, and 91-3.

[4] *The historie of Guicciardin conteining the warres of Italie and other parties*, trans. by Geoffrey Fenton (London, 1599).

Guicciardini saw truce as a tactic and an opportunity leading to a pragmatic peace.[5] As a military tactic, truce was of course seen in terms of *kairos*: it is an opportunity to rearm, to rest one's soldiers or call for reinforcement. Such an asset was reversible as agreeing to a truce meant one's adversary also played the clock. More interestingly, Guicciardini quoted examples suggesting truce was a subtler tactic used to apply psychological or material pressure onto other actors: Truce was a message or rather a warning sent to other adversaries outside the battlefield about the possible dangers of new alliances and the loss of old allies.[6] This tactical use of the truce can be pushed to its imperialist end as truce became a means to subjugate other parties.[7]

Throughout *The Historie* Guicciardini tells what is in a truce. The latter was a contract with well-defined terms and conditions. It comprised a clear statement of the territories and populations it applied to, the right to extend a truce, the movement of troops, the pardon of the allies of your enemy, and the financial and territorial counterparts agreed to between the parties. It also allocated precisely the necessary time for all the stakeholders to access the written agreement and to comply with its terms and conditions.[8]

Often Guicciardini pointed at some causes for a truce to fail. He contrasted structural reasons for the failure and more coincidental factors. The former concerned the motivations and the terms and conditions: the fear that a truce might deprive one side of a potential victory, the negotiation of a truce while thinking only about war, the initial will not to execute the truce or the inability to contain the soldiers, a disagreement over the length of the truce. The coincidental factors were ethical and Guicciardini quoted the case of untrustworthy negotiators who betrayed or disobeyed their senders or the payment of bribes to one of the parties in conflict or to the mediator.[9]

The focus on the technicalities, the military tactical nature of truce and its many examples of failures beg the question whether truce was at all compatible with peace. Sometimes a truce was more agreeable than a peace as the peace might be predicated on terms and conditions one side did not agree to. In 1524, the King of France refused the peace with the Emperor as its conditions would have been unfavourable to France, but did not object

[5] See Vettori's letter to Machiavelli on 21 April 1509 and Machiavelli's letter to Francesco Vettori on 29 April 1513 in Niccolò Machiavelli, *Lettere*, ed. by Franco Gaeta (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961), pp. 245-9; 250-8. Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses* ed. by Julia Conaway Bondanella, Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), Bk II, ch.. 10. Guicciardini, *Historie*, Bk III, ch. I.

[6] *Historie*, Bk III, ch. I.

[7] Ibid, Bk XVIII, ch. VIII.

[8] Ibid, Bk XVII, ch. XX, ch. XXVIII.

[9] Ibid, Book XVII, ch. XXVII; Bk XVIII, ch. VII, ch. VIII, ch. XXVIII.

at all to a two-year truce. The Emperor's position was its exact opposite: he refused the truce, as it would allow France to rearm, but was open to a peace.

Guicciardini's episodic portrayal of truce may seem bleak as it focused on truce as a weapon. However, on one occasion, Guicciardini showed that sometimes truce-makers tried to aggregate other stakeholders.[10] He emphasised the absorptive nature of truce which sometimes underpinned other subsequent negotiations with new parties. Truce was not only a means of subjugation, conquest or a busted flush, but an instrument in a realistic strategy of peace either relying on the force of habits or paving the way to Richelieu's doctrine of perpetual negotiation.[11]

The Jurisconsult's Perspective: Adding the Ethical Dimension

In *The true order and Method of wryting and reading Hystories* (1574), Thomas Blundeville reintroduced the articulation of truce and peace as he used the steps of conflict to illustrate methods of history writing as chronological or counter-chronological. He revealed the chronology of truce: it came before peace and was a condition to create peace. Later in the paragraph, the order is reversed to reflect the historian's genealogical method while showing the ambiguity of the concept of truce and its temporal elasticity:

> Wherin if you do first note the establishment of truce, and peace with your mightie neighbours, & with those that might harme you at home,' and then the prouision of mony and of armour, the choise of chiefe- taines, the leauiyng of souldiours, the order of their gouernement in marching, in incamping, and in fighting, and so forth from one meane to an other, euen to the victorie… But if you examine euery thing by it selfe as the establishing of peace, and cofirmacion of leagues, and truces with neighbours, the prouision of mony, men, & Munition, the order of Marching, incamping, and fighting...[12]

Blundeville determined three orders of observation: chronological (all steps from beginning to [victorious] end), counter-chronological (from victory to beginning) and event-focused synchrony (each step observed individually and only examining what led to victory). In the chronological observation, truce preceded peace. In the third order, truce was still considered between 'establishing of peace, and confirmation of leagues'

[10] Ibid, Bk XVIII, ch. V.

[11] Jean Armand du Plessis Richelieu, *Testament Politique*, ed. by Louis André (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1947).

[12] Thomas Blundeville, *The true order and Method of wryting and reading Hystories* (London, 1574) [G3r].

and the process of arming. Blundeville's writing emphasised the betweenness of truce, yet invited readers to observe it from different angles: as leading to peace, or as a step *per se*. Similarly, in Book I of *The Six Books on a Common weale*, Bodin reasserted the importance of truce as a condition of both war and peace:

> the treaties betwixt enemies, are made to haue peace and amitie, or truce, or to compose warres begun for seignories or for persons, or to redresse the iniuries and displeasures of one of them against the other, or for traffick and hospitalitie that might bee betwixt enemies during the time of truce.[13]

First published in French in 1576, Bodin's work was then revised and translated in Latin in 1586, in Spanish in 1590 and in English by Richard Knolles in 1606. It echoed many of Guicciardini's practical facts about truces and added Bodin's own uncertainty regarding the length of truces: he paradoxically quoted the existence of thirty-year and hundred-year truces while reasserting the need for a truce to be time-limited.[14] Introducing the idea of long or even perpetual truces, Bodin did not dwell on their implications or functions. Instead, he introduced the jurisconsult's bent in the discussion and proved increasingly concerned with more ethical dimensions.

While Guicciardini relied on immediate history, Bodin turned to classical examples and introduced more ethical concerns reflecting his own anti-tyrannical stance. He insisted on the safety of the negotiating parties ('But if princes being in warre, haue made a truce, and concluded a parle, they must come vnarmed'), and questioned the fact that, during a truce, a prince should not punish those of his subjects who had sided with the enemy as it would offend the enemy and break the truce.[15] Bodin's view of the truce aimed to curtail the authorities' tyrannical desire of revenge and any other hubristic impulses. Thus, Bodin's truce subtly moved out of the strict military territory to become political and participate in an anti-tyrannical protection of the common weal. Besides, Bodin anchored his reflection in the Truce of God tradition with examples such as Antiochus' siege of Jerusalem and the eight-day truce granted for a religious festival. As Gentili did later, he recalled the sacredness of certain territories and moments which were grounds for a

[13] Jean Bodin, *The Six bookes of a Common weale* (1575) trans. by Richard Knolles (London, 1606), Bk 1 Ch. 7.

[14] *Six Bookes*, Bk 5 ch. 6.

[15] Ibid.

truce.[16] Reasserting the link between the sacred and truce introduced the possibility of making ethical decisions when resorting to violence proved unnecessary.

In *De Legationibus* (1585), Alberico Gentili clearly stated the diplomatic nature of truce, gave an ethical dimension to truce-making, and thus made its articulation with a strategy of peace possible. He insisted that truce is a moment guaranteeing the safe conduct and the preservation of the ambassador's physical integrity.[17] He recalled that breaching a truce was a violation of international law, and that the act of admission of an ambassador constituted a sort of truce that should guarantee the ambassador's safety.[18] Besides these legal reminders, Gentili mitigated the danger by contrasting the possibility of injury during a truce and the guarantee of safe conduct.[19] In keeping with Florentine realism, Gentili insisted on the necessity of truce being a time where diplomatic rules and privileges applied. He never used the word 'ethical' to qualify the decision of not harming an ambassador notwithstanding a state of war or breach of truce. He defined it as unnecessary, thus warning that legally the breach of a truce lifted all caveats regarding whoever was caught in enemy territory. However, the lack of necessity Gentili noted was also subtly projective as it suggested not harming an ambassador or a representative in such situation was credit to be used in further negotiations no matter the issue of the conflict.

Grotius: Rationalising Practical Truce as Both War and Peace

Henri de Navarre's comment in 1589 on the Truce made with Henri III, King of France, started with the definition of truce as 'abstinence of war' and included the tactic in a strategy of peace:

> he resolued vpon a *Truce or abstinence of warre* with all hostilitie, whereof we hope through Gods helpe, *of a good peace to ensue.* Therefore that wée giue you to wit, and to all and euery of you which acknowledge our authoritie and protection, and that haue and doe follow that part which we vphold, euery one for himselfe, that we haue treated, decreed and concluded with our soueraigne Lord the King, vpon *a truce or abstinence* generall from armes throughout this land for

[16] Bodin, *Six Bookes*, Bk 4, ch. 7, Alberico Gentili, *De Legationibus, libri tres* (London, 1585), Bk 2 ch. 3. The latter becomes thus a moment, a place and a framework for religious toleration, see Jeanne Mathieu's article in this issue.

[17] *De Legationibus*, Bk 2, Ch. 3.

[18] Ibid, Bk 2, Ch. 13.

[19] Ibid, Bk 1 Ch. 6.

> one whole yeare, to begin the third day of Aprill, and to end vpon the like day, as well the one as the other therein concluded.[20]

This increasing ethical dimension of truce and its articulation with the end of war, or peace, was not only typical of the end of the sixteenth century, it re-emerged on the back of the end of the Twelve Year Truce and the publication of Hugo Grotius' *De Jure Pacis & Belli* (1625).[21] While Guicciardini, Bodin and even Gentili resorted to chronological and counter-chronological narratives of truces, Grotius applied Blundeville's third order and chose to dedicate an entire chapter of Book III to truce's textual and legal definition. In Book II, Grotius had referred briefly to the truce's contractual nature, its binding nature only from the moment it was ratified and read by all parties, and the importance of defining its time limits. Book III gives a proper coherent ethical and legal framework to truce. Our point here is not to recount the terms and conditions of a truce laid out by Grotius, but to point at two elements reinforcing the ethical turn of truce as realist tactic truce. As with his predecessors, Grotius considered truce as a military tactic in a strategy of war, to which he added a stabilising role of commercial and economic relationships,[22] but he also insisted on its ethical function in a strategy of peace.

Grotius started the chapter devoted to truce by discussing the role of 'Faith (to be kept) between Enemies': 'It is the publick Faith, as it is in *Quintilian* the Father, that procures a Truce between armed Enemies, and preserves the Rights of yielded Cities… From this Society founded on Reason and Speech, arises that Obligation from a Promise'.[23] Any negotiation was predicated on the stakeholders' ethos. Recalling Quintilian and St Augustine, Grotius argued the importance of keeping one's word as a founding tenet of society, of government and extended it to conflict management. He thus insisted on the necessary porosity between the rules of a polity and the tactics of war and peace. The truce's betweenness and paradoxical status as both a suspension and a process enabled

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[20] 'A Declaration of The King of Navarre, Vpon The Treatise of The Truce Made Betweene The French King, and the said L. King of Nauarre. The King of Navarres Declaration at the Passage of The River of Loire for the seruice of his Maiestie the 18. of Aprill. 1589' in *The declarations as vvell of the French King, as of the King of Nauarre Concerning the truce agreed vpon betwene their Maiesties: and touching the passage of the riuer of Loire* (London, 1589) [author's emphases]. See Marie-Céline Daniel, 'Richard Field's English Reception of the Truce of Plessis-lez-Tours (1589)', in this issue.

[21] Hugo Grotius, *De Jure Pacis & Belli* (Paris, 1625). All English quotations from *De jure* are taken from *Hugo Grotius On the Law of War and Peace*, ed. by Stephen C. Neff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[22] See his explanation in Bk II, ch. XV, section V.2 how not having a truce or a peace allows the pillage of *hostes*. The truce is also envisaged practically as a tactic to ensure economic safety and stability.

[23] *De jure*, Bk III, Chapter XIX, Section I, paragraphs 2 and 3.

the articulation of the ideals defining the legal and political fabric of a society and the non-ideal situations of international conflicts.

Like Bodin, Grotius did not dissociate the ethical and legal rules of government from the rules of war. Somehow perpetuating the doctrine of the just cause war, he retargeted truce as potentially part of a peace strategy in sections I to IV of chapter XXI (Book III). His rhetorical strategy was to first define 'what a Truce is, and whether it be a Time of Peace or War' in section 1 where he emphasised zones of entente. The following section on the etymology of the word 'truce' allowed him through the Aristotelian metaphor of sleep to retarget the process towards a de-escalation of war. Then he backed his practical yet ethical definition with a series of legal acts in the ensuing sections III to XIII.[24] Grotius' three-part rhetoric reinforced the legal framework enabling truce to be, if not always a source of peace, a means to avoid further conflicts. The latter predicament is essential to give the truce the possibility to be used as a tactical moment and space in either a strategy of war or a strategy of pragmatic peace.

Unlike Guicciardini, Grotius did not limit truce to its military nature as shown in the defining section on '*What a Truce is, and whether it be a Time of Peace or War*'. Already in the title, Grotius posited the need to bring peace back into truce-defining and truce-thinking. His definition was nonetheless thoroughly realistic regarding truce as a tactic in a strategy of war:

> A Truce is an Agreement, by which during the War, for a Time we forbear all Acts of Hostility. I say, during the War: For as *Cicero* says, in his eighth *Philippick*, there is no Middle between War and Peace. And War is a certain State, which (like Habits) may subsists, even tho' its Actions be for a While suspended.[25]

Truce was one of the 'Things that use to be granted mutually by sovereign Princes, in Time of War'. It was the first step of entente and a preparation for further negotiations, and Grotius nowhere excluded the possibility that the said negotiations may lead to a peace. Besides, Grotius clarified the notion of 'suspension' by using Aristotle's

[24] Sect III *Upon the ending of a Truce there is no Need of denouncing War again*; Sect IV. *How the Time of a Truce is to be computed*; Sect V: *When it begins to bind*; Sect VI *What may be lawfully done during a Truce*; Sect VII. *Whether to retire back, to repair Breaches, or the like*; Sect VIII. *A Distinction concerning seizing of Places*; Sect IX *Whether he may return that is forcibly retained during the Truce?*; Sect X. *OF the special agreements of truces, and what queries usually arise from thence*; Sect XI *A Truce broken on one side, the other may renew the War*; Sect XII *What if a punishment is added*; Sect XIII *When private acts break the Truce.*

[25] *De jure*, Bk III, Ch. XXI, Section I, par. 1.

Nicomachean Ethics about virtue and inaction: 'A man may be virtuous, tho' asleep, and tho' he lead an inactive Life'.[26] First, he insisted on the suspension not being outside of any rule of law; second, he introduced the notion of practical virtue. Aristotle introduced the concept of practical wisdom (*phronesis*) and this was the Grotian goal: to give the truce a practical, realist, and ethical dimension and make it an effective instrument. He compared truce with three concepts – *friendship*, *habit* and *geometry* – which all exist in a different form even in suspension (the latter being distance, inaction, knowledge). Interestingly, Grotius singled out three essential features of truce-making Nir Eisikovits will later point out in his 2016 opus entitled *A Theory of Truces*:[27] an efficient truce relies on keeping the same legal and ethical rules and values as in civilian life (*geometry*); it will make use of *habit* as it will (re)create the memory of life with less conflict; it may generate *friendship* or rekindle friendship based on common grounds of entente.[28] This dynamic is put the test in many a literary creation studied in this issue.

Nevertheless, Grotius did describe truce as immediately conducive to peace. As he glosses Gellius ('A Truce cannot be called a Peace, for the War continues, tho' Fighting ceases'), then the Latinus Pacatus ('Truce suspends the Effects of War'), he clearly reasserted the temporal twinship of war and truce. In section II, he attempted a genealogy of the meaning of truce or rather what he names 'descriptions' and 'not Definitions'.[29] He insisted that truce is a paradoxical time of both contemplative and active life. He carried on defining it in connexion to war as shown by his famous exegesis of Varro's description: 'He might as well have called it *Belli somnum, War's sleep*'. He concluded this paragraph by saying 'so you may call Truce, *The Fetters of War*'. This allegorical image of truce as restraining war opens a triple possibility: continuing war which still existed though was momentarily restrained, keeping the restraint permanent through a functioning long-term truce as he suggests in section I paragraph 3, or finding a path to peace. The latter is mooted in section I paragraph 4 when Grotius stressed the similitude between peace and truce and linked it with a 'certain Conjecture of the Intention of the Mind' he discussed in Book II.[30] The conjecture in question is virtue.

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[26] Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, I.III.

[27] Nir Eisikovits, *A Theory of Truces* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[28] This aspect as well as that of time-setting and suspension are developed in Nathalie Rivere de Carles's article.

[29] Grotius lists the definitions of the truce by Virgil ('A provisional peace'), Servius ('a temporary peace'), Thucydides ('A temporary peace bringing forth war'), Varro ('the peace of Camps for a few days'; 'War's holy-day'), Statius ('days wherein there is no Pleading are called peace'). *De jure*, Bk III, ch. XXI, section I.2.

[30] Grotius, *De jure*, Bk II, ch. XVI, par. 20.

Somehow, the slow reintroduction of the ideal virtues of faith and temperance in action mitigates the non-ideal vision of truce of Guicciardini and Machiavelli and even Gentili. Although being cognizant of many failed truces and truce's role as a tactic of war, Bodin, Gentili and particularly Grotius paired the non-ideal observation of a truce with the asymptotic ideals of virtue of faith (as in trustworthiness), justice and temperance. By reintroducing these ideals and listing very practical cases of application, we could argue that Grotius *offered* conditions to create peace as much as he defined the pragmatism of a functioning truce in its military context.

In Book II of *De jure belli ac pacis*, Grotius used Greek theatre and the dramatizing of the War of the Seven in Euripides' *The Suppliants* to analyse a truce on moral grounds.[31] He evokes how Adrastus of Argos, at war with Thebes, tried to obtain a truce to bury his dead, and how its initial denial led to Adrastus' call for a third-party intervention (Theseus) thus triggering a war between Theseus and Thebes. This example shows the pragmatic function of truce as instrument of de-escalation of a military situation to avoid cascading conflicts. It illustrates the pragmatic importance of giving an ethical dimension to truce. Grotius' reliance on dramatic sources as analytical material leads us to examine the functionality of truce in the dramatic world. This issue's point now is to see how not only theatre and poetry mirror truce, the evolution of its understanding, but also how drama gives a certain agency to its ethical turn. It also focuses not so much on the strategy of war, but on truce as part of a strategy of peace or appeasement.

Seizing the Literary *Kairos*

As shown by Marie-Céline Daniel's and Timothy Hampton's studies, truce is both an action and a text. The terms and conditions of truces had to be written and published, and the said texts were often translated and circulated even beyond the time of the event. This dual nature requires to articulate historical, literary and foreign policy analysis. This issue's approach can be construed as following an interstitial method: it springs from the very nature of truce, its betweenness or 'interstitiality' as defined by Hampton,[32] and from Eisikovits's advice in *A Theory of Truces* which is to consider conflicts outside the strict dichotomy between war and peace: 'Our thinking about war's end is impoverished, trapped in a false dichotomy between the ideas of war and peace, and because it is stuck

[31] Ibid, Bk II ch. IX, section I.3

[32] Timothy Hampton, 'The Slumber of War: Diplomacy, Tragedy, and the Aesthetics of the Truce in Early Modern Europe' in *Early Modern Diplomacy, Theatre and Soft Power*, ed. by Nathalie Rivere de Carles (London: Palgrave, 2016), p. 28.

in this bind we can't explain how conflict actually winds down'.[33] Based on the study of historical data and the literary discussion and implementation of historical facts and philosophical concepts, this issue works towards a historical poetics emulating Hampton's approach to diplomacy and literature as 'a way of reading literature that would be attuned to the shadow of the Other at the edge of national community, and a way of reading history that would take into account its fictional and linguistic dimensions'.[34] This involves tracking the shifting points of contact between fiction, on the one hand, and the discourses of political theory, and history, on the other hand. The result alters the approach to early modern literature and history to a 'median space'.[35]

In this median space, the theoretical and practical studies in foreign policy analysis, such as Eisikovits's study of truces, proves a useful tool to understand not only the way truce functions but also to test its performativity. After a review of the history of truces, Eisikovits particularly insists on the means to perform a truce. The essential feature of truce-thinking for him is the possibility of creating 'islands of agreement in the midst of belligerence', as Iyengar's article shows. The point for the truce-makers is to find 'cracks' and 'openings' to retarget the feud from a dynamic of conflict towards a dynamic of peace, or rather of attainable peaceful goals[36]. Eisikovits uses the very interstitial nature of truce etymologized in Grotius and emphasized by Hampton in his literary analysis of poetic and dramatic representations of truces to offer templates of implementation. This is also what this issue offers to do: to observe truce and its multiple means of representation, but more importantly of implementation. The interstitial method articulating several disciplines is adapted to the liminal nature of the concept and focuses on its agency as much as its methodology.

This collection thus focuses on truce-thinking but above all raises the issue of truce-performing. Following Clausewitz's statement that truce is an opportunity that needs to be taken,[37] this collection of articles investigates the sense and the form of *kairos* that truce requires. *Kairos* or timeliness is an essential feature of both politics and drama, and as such several essays focus on this sense of time, on the various types of opportunities to be seized in order to negotiate political, aesthetic or social changes (Gonzalez-Fernandez, Lafont, Mathieu, Rivere de Carles). Bart Ramakers shows that the Twelve

[33] Eisikovits, pp. 2-3.

[34] Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 4.

[35] Ibid.

[36] See Rivere de Carles's article in this issue.

[37] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), ed. by Beatrice Heuser and Michael Howard and Peter Paret (trans.) p. 11ff.

Years Truce (1609-21) prompted what he calls a 'regenerating literary activity'.[38] He suggests that that particular truce was a moment to increase political autonomy, economic and cultural ascendency. It is clearly an opportunity to seize, a matter of *kairos*. This issue examines not so much the aftermath of a particular truce but the operating nature of truce. If a truce can be seen as regenerating literary activity, this issue asks whether the literary work bears in itself a regenerating truce, whether it can be influenced in its form by truce-writing and truce-thinking (Hampton). It also examines how the text itself offers truces and the shape they are given.

'Modest arrangements or agreements' and Non-Governmental, Non-Elite Negotiations of Truce

Eisikovits suggests that truce is made of 'modest arrangements or agreements [which] can alleviate living conditions for those involved in chronic conflicts and improve mutual attitudes'.[39] This collection transposes such a tactical thinking on the literary and home front and argues that it is precisely as a result of such 'modest arrangements' between competing versions of narratives, or between male and female writers, that a new form of appeasement may have emerged in print or in manuscript during the early modern period.

Several articles in this issue turn deliberately to the pacifying role of minor social figures, like secondary characters in plays (see Gonzalez-Fernandez on the role of mercenaries, Rivere de Carles on the role of soldiers and female advisors) or a female copyist (Lafont). Caroline James and Glenda Sluga in *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics Since 1500* underlined aristocratic women's roles as 'agents of cross-state and cross-cultural information gathering, alliance-building and networking' as well as 'political negotiators'; by analysing specific high-profile feminine figures, they question what the social organization of sexual difference brings to politics.[40] The example of Esther Inglis illustrates another type of diplomacy achieved by a middle-class copyist. Far from being a career diplomat, Inglis was from the 'middling' sort, living away from the secluded

[38] Bart Ramakers, '"As many lands, as many customs": Vernacular Self-Awareness Among the Netherlandish Rhetoricians', *The Transformation of the Vernacular in Early Modern Arts*, ed. by Joost Keizer and Todd M. Richardson, Intersections Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture Series 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2012), p. 158; pp. 170-2.

[39] Eisikovits, *Theory of Truces*, p. 3.

[40] *Women, Diplomacy and International Politics since 1500*, ed. by Caroline James and Glenda Sluga (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 1. See also Jeroen Duindam, 'The Politics of Female Households', in *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 365-70.

rooms where diplomatic parleying could take place privately, but she offered nonetheless very special diplomatic gifts: miniature presentation manuscripts to carefully selected dedicatees. One of these miniature copies by Inglis discussed by Lafont in this volume was actually addressed to the Puritan Lady Lucy Harington, a powerful lady-in-waiting to Queen Anna who coveted the role of First Lady of the Bedchamber.[41] Inglis's manuscripts illustrate how 'modest arrangements' in literary creation allow a distinctive creative voice to emerge: neither coming from the elite, nor a literary translator, nor an established or printed author, Inglis was a prolific scribe who self-produced at least fifty-nine beautiful manuscripts and was well recognized in her own time for her miniature copybooks, cutting across the divide between elite and non-elite. To illustrate female roles in establishing these transient moments of peace, or truce in diplomatic terms, is also one of the methodological choices of this section, in line with James and Sluga's positioning. Their volume seeks to recover the 'voices of women agents in foreign policy, *who understood their weak standing*'.[42] Articles in the third section hope to uncover some strategies used to appease tensions, to de-escalate violence between the sexes as well as how it affected how women were perceived.

Competing mythological versions transmitted to shape a figure or various interpretations of the same figure in private and public contexts create fruitful hermeneutical moments in the writing of truce. Reid's article traces the ironies caused by the implications of King Solomon's gynephilia when he arbitrates the poetic contest in *Greene's Vision* (1592). Similarly, Decaix's article maps out diverging mythological accounts of Aeneas' and Dido's love story in William Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490). Caxton negotiated his own version by weaving separate ones into a new narrative, more fully integrated and internally coherent than the earlier juxtaposed compilation he chose to translate from the French *Le Livre des Énéydes.* The grand Latin epic narrative of Aeneas' founding of Rome is thus gradually re-evaluated thanks to the addition of elements about the hero's private life. While parallel transmissions of texts offer a useful storehouse for polemic arguments and fuel the contest about the status of women in society, their partial use reveals how private elements may moderate antagonisms and foster moments of truce.

Jeroen Duindam explained how public contacts are being fostered by exchanges within the domestic sphere, such as diplomatic gifts and, arguably, literary exchanges. He insists

[41] For the role of this lady-in-waiting, read Nadine Akkerman, 'The Goddess of the Household: The Masquing Politics of Lucy Harington-Russell, Countess of Bedford', *The Politics of Female Households: Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 287-310.

[42] James and Sluga, p. 10 (emphasis added).

on the strong intersection between the public and the private spheres in the early modern diplomacy.[43] Hampton's article thus notes how '[occasional] [p]oetry offers a space in which we can reflect on the relationship between peace-making and the status of the individual – as subject, as political actor, as witness'.[44] To this, Jeanne Mathieu adds that 'theatre has the power to move very rapidly from a gift-giving scene to a quarrel and to adapt material objects and truce scenes to its purpose to meet the audience's horizon of expectations and display a dual nature which makes truce and dispute collide into one single moment'.[45] This collection offers a series of case-studies illustrating that, be they in manuscript or in print, translations, narratives, poems or plays, cultural objects may offer 'interstitial' zones for non-aggression, opening to a potential (often short-lived) solution for a suspension of hostilities as well as developing a reflection on the artistic process of creation.

Translation finally offers a privileged zone of parley in which cultural negotiations of truce are intense. Warmongers do not wish to speak the same language in a war of words, and thus skills in language are of paramount importance within the diplomatic context. The collection offers many examples of moments when English and French versions of a situation, or of a narrative are confronted (Daniel, Decaix, Rivere de Carles, Iyengar), when polyglossia is used to redefine one's stand as a 'modest' and yet fully competent author (Lafont), and authors' heteroglossia offers many occasions to renegotiate one's opinion on a given situation – Hampton gives us Du Bellay's Italianate point of view on the Franco-Spanish situation, Daniel provides a British reading of the French conflicts, Gonzalez-Fernandez's analyses the Franco-Spanish wars from a Spanish perspective, and drawing from foreign mercenaries' points of view. As a military concept and a literary trope, the truce requires a comparative approach. It inherently confronts and tries to articulate antagonistic views. Hence, by including texts from a range of different European nations, this collection reflects better the protean form, substance and goals of the truce.

Truce-thinking thus develops along two major lines. The first two sections in the volume focus on truce-thinking and above all truce-performing, on seizing the right moment to negotiate truce and choosing attainable terms. The last section prolongs the investigation of the means to perform successful, albeit temporary, peace negotiations through textual

[43] Jeroen Duindam, 'The Politics of Female Households', pp. 365-70.

[44] See Timothy Hampton, 'Poetry and Peacemaking: Joachim du Bellay and the Truce of Vaucelles (1556)' in this issue.

[45] See Jeanne Mathieu, 'Inter-confessional Negotiations in Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (1622): Truce as Disputation' in this issue.

truces. It focuses on how the languages of diplomacy operate indirectly when negotiating truce in the ongoing conflict between the sexes through 'interstitial' strategies.

Historical Truce Writing and the Emergence of a Poetics of Truce

The first section of this issue tackles the problematic definition of truce in the context of the religious wars, sometimes reduced to a suspension of hostilities – 'the truce is not war'. It builds on material analyses of historical declarations of truce (how these declarations were printed, how often and to what purpose), to repay close attention to more fictitious engagements with truce (in poetry or on stage). The articles collectively trace individual and varied perceptions of diplomatic actions registered by literary texts.
Marie-Céline Daniel focuses on 'Richard Field's English Reception of the Truce of Plessis-lez-Tours (1589)', issued in two volumes consisting of a collection of three declarations made by the King Henry III of France and Henry of Bourbon, the King of Navarre about a truce that had formalized in Plessis-lez-Tours (in late April 1589) in the eighth of the French Wars of Religion (March 1585-August 1589). Initially the French version provides two legal texts issued by each king detailing the provision of the truce as well as a declaration by Navarre about the wars of religion and the benefits of the truce The French propagandistic circulation of these declarations is split: within royal towns for Henry III of France's declaration and within Huguenot strongholds for Navarre's. Then, soon after their French publications, Field registered in London his two volumes (one in French, one in English), and reconfigured their layout for English readers to celebrate Navarre's positive attitude towards a long-awaited truce; the volumes follow Elizabethan diplomatic choices. Daniel's comparative analysis of the French and the English volumes notes subtle modifications in the order they were printed and in their interpretations. These changes made clear the Protestant support to Navarre as presumptive heir to the throne of France and led the truce of Plessis-lez-Tours to be interpreted favourably for Navarre.

Timothy Hampton in 'Poetry and Peacemaking: Joachim du Bellay and the Truce of Vaucelles (1556)' questions the reception of the Truce between French king Henry II and the Spanish ruler Philip II – with the support of the English under Mary Tudor – in Du Bellay's poetical works and brings to the conversation the '*Discours au Roy sur la Trefve de l'an MDLV'*, a little-known and seldomly studied text by Du Bellay. It investigates the articulation of collective and personal implications of the notion of truce by using Du Bellay's poetry as a case study. The article sets the historical context in relation to the notion of a timely truce as defined by Eisikovits before studying several poetical pieces dealing with De Bellay's personal perception (who was French-oriented and not part of

the negotiating party) of this major – if short-lived – international event from his Roman location. Hampton focuses on the 'flexibility and openness' in the sonnets written in Rome and show how they relate to the essence of truce, as an ambiguous moment, variously perceived by the parties engaged.

Jeanne Mathieu, in 'Inter-confessional negotiations in Thomas Dekker and Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (1622): Truce as Disputation', uses Grotius's *De Jure* alongside Dekker and Massinger's play, to study the languages of diplomacy (more specifically disputation) and the impact of inter-confessional negotiations on the tragic unfolding of Dorothea's martyrdom, following her conversion to the Christian faith. Paying careful attention to the alternation between antagonistic and violent scenes and scenes of parley between disputants, the article thus illustrates the importance of timely action in such negotiations, mapping the performance of a short-lived truce for the rowdy audience of the Red Bull theatre. The playwrights make use of the traditional representation of *angelos* as *nuntius*: messengers that originated with the angel Gabriel, as the angel was an intercessor between God and mankind, while the ambassador acted as a peace-broker between princes. The article insists on the importance of gestures, objects and the senses in peace negotiation as well as on their ambiguous status.

Theatres of War: From Truce-Thinking to Truce-Performing

The second section of this issue deals with several dramatic stagings of the truce, insisting on 'the insertion of sub-plots taking the form of momentarily-suspended mirror conflicts' (Rivere de Carles) in Shakespeare's *Henry V* and *The Winter's Tale*, but also in Lope de Vega's *Carlos V en Francia* (1604), thanks to the role of the mercenaries. Dramatized late sixteenth century Franco-Spanish wars, or Franco-English conflicts, such as the Hundred Years' War, are used to explore moments of cessations of hostility and their potential outcomes for audiences in early modern English and Spanish playhouses (Gonzalez-Fernandez, Rivere de Carles), as well as on twenty-first century stages (Iyengar, Rivere de Carles).

Luis Gonzalez-Fernandez in '"Sin cuartel": Representations of War and Peace in Lope de Vega's *Carlos V en Francia* (1604)', shows how Lope de Vega's play illustrates a strategic shift in the Spanish geopolitical strategy from aggressive warmongering to pragmatic appeasement. The play, set in the late 1530s when the Emperor Charles V opposed Francis I of France, dramatizes historical events by staging the encounter of the two monarchs, Pope Paul III, as well as other characters, thereby revealing Charles V's public persona (in favour of peace) and his (more sanguine) private responses to French

aggression. Playing on the Spanish audience's expectations, the theme of war develops in the play before giving way to a more 'peace-oriented' strategy – the irony of which was not lost for an audience mostly composed of male, veteran and Spaniards, as the real-life truce was short-lived and already gone by at the time of performance.

Sujata Iyengar, in 'From War Crimes to 'Truce-Thinking' in Shakespeare's *Henry V*', analyses how interpreting *Henry V* as a patriotic epic has produced contrasting effects on the audiences throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, and has encouraged them to question the value of war. The most difficult moment to stage is Henry's request to kill all French prisoners, and all the more so as it is differently presented differently in the quarto and in the folio texts, and that often a conflated version of the two is used for staging purposes. This study, founded on Eisikovits's five principles of truce-thinking (optimism, humility, tolerance, tactics, and efficiency), analyses some productions of Shakespeare's *Henry V* and sets them against the two competing accounts of the king's ferocious personality in Holinshed's chronicles (1587): first, following Titus Livius, a version saying that the king threatened to kill the prisoners and then, Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, in which the English soldiers, not Henry, slaughtered all their prisoners regardless of rank. Iyengar argues that truce-thinking is a way to achieve a form of *modus vivendi* between these two extreme interpretations.

Nathalie Rivere de Carles looks at 'The Play as Truce: Attainable Peace in *Henry V* and *The Winter's Tale*' with an eye to Hampton's notion of 'betweenness' and Eisikovits's definition of truce. Her article argues that both plays use 'truce as an instrument to reach attainable forms of peace' on and off the stage. After showing how early modern English playwrights gave truce a literary agency, she shows that Shakespeare's drama tests two types of truces: base and happy truces. Her study of two scenes in *Henry V* unveils two doctrinal choices for truce and peace: one (the Captains scene in Act 3) predicated on the loss of one of the stakeholders (a zero-sum-gain agreement), the other (the Nym and Pistol truce in Act 2) resulting in an acceptable stabilized outcome in terms of each party's loss and gain (a non-zero-sum agreement). Arguing that successful truces rely on timeliness, measure and attainable goals, the article shows that secondary scenes in *Henry V* and the sixteen-year gap in *The Winter's Tale* are pragmatic test-laboratories of truce. Analysing the performance of wonder at the end of *The Winter's Tale* and a contemporary production of *Henry V* commemorating the First World War, Rivere de Carles concludes that staging a sustainable suspension of hostilities may cause audiences to rehearse their own responses to similar situations, emphasizing the specific relevance of theatre as a way to teach diplomacy, empathy and compromise.

Home Front Negotiations: The Method of Textual Parleys

The third section of this issue deals with the study of truce in a different context, that of the European *Querelle des femmes*. This *Querelle* (also called the Women's Question, or the Battle of the Sexes) had been raging on the Continent throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period: opponents took side and bitterly fought. Yet, as there is no formal war, no treaty may end the quarrel and the solutions can only be piecemeal and individual, and through successive truces, allowing one to imagine new creative ways to improve male-female relations. In Britain, during the Elizabethan age, the *Querelle* has a more specific existence, since the sovereign only engaged in the diplomatic manoeuvres of royal marriages until the 1580s. So what was identified on the Continent as the *Querelle* took on a very specific significance during Elizabeth's reign, when virginity was ultimately and triumphantly celebrated in the cult of the Virgin Queen. Marriage diplomacy was the usual means to engage in peaceful relationships, to create trans-European alliances, to acquire powerful allies. Yet teamwork with a chosen male consort was not chosen. This match-making diplomacy also used women as pawns. This was something Elizabeth rejected as her 1581 refusal of the Duke of Alençon's proposal confirmed. Moreover, it appears she used the French marriage as a tactic to keep Philip II of Spain at bay. Elizabeth's voluntarily inconclusive strategy of match-making diplomacy offers a very practical case of application of Guicciardini's definition of truce as a 'suspension of arms', a form of pragmatic peace, for a time. The precarious truce achieved by the Queen's decision to refrain from marrying also entailed a potential succession crisis.

This section addresses the operating nature of truce as 'interstitial', or in-between, solutions to appease social tensions. Some strategic negotiations are common: the articles notably explain how biblical and mythological male models are presented more 'moderately' thanks to precise translation choices, and also thanks to inclusions of low-key versions of their epic stories. In *Christian Prayers and meditations*, a prayer book penned by Queen Elizabeth and published in 1569 by the Protestant printer John Day, the Queen was portrayed as a new Solomon: repeatedly in the frontispiece and in a final conclusion she was presented as a wise polyglot queen and thus arguably emerges as *Queen Solomon*.[46] At the beginning of her reign, she was the 'peaceful champion of God's

[46] See *Christian Prayers and Meditations in English, French, Italian, Spanish, Greeke, and Latine* (London: J. Day, 1569). Modern edition: Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, ed. by L.S. Marcus, J.M. Mueller and M.B. Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press: 2000). On this read, Linda S. Shenk, 'Queen Solomon: An International Elizabeth I in 1569', in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. By Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), pp. 98-125.

Church',[47] since England had become a haven for Protestant refugees and merchants around 1569. She demonstrated her own role in the diplomatic and religious agenda of Protestantism and offered the long-lasting royal image of a wise and learned Queen. What does the diplomatic figure of Solomon, King of Israel, the builder of the Temple, emblematically endowed with divine wisdom, bring to the narrative of the *Querelle*?[48] Similarly, how is the heroic figure of Aeneas translated into a less male-dominated interpretation of Dido's abandonment? Women negotiate a space for peace by probing male anxieties: male biblical and mythological models, such as Solomon and Aeneas, do not operate only in the institutions of the government and the administration, but also in the more private spheres, as well as in the literary world – as Caxton's reading of Aeneas' engagement with the female ruler Dido, in his version of *Aeneid*, reveals.

Lindsay Reid, in 'The Judgment (and Women Problems) of Solomon in *Greenes Vision* (1592)', points out the many cultural ironies carried over by the reference to King Solomon, who was also the man who wrote the book of Ecclesiastes ('Vanity of vanities'): he is 'the wise man', acutely aware of human limitations, but also a comic *exemplum in malo*, due to his misogynistic views. Her article deals with one of Robert Greene's mock expiatory pieces entitled *Greenes Vision: Written at the Instant of His Death* (1592), a pseudo-medieval dream vision staging the conflicting encounter of Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower with Greene himself and staging King Solomon as an ambiguous peace-maker between these two warring poetic factions. Does this regal figure defend moral literature (Gower) or pleasurable literature (Chaucer)? Or rather does the *Vision* convey two tales of male insecurity about female chastity to question the integrity of literary creation? Reid expresses her doubts about the extent to which such debates over literary merit can be concluded when the arbitration relies on such an ambiguous role-model, hardly impartial on women.

Agnès Lafont, in '"Nil penna sed usus": Negotiating Female Authoriality in Esther Inglis's *Solomon's Proverbs* (Pforzeimer MS40)', also contributes to trace the paradoxical place of King Solomon in the debate, though in an indirect manner. Indeed

[47] Shenk, 'Queen Solomon', p. 115.

[48] For a painting representing King Solomon as a diplomat, see Lavinia Fontana, 'The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon', oil on canvas (National gallery of Ireland collection, c.1600). https://www.nationalgallery.ie/art-and-artists/highlights-collection/visit-queen-sheba-king-solomon-lavinia-fontana-1552-1614 (accessed July, 8 2021). It represents a crypto portrait of the parents of Empress Eleonora Gonzaga. Her father Vincenzo Gonzaga as King Solomon receives his wife Eleonora de Medici as Queen of Sheba. The irenic – and appeasing – role of the female entourage around the male monarch is discussed in *The Politics of Female Households. Ladies-in-Waiting across Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Nadine Akkerman and Birgit Houben (Leiden: Brill, 2014).

the version of *Solomon's proverbs* taken from the Geneva Bible and copied by Inglis is part and parcel of a copious European circulation of Protestant texts. In this case, then, the readers' attention is not focused on the paradoxes linked to this male figure of wisdom. What matters more are the gendered relationship within Inglis' family: *Solomon's Proverbs*'s remains of pivotal importance to transmit as a humanist Protestant text that Inglis copies as a 'faithful ambassador' (an ambassador of her own faith). Simultaneously, Inglis's choice of paratextual material penned by her husband and by her father helped her negotiate her own authoriality as a female manuscript copyist.

Cécile Decaix, in 'Translation and Ovid as Diplomatic Tools in William Caxton's *Eneydos* (1490)', explores the making of appeasement as a literary mode of composition. Caxton's use of a unifying style, called 'style clergial', imported from the Continent, pacifies controversial issues by organizing them and thus ultimately provides a balanced resolution in the presentation of the figure of Dido. Caxton also adds to Virgil's epic version of *Aeneid* Book IV a classical Ovidian reference (Ovid's *Heroides* 7) widely used on the Continent in the context of the *Querelle* and thereby helps to normalize a new image of the queen of Carthage. Caxton's translation of *Le Livre des Énéydes*, an anonymous French manuscript, thus establishes a transnational new norm, in which intertextuality plays an interstitial role which encourages his readers to read Dido and Aeneas's love affair in a different light.

The recurring emphasis on 'hands' throughout the collection (Mathieu, Gonzalez-Fernandez, Rivere de Carles, Lafont) may sum up how classical diplomatic gestures of friendship (like handshakes to seal contracts), are also actions on a stage. These dramatizations of truce can be interpreted differently by audiences. In *The Virgin Martyr*, Theophilius's hands are murder weapons as he kills his two daughters with his own hands. Yet 'hands' also refer to types of writing, like secretary hand, thus connoting both a physical and clear expression of irenic will while causing violence and entertaining ambiguity in their uses; a paradox subsumed in the activity of a copyist, who may (or not) pen her or his words, materially negotiating her or his authoriality. Thus, this collection hopes to reappraise the notion of truce by turning a careful eye to its early modern definitions and taking specific European examples of its literary and historical reception. It analyses how treatises provide a frame of thinking that can be reused in other types of conflicts, such as in the war of words during the battle of the sexes, making the truce a military, diplomatic and literary concept.