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**Sir Walter Scott's
Depiction of Chivalric
Culture in *Ivanhoe*
BA thesis**

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ABSTRACT

Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, although set in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest, actually serves as an educative example where the author uses chivalry to remind his contemporaries of similar problems that occurred at an earlier stage in history and attempts to enlighten people of the revolutionary 19th century about the contemporary issues. The aim of this thesis is to investigate, on the basis of textual evidence from *Ivanhoe*, how Scott tempers romance with medieval elements of the novel to mirror his position on such topics like the class-divided society of England, the unification of Scotland and England, the Peterloo Crisis, the modern oppression of the Jews as well as the image of a 19th century woman.

The main body of the thesis is divided into an introduction, two main chapters and a conclusion. The introduction gives a general overview of what historical fiction is, demonstrates Scott's connection to the creation of the genre, discusses Scott as a writer and states the aim of the thesis. The first chapter begins analysing social aspects of Scott's interests by discussing the Medieval Revival, Scott's influence on this phenomenon as well as the class-divided society of England. The second subsection gives an overview of Scott's political views on the unification of Scotland and England, the Peterloo Crisis as well as the oppression of the Jews and discusses Scott's response for how to cope with the resulted instability. The final subsection of the theoretical chapter provides the reader with the idea of how Scott perceives women as well as their role in society. The second chapter is also divided into subsections and will analyse episodes from *Ivanhoe* according to the division in the first theoretical chapter. The main body of the thesis ends with a conclusion where the main ideas from the whole thesis are compiled into a conclusion.

The abstract in Estonian will be provided at the end of the thesis in the résumé.

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INTRODUCTION

During the early 19th century, Sir Walter Scott was known as a pioneer of the historical fiction genre. His work has influenced the future development of the genre, especially in the field of historical romance. However, Scott was not always a novel writer because in the earlier stage of life he pursued his career in the legal sphere. It is only when working as a solicitor, he firstly began to write short collections of Scottish ballads which proved to be quite popular. After the publication of Lord Byron's *Child Harold's Pilgrimage*, Scott, according to Darsha and Jaydipsinh (2011: 52), chose to concentrate on a different sphere of writing. Taking inspiration from legends and tales with which he enriched his old baronial edifice Abbotsford, Scott started writing common novels and later published his first historical novel *Waverley* set in the time of Jacobite rebellion of 1745 (Šmardová & Podroužková 2016: 4). His novel proved to be successful and he then published a series of historical novels called *Waverley novels*. Scott then chose to focus on British history and followed up with a well-known historical novel *Ivanhoe*. This novel is an especially wonderful example of the period which has left us with a unique chivalric culture and such spiritual values like honour, duty and fidelity.

Ivanhoe is created as a fascinating tale of the Middle Ages, a period of continuous wars between forest outlaws and noble knights, tournaments of valour going hand in hand with robbers. In contrast to the medieval violent class of warriors, the novel presents knights as romanticised heroes wearing their shining armour, competing in jousts and tournaments for the attention of a fair lady, their adventures in mysterious lands besieging the castles of their enemies and protecting the wounded and dying. Indeed, such an attractive image inspired illustrators, artists, architectures and poets for whom the culture of chivalry was presented as an inter-connected style of thinking and perception of the world manifesting itself both in everyday behaviour and festive-representative etiquette.

People started implementing these ideas into their everyday life by building mock-baronial halls, painting medieval-like illustrations, and writing fiction with chivalry as its *leitmotiv* (Rajm e 2007: 63-64). Although the influence of Scott as a writer was quite remarkable, nowadays *Ivanhoe* functions only as an attractive excursion into the medieval version of England with its noble knights, wayward outlaws and vicious battles. Moreover, such a romanticised model serves as a source for modern fantasy where many began to be interested in putting their characters into a similar setting with rituals as well as norms of behaviour comparable to those of the medieval period.

However, in the given thesis I hope to illustrate that historical fiction is not just a romance plot surrounded by a detailed description of events with historical significance like the Norman Conquest in *Ivanhoe*, but is a means for writers like Scott to present his idea of historical novel, revolving around significant historical conflicts, as an educative example where he uses chivalry to remind his contemporaries of similar problems that occurred at an earlier stage in history and to enlighten people of the revolutionary 19th century about the contemporary issues. Scott's *Ivanhoe* is meant to be not only a critique of the events that prevailed the 19th century but it also serves as an alternative response on how to cope with the period of change, progress, and instability. The question of Scott's literary achievement has been previously studied by such writers like Blair, Lincoln, Ragussis, Worth and others, however, due to the lack of awareness among the modern general public about the relevance of this genre in regard to our time period when conflicts arise as a result of ignorance of the same mistakes that led to previous serious misconceptions, revolutions or even wars, it makes sense to discuss the importance of this genre and bring examples to illustrate its relevance one more time.

The aim of this thesis is to investigate, on the basis of textual evidence from *Ivanhoe*, how Scott combines romance with medieval elements of the novel to mirror his

position on the idea of the class-divided society of England; to illustrate his attitude to such political events as the unification of Scotland and England as well as the modern oppression of Jews and to express his opinion on the Peterloo Crisis which during his time was of great economic importance. I intend to prove that Scott, by using the historical phenomena, offers an unconventional response which involves learning on previous mistakes and seeking compromise to the problems that faced the society of his time. This thesis uses the edition published in 1995 and edited by David Blair as well as books and scholarly articles on chivalry. The paper includes two chapters, an introduction, a conclusion and a list of the literature used. The first chapter provides the theoretical background and begins the section by discussing the influence of *Ivanhoe*'s chivalric culture on Medieval Revival of the 19th century, then analyses the influence of political situation during Scott's time on *Ivanhoe* as well as finishes with the topic about the image of a 19th century woman and her role in society in the world of *Ivanhoe*. The second chapter analyses the novel on the basis of the theoretical background provided in the first chapter. Conclusion gives an overview of the findings and concludes the thesis.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

1.1 Ivanhoe and the 19th Century

Amidst the wave of reforms in the beginning of the 19th century, people realised the sharp break which had occurred and transformed England from a mainly rural society to one which was predominantly urban and industrial. According to Strong (2000: 519), with the new order came the new movement called the Age of Reform that gave freedom and hope to science with its ordered knowledge to broaden the possibilities of intellectual and practical developments. The country entered an era where due to progress prices, wages, rents and profits rose simultaneously. However, this movement only spurred the revival of the Middle Ages because people, instead of forging new styles, started reviving everything old and outdated. This process started as a major re-evaluation of medieval styles and, as Rajamäe (2007: 62) claims, was driven by the romantic nostalgia for less complicated times when everybody had known their place and modern industry had not yet tarnished the countryside. Moreover, such scholars like Scott, who was a member of the Antiquarian movement which collected various documents, books, illustrations, paintings and other scripts from previous stages of history, were well placed to spread their extensive knowledge on the Middle Ages by translating or editing medieval romances, ballads and chronicles. Furthermore, Strong (ibid: 523) demonstrates that the spread of medieval reappreciation went hand-in-hand with a revolution in printings techniques that recreated illustrations of historic events in books as well as magazines.

Nevertheless, the peak of the revival came with Scott's novel *Ivanhoe* which celebrated virtues associated with feudal, chivalric society. According to Strong (ibid: 519) Scott's heroes were presented as perfect examples of bravery, loyalty, hospitality, consideration towards women, truth to a given word, respect for rank combined with a warm relationship between people in the same position as well as refusal to take advantage of an enemy

except in fair fight. If previously people only started to be interested in the era and immersed in the artistic aspect of the culture by visiting art galleries and historical exhibitions in museums, then Scott pushed it even further by making it a style of life to be desired. The great popularity of *Ivanhoe* lies in Scott's vision of this colourful escapist world not as a thorough critique of the ages but, according to Rajamäe (2007: 63-64), as a new way of inspiration for artists in illustration and painting, castle enthusiasts in reconstruction of neo-medieval halls and manors as well as, of course, poets of the new 19th century generation like Kenelm Henry Digby for whom chivalry transformed the notion of the modern gentleman and was now a valid code of noble living shaped in different forms of different centuries. Moreover, because of Scott's influence everyone wanted to be a part of the aristocratic cult of the Middle Ages and, as Strong (2000: 520-521) claims, it resulted in its most picturesque manifestation in the famous Eglinton Tournament when participants from all classes of society dressed in armour as well as period dress and re-enacted a medieval joust.

Indeed, according to Strong (ibid: 520-521), Scott through his type of character, which suggested desirable standards for gentleman of all classes, created a mass culture that embraced not only people who on a daily basis enjoyed the lavishes of life, but more importantly those who until 1832 had been excluded from the central position of the ordinary flow of life. As Antinucci (2012: 78) claims, Scott assigned the knight and the gentleman the role of "leading men" where both were equally endowed with modesty, loyalty, and a sense of noblesse towards women and social inferiors. Moreover, Scott himself, originating from the lower middle class, also strived to live like a medieval man from a romance and hold the title of gentry, which he, in fact, did obtain with a great deal of work (Remy 1938: 14). He made *Ivanhoe* a part of that very romantic dream where the context and characters are highly idealised. Such an idealisation suited his Scottish and

English contemporaries because they shared the same dream, especially the middle class which idealised nobility because it hoped to be accepted into the rank of aristocracy. By extending such values of nobility as honour, sacrifice, and responsibility to the inferior classes, Scott turned the nineteenth-century gentleman into a self-made man with the virtues and responsibility of a medieval knight, embracing the social harmony between the upper and lower classes (Antinucci 2012: 78). The last aspect is very important because during Scott's time England was seen as a liberal country with a non-revolutionary status where, as Strong (2000: 522) demonstrates, the emphasis was towards maintaining inclusiveness with the aim of achieving some middle way, a form of compromise by reconciling past and present, reform with tradition and consequently romance with the need for the preservation of domestic stability.

Therefore, the cultural role of aristocracy as the leaders had largely gone and indeed passed to the newly enriched and enfranchised classes. Nevertheless, the real aristocrats were still perceived as bearers of knightly values and inspirers for others. Despite the fact that in the second half of the 19th century being a part of the highest circles of society was no longer an essential condition for the acquisition of the status of a gentleman, the wish of ordinary Englishmen for equality with the privileged class revealed a close relationship between those who expressed their desire for the status with the need of knowledge to adapt to the manners of behaviour implemented in the highest circles (Curtin 1985: 413-414). Consequently, there was a growing demand for upper-class etiquette knowledge in society. The satisfaction of these requests was facilitated by books on courtesy which described in detail the various aspects of lives of English aristocrats. Such books provided representatives of the middle classes with the desired advice on clothing, manners, regulations as well as topics for holding conversation, behavioural norms in the family circle, and so on (ibid: 409). In rare cases some of the books included a separate chapter

that presented the newly-formulated definition of aristocracy, its historical connection with the world of ancient nobility as well as defined the modern gentleman. The absence of such information about middle classes in the books confirms that the target audience of such guidebooks were people originating from this class of society (ibid: 412).

Taking everything into account, we can say that now the gentleman fulfils a dream of order: not only does he show sympathy and understanding towards the lower classes, but he himself can also be a self-made man from the working classes (Antinucci 2012: 80). Moreover, according to Antinucci (ibid: 80) and Terci (2015: 20), the aforementioned image of the new gentleman embraced not the nobility of blood or fashion, but the true heraldry of a gentleman was now considered to be the elevation of his character and skills. Furthermore, the strengthening role of personal virtues in the appearance of a 19th-century gentleman coincided with the economic sphere in which gentlemen from the enfranchised classes were directly involved (Curtin 1985: 413-414; 417). This new nobility could be called a social hybrid of landowners and capitalist entrepreneurs whose distinctive feature involved not only the desire to reconstruct land ownership on a bourgeois basis, but also the desire to farm itself as a capitalist entrepreneur. Moreover, business would profit from gentlemen's successful conduct of commercial activity which was also depended on individual qualities like the skill of entrepreneurship, and honesty, now seen as the basis of trade relations. Moreover, Curtin (ibid: 414) generally implied that in many ways the success as well as these qualities that lead to a better position within your social circle and move you up the social ladder, enabling to share the wealth and the power of governing side by side the old aristocrats, will in the future become a reference point for the new 'gentlemen' of the working classes who were not at all chivalrous because of their role in the money-earning sphere, but who would still strive for the fascinating way of aristocratic life with its much desired status of a noble gentleman.

As it has been showed above, the concept of a chivalrous gentleman included not only wealthy aristocrats who had coats of arms and proper lineage, but also wealthy commoners who earned their position among the ranks of nobility. Both Antinucci (2012: 80) and Terzi (2015: 12) emphasise the struggle between the classes which was characterised by a civilized manner of opposition to share the wealth and power as a result of the moral influence of the idea of the 'gentleman'. However, as Curtin (1985: 415) claims, there were also the common people who were not considered to be gentlemen not because they were not courageous enough but because of their economic situation which included the inability to lead a gentlemanly lifestyle, which was rather expensive during that time. Yet the common people were often than not the true 'natural gentlemen' who were noble in their nature just because they did not own any considerable sums of money and consequently were not corrupted by it. If the prospect of climbing the social ladder ventured in success, then it is only due to their personal predilections that they have managed to obtain the title of a gentleman. This very statement can be used in regards to the serfs in *Ivanhoe* who greatly influenced the image of the gentleman and a modern 'knight' which, according to Antinucci (2012: 80), now shared an undisputed superiority that is character-centred, rooted in behaviour and in the individual qualities of the mind which perceive the manly character at the root of the gentlemanly status. Thus, originating for the medieval period, the civilising force of chivalry not only introduced such chivalric values like courtesy into the manners of Europe, but, as Antinucci (ibid: 80-81) argues, its general effect also encouraged the spread of medieval revival in many European literatures during the nineteenth century as an evidence to the persistence and juxtaposition of chivalric elements with those of the capitalist world.

1.2 Politics and Chivalry

Ivanhoe, composed in 1819, was significantly influenced by Scott's recognition of the potential of his historical fiction to intervene in political arguments of the post-unification period between England and Scotland. Since the latter now had an established relationship with England supported by the union, the focus was henceforth on everything English like English language and English market. Consequently, despite the fact that Scotland was accepted into the union as an equal partner, Scots' sense of national identity, according to Lincoln (2007: 14), had been at issue because of the abandonment of the Scottish dialect and the standardisation of the language which, being a part of a larger movement pursuing economic and political homogenisation, threatened the surviving autonomy of Scotland within the Union. Moreover, not only this circumstance but also the economical dependency of the Scotland on England left Scott, a strong nationalist towards his country, feeling, as he himself once put it, like the subject of an 'infant colony' (ibid: 14). Thus, as Worth (1995: 64) writes, it is not surprising that the notions of nationality and the nature of national identity are anxiously at issue in almost all his political statements and fiction like *Ivanhoe*, a historical novel that at a first glance recreates a conflict between the Normans and the Anglo-Saxons living in a medieval England. Indeed, one of the major themes of the novel is the conflict between Saxons, or Scots, and Normans, or English, and the complicated question of national identity. His protagonist demonstrates to the readers that because he is Saxon who is living by the Norman rules, he is equally alien, standing between two cultures. Through the actions of *Ivanhoe* Scott displays the true significance of this novel to be the search for the middle ground, a form of compromise where he brings the two opposing cultures in the face of a Saxon knight *Ivanhoe* and a Norman king Richard together and forges a new national identity with shared values and ideas.

The vital question of creating a united identity with similar objectives in *Ivanhoe*

comes not only from the differences of the two cultures but also the economic situation that prevailed England after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. According to Lincoln (2007: 68), Scott in his work implies the overall situation during the crisis to be worse in England than in Scotland because Scottish landowners, unlike the English ones, still preserved paternal links with the poor to provide various opportunities for shared cultural experiences. Unlike England where the culmination of the social protest for change ended in a bloody massacre known under the name Peterloo, Scottish people were only starting to be interested in the liberating ideas of the French Revolution. Scott like other gentlemen of that time and even more so than many of them was prone all his life to be afraid of the prevailing spirit of large social uprisings and raging crowds that might ruin Scotland from the inside. That is another reason why *Ivanhoe* is set in medieval England where, similarly to the middle classes who with the invention of new industrial machines as well as introduction of Corn Laws could not financially support themselves, the outlaws in *Ivanhoe* were heavily oppressed by the passed forest laws as well as the taxes imposed by the richer classes. According to Lincoln (ibid: 68), it is especially around this time emerged the need to envision England as an inclusive national society, unified by common interests and ideals across and within social orders. Lincoln (ibid: 68) argues that it is not incidental that throughout *Ivanhoe* conceptions of ethnicity and the essence of national identity are under consideration in such episodes like the fall of the tyranny of the Norman knights which, keeping in mind that they symbolised the English, demonstrates the fear for the upheavals of the common people and gives reasons why the ideal of chivalry has to include them and be adapted to their needs.

Indeed, Scott in *Ivanhoe* brings to the central position all those who were denied a voice in society. This includes not only the lower classes of his country but also those like the Jews who, according to Ragussis (1993: 182), were not only historically subject to

religious persecution but more importantly because of their position in the 19th century society, especially in England where political upheavals of the time spurred the rereading of Hebrew prophecy, predicting how and when the restoration of the Jews would signal the Second Coming. Moreover, Scott was fully aware of the contemporary popular association between the Jews and Scots who, as Lincoln (2007: 70) claims, being the focus of English hostility, were deemed as greedy, intriguing infiltrators and envied for their successful contributions to British commerce. That is why Scott in his *Ivanhoe* merges the ‘problem’ of the Jews with a satirical treatise on modern centrality of conversion in England which, as Lincoln (2007: 70) quotes, was based on Burke’s definition of the British nation as the image of a relation in blood, a biological identity which is now being threatened by alien influences like the Jews and the Scots who, according to Ragussis (1993: 183), should be either excluded or submerged within the British culture. Indeed, the central problem is the construction of English identity through conversion where such pieces like Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Sharon Turner’s *History of the Anglo-Saxons* or Edward Augustus Freeman’s *History of the Norman Conquest* seek to create, regulate, preserve, and remove various national identities (ibid: 183). Scott in his novel *Ivanhoe* criticises the political accusations against the Jews and instead suggests a way for them to find their place in the world not by leaving the countries they live in but by promoting a society with shared interests and experiences not only to welcome the multi-cultural involvement within the country but more importantly to forge a new national identity.

1.2.1 The Medieval Code of Chivalry

All of the aforementioned events Scott tries to portray through his knights who, being the perfect blend of modern gentlemanliness and knightly code of behaviour, serve as an inspiration for the younger generation. Nevertheless, as Saul (2011: 181) reveals, knights historically were a military class proving their expertise in arms. The same scholar

(ibid: 181) argues that the culture and ethic of violence with aggressive behaviour was not only carried out in military campaigns, but also spread into disputes over land and status. However, when the class of knights had established itself at the peak of medieval society, they developed an interest in defining their rules of conduct. Once an informal set of behavioural values was agreed upon – in other words, the code we call chivalry – the notion of honour was developed as a way of securing acceptance of those values from others on the nobility's own terms (ibid: 188; 191). Gies (2010: 121-122) defines the knight as the warrior who should be courteous, generous, well-spoken, discreet, and faithful in the service of love. This scholar (ibid: 121-122) also adds that he should have excellence, worth, good sense as well as such virtues like honour, prowess, courage, hardiness, truthfulness, loyalty and generosity which were also highly esteemed among the knights. Kaeuper (2012: 31) foregrounds that with the rise of the warrior on the social scale a knight is to avoid giving offence to others; make sure that his words are cheerful, courteous and polished; not to lose his temper and be moderate, not to mock and react violently to threats; not to take precipitate revenge, and not to harbour resentments but to protect the community. In addition, Rajamäe (2007: 40) comments on duties of a knight where he is to defend the faith of Christ against unbelievers to ensure honour in both worlds; he must protect his temporal lord and the territories to pursue the outlaws and defend the weak; he is expected to be in constant training to improve his skills and display them at jousts, tournaments or while hunting wild beasts. Saul (2011: 188; 191) adds that public disgrace for breach of faith, surrendering knight's castle, cowardice in the field to be grave offences, punishable by death and lesser instances involving loss of status and removal of insignia. Keen (2005: 2-15) elaborates further on the idea of things to be avoided by saying that a knight should eschew pride, false-swearing, idleness, lechery and most of all treason, like slaying one's lord or adultery with his wife which, among other

features like slandering and raping women, is considered to be a display of dishonourable conduct. (ibid: 2-15).

One of the greatest paragons of crusading chivalry was Richard I of England. Saul (2011: 21) points out that not only was he a brave warrior, he was also skilled at self-promotion. He was a pioneer in the use of newsletters, sending them to his ministers and ensuring that the chroniclers who accompanied his army reported his deeds approvingly, thus generating new enthusiasm in England for crusading where the later knights sought to claim their ancestors to be the knights who had accompanied Richard on the Third Crusade (ibid: 227). From this time on, crusading was seen not only as a meritorious activity which brought a spiritual reward; it was considered a uniquely ennobling form of war which could bring honour and distinction to the whole family (ibid: 226). Thus, Saul (ibid: 191) concludes by saying that while knights might be violent and aggressive in their behaviour, fighting and killing each other in the battlefield, they also appreciated the importance of self-preservation where in the package of values which went to make up the chivalric ethic, aggression was balanced by courtesy, and anger by gentleness.

1.3 The Heroines and Domesticity

Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* by itself is a delightful version of medieval world whose heroes and heroines, although dressed in the costumes of the 12th century, felt and thought the same way as the people of the early 19th century, and therefore did not seem to the readers as unattainable creatures from another world. Indeed, the readers enjoy finding types of characters they do not meet in their dull everyday life. The same applies to women who seek inspiration in the dreamy illusion of novels where the less a protagonist looks like an ordinary human, the more they sympathise with him because they seek not a detailed portrait of themselves but ideals and when such an ideal is found, then it opens up the possibility to identify with it, to project it on some kind of situation in their lives. Scott

himself was an intense social conservative whose progressive vision of history, as Lincoln (2007: 6) claims, is always in the service of a conservative vision of moderation. Scott envisioned his female characters to be a romanticised version of housewives who have been glorified in the spirit of knightly novels. Although they were not those widely known desperately brave beauties who, like men, went on adventures, participated in rebellions, and eventually conquered the heart of the hero, they still functioned as an ideal image of a calm, caring wife for an early 19th century woman (Blair 2000: xiv). From the first pages of *Ivanhoe* we can witness that Scott presents women as passive characters in the background who are surrounded and worshipped by men and whose noble virtue lies in such qualities like shyness, quietness, gentleness and patience (Lincoln 2007: 76). The love of Scott's female characters is virtuous, they always remain pure and faithful – in Scott's opinion an essential quality decent and honest ladies seek to obtain when they will acquire the status of honourable mothers and supporters of their husbands. Although *Ivanhoe* seems as an ordinary historical romance which celebrates the fusion of the two opposing cultures by defeating the oppressing force, Scott actually criticises the belief that by excluding a few individuals the ruling forces will be able to unify the nation and through his female characters portrayed as spectators, suggests that the world is not just feasts and tournaments but the problem lies in its shattered society which is corrupted with internal confusion and intolerance towards each other.

1.3.1 The Medieval Cult of a Beautiful Lady

Scott's in his novel recreates the culture of courtly love which, as Begum and Mushtaq (2017: 3) argue, found its expression in service and is considered one of the main axiological functions of chivalry. Initially, according to Rajamäe (2007: 41), the culture of courtly love emerged as a response to a problem of male-dominated households and removed the lady from within the reach of her social inferiors by putting her on a pedestal

enabling the men around her to focus their desire on her person through service in a strictly asexual way. Differently from the 19th century, the object of the knight's courtly devotion was usually unattainable, being of a higher social rank, betrothed to another or already married and thus out of reach (Begum and Mushtaq 2017: 3). Nevertheless, Rajamäe (2007: 41) foregrounds that the lady could be worshipped only from afar, respectfully and secretly, her favour could be sought discreetly as well as publicly by becoming the champion in jousts and tournaments, she could be the object of agonized outpourings of the heart in poetry and song, yet her reputation would not be tarnished if all this was done according to established conventions. Similarly to the cult of woman worship of the 19th century, Begum and Mushtaq (2017: 3-4) define the central importance of courtly love to be the desire for the other person as it considers 'the person' not the tool towards the higher end like God, but an end point that assumes the pre-existent immortality of the soul which connects the lover with the beloved one or can be considered the search for the lost part of the soul that was once connected with its other half. Thus, courtly love is based on the principle of free choice of one's partner independent of any social, economic or political consideration (ibid: 8).

In comparison with the 19th century mutual love in the medieval courtly love was not excluded from the world of courtly values, yet people emphasised the difficult way to achieve mutuality. Moreover, as the central motive of this culture is the conscious admiration of the image of the lady, the knights did not allow themselves any liberties because the state of languor, the feeling of pleasure from contemplation of the object of worship were considered the most vivid moments of the knight's life (ibid: 8). Gies and Gies (2010: 109) write that the knight even avoided using the name of the lady of his heart and used a conditional one because the identity of the loved one was never to be revealed neither in word nor deed in order for this love to remain unimpaired and secret. According

to Rajamäe (2007: 46) the ennobling element in such relationships would be the suspense and the unalleviated emotional turmoil and restraint which the lover imposes on himself, either to heighten his ecstasy or for fear of destroying his desire by its consummation. The lady herself necessarily remained distant and out of reach, because as Gies and Gies (2010: 109) have shown that although marriage was a purely dynastic matter and aristocratic men still kept mistresses and produced illegitimate offsprings, adultery in women was a different matter, and an erring wife was often disgraced and repudiated, her lover mutilated or killed. The previous scholar defines the reason for such an attitude to be not morality but masculine honour and that adultery with the lord's wife was considered to be treason (ibid: 109). Consequently, as Begum and Mushtaq (2017: 10) claim, the game of courtly love reversed the habitual gender relationship and presented the lady as granting or withholding her favour as she saw fit and acknowledging the fact that the knight would humbly seek it through displays of prowess fully knowing that he would never attain it.

EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

2.1 The Chivalric Revival in *Ivanhoe*

The novel starts with the description of the Sherwood forest where two figures appear. Gurth and Wamba become the first characters described to the smallest detail by the author of the novel. The peculiar choice for the introduction of the novel lies in the social status of these two men being serfs yet their roles in the novel are not expressed as background characters or mere spectators. Scott very attentively describes not only the material of clothes they wear but also the style and way they assemble their pieces. He presents Gurth the Swineherd dressed in a simple jacket of worn off animal skin and sandals, the only protection of the feet (Scott 1995: 20). Wamba's dress was shaped similarly to his companion's jacket yet made of better materials and had a more prominent appearance with bright colours and various patterns (ibid: 20). A vivid detail characteristic of the social status of these men occupying the lowest position in the hierarchy of medieval society is a collar tightly sealed on the neck (ibid: 20). Historically, serfs were not considered to be people, rather valuable commodities with the necessary information which could be exploited on a daily basis or, if needed, sold or exchanged (Kahan 1973: 91). Similarly to the serfs in *Ivanhoe*, the middle classes of English society were previously excluded from a number of national institutions and confined to a narrow selection of career choices making it easier to follow in their father's footsteps (McBeath 2020). From the beginning in terms of their appearance serfs demonstrate only ordinary poorly-made clothing pieces which were defined by their standing in society. Jester needs to be presentable in front of other more respectable guests, thus his dress consists of better materials and various patterns. Swineherd, on the other hand, herds the flock of sheep safely from the muddy forest to the dwellings of Cedric the Saxon supplying the table with food for the guests, yet he himself does appear in the hall.

However, at the same time Scott, a representative of the views and ideas of the already quite capitalist period, draws images of low-class people who by their moral qualities are not inferior to the knights, including *Ivanhoe* or even king Richard. When Cedric the Saxon together with his ward Rowena, Athelstane and *Ivanhoe* are almost executed by the Norman knights who require the Saxons to send a father for the last confession, then it is not solely the Black Knight or Locksley who saves them but also the low-born fool Wamba who during negotiations agrees to obtain admission into the castle by putting on the dress of the friar and releasing his lord from captivity. Scott turns Wamba, a jester who has been humiliated by Cedric on many occasions, into an emblem of courage and honesty. The jester knows fully well that in comparison with others like Friar Tuck, who rather inadequately declined the king's offer to impersonate the confessor, he is a fool who must stay a fool to 'put his neck in the venture which wise men shrink from' (Scott 1995: 189). Historically speaking, this situation could not have happened because the king would not stand among illiterate yeomen reading the letter and advising them on how to act. Moreover, the king would have ordered the friar to participate because, as Kahan (1973: 91) argues, the latter is socially inferior to the sovereign and has no authority to contradict the proposition of the former. Such a wilful misinterpretation on the part of Scott leads us to conclude that the author originally wanted to present his own dream of ascending from the lower classes into higher ranks to be possible and all classes existing together in harmony to be desirable. Through Wamba Scott incorporates the sense of honour, sacrifice and responsibility to the inferior classes of the 19th century as the most enduring heritage from the chivalric code (Antinucci 2012: 78). Wamba's personal skills like reasoning and cunning are employed by Scott as an example of noble behaviour because not only does he outsmart the Normans but also is granted the status of a free man, a vivid example of Scott portraying Wamba's ascent on the social ladder. However,

Wamba declined it because he is a natural gentleman for whom being noble in the nature of character is more important than the prospect of being corrupted by money.

Gurth is another exceptionally good example of a lower-class servant through whom Scott, as Terci (2015: 12) put it, influenced the nineteenth-century men and suggested that the 'new gentlemen' of lower social background are able to share the wealth and the power of governing side by side with the old aristocrats. Moreover, in Scott's understanding a true gentleman of the medieval period fulfils a dream of order where he not only shows sympathy and understanding towards the lower classes, but he can also be himself a working man, a self-made man (Antinucci 2012: 78). During the siege, it is Gurth who leads his master and Rowena out of the burning castle, receiving all the blows from the arrows on himself. Gurth's personality and strength pay him well because his master, Cedric the Saxon, makes him a free man with his right to own lands and serve his young master Ivanhoe as a free man equal in his status. Due to such examples as the aforementioned characters, the possibility of ascending the social ladder during the nineteenth century intensified the survival of the deferential attitude to aristocracy along with an alluring fascination for its way of life (Terci 2015: 12). Gurth, a self-made man, is now standing equal in his condition and talent with other aristocrats. Scott's working person, like he himself, could aspire and become equal to an aristocrat not only with the financial means but also acquire aristocratic values. Yet, Scott's key role in promoting the lower classes and ordinary workers' chivalrous features is a purely 19th century idea, in the Middle Ages it would have been ridiculous and unthinkable as the class barriers were immutable and fixed. Still, such an idea could appeal to the lower middle classes in the 19th century and in the code of gentlemanly behaviour they set the emphasis not on the nobility of blood or fashion but on the elevation of "character" (Antinucci 2012: 80; Terci 2015: 12).

The siege of Torquilstone castle is jointly led by Richard, disguised as the Black Knight and Locksley or otherwise more commonly known as Robin Hood. This episode serves as an image of egalitarian leadership where, as Lincoln (2007: 75) demonstrates, requests and invitations replace commands, yeoman Locksley takes precedence over the nobly-born Cedric and Wamba announces that he will not follow Athelstane. Robin Hood, on the other hand, attracts the readers' attention because of his quite chivalrous appearance. The ballads about Robin Hood are among the most known of English folklore (Wood 2014: 17). Robin Hood is a generalized image of a free farmer with a weapon in his hands against the powerful and the rich. This image is based on the memories of the leaders of the rebel peasants who hid in the dense Sherwood forest from the persecution of their masters (ibid: 19). These memories are synthesised in the image of Robin Hood in *Ivanhoe* and present him as a noble defender of the weak and oppressed who does not participate in tournaments for personal booty but exercises his talents in battles like a true aristocrat to prove his worth to be included in the chivalric class. This too proves the possibility of social ascent. The episode where after the siege Locksley reigns as a democratic sovereign until Richard reveals himself as king allows Lincoln (ibid: 75) to suggest the idea that hereditary monarchy can be reconciled with meritocracy. At the same time Locksley, more than all the other characters in *Ivanhoe*, is characterized by a sense of justice and compassion. He dares to stop the celebratory feasting of the fall of Torquilstone with the king and remind Richard of his high mission and important public duties which are inherent in a sovereign rather than a wandering knight. It should be noted that such a reminder the king not only graciously accepts but he also quite politely proposes that Locksley should reign until Richard is ready to return to the throne (ibid: 75). This episode in *Ivanhoe* was a possible answer to the problems posed to the European consciousness by the revolutionary era. Historically, lords did not consider opinions of their serfs, moreover

outlaws when deciding what to pursue next. Lord's opinion was subject to his own desire and he would only consult certain people specially positioned to advise him like the personal adviser or someone who specialises in one or other field of action. In this case reminding the king of his duties was considered grave offence and would present the king as an irresponsible ruler. The consequences of such a reminder would, of course, depend on the lord, yet taking into account that this remark was made publicly in front of aristocratic figures like the knights, lords and some noble captives, would have more likely led to a death sentence. However, because the French Revolution certainly influenced the 19th century interpretation of the medieval attitude of the feudal lord towards his subjects, it made gentleman's attitude towards his servants and the lower classes in general more polite and caring – quite a certain and definitely more refined way to show their classical superiority.

2.2 Chivalric Culture in *Ivanhoe*

The beginning of *Ivanhoe* offers us a glimpse of the period when the political power vacuum was created by the absence of Richard I, who, having led an army to the Third Crusade in 1190, had been imprisoned by the Duke of Austria leaving his younger brother, John to hold the crown and power in the country. Historically, Richard I emerged as one of the most significant and heroic figures in the history of chivalry and crusading (Saul 2011: 227). The author of *Ivanhoe* is attempting to portray an idealised form of chivalry for which Richard the Lionheart portrays the classic virtues of knighthood to inspire such young men as the protagonist. Ivanhoe's will to pursue what he considers essential - being a loyal knight fulfilling his service to the suzerain is also a classic feature of good knighthood and results in disobedience to his father Cedric the Saxon from Rotherwood who is not only a part of higher nobility among the Saxons but also serves as the guardian of the inherited Saxon nationalistic tradition against the Normans. Yet, having

disobeyed his father, Ivanhoe still goes on a crusade following his suzerain Richard the Lionheart, a Norman king. Traditionally, as Keen (2005: 68) argues, such relations are based on the notion of lordship and are analogous to kinship. According to Gies (2010: 165) and Saul (2011: 219), crusades were considered a testing time for the inexperienced warrior like Ivanhoe who sought to establish his standing by adventuring abroad. This poses an opportunity for Scott to elevate the gentlemanliness of Ivanhoe, his suzerain and their dependents against the Norman knights led by Prince John who, as Šmardová and Podroužková (2006: 22) claim, seized Saxon lands and celebrated their luxurious life in the face of common people. While Ivanhoe, a true medieval gentleman alongside his suzerain Richard I, fulfilling his role as a leader, a social and political reformist, an activist, dedicate their lives to the people's pleasure, comfort and welfare, the wicked gentlemen are selfish and extremely harmful to the people (Terci 2015: 12). Such are the Norman knights who cooperate with John only for the potential power they can gain from him (Šmardová & Podroužková 2006: 22). Ivanhoe's role here is to embody the harmony not only between the classes but also between the strained relations of the conquered Saxons, oppressed Jews and ruling Normans.

Scott presents the Saxons as dreaming of re-establishing their ancient kingdom with the preserved language and a reputable Saxon dynasty. The ruling Normans are portrayed as greedy, uncontrollable and they do not care for the unanimity of England. The novel's objective, according to Worth (1995: 69), is to tell the story of the ending of Saxon resistance to the Norman Conquest through the synthesis of the emblematic figure of Richard I, a Norman king, and Ivanhoe, a Saxon knight. Richard I as a military leader has the admiration not only of the feudal Norman aristocratic class due to his ancestral background with William the Conqueror and his chivalric prowess, but also from Saxon yeomen and Ivanhoe who, according to Worth (ibid: 69), is caught between two historical

stages - the ancient Saxon past of his father and the new Norman ways of his king. Everywhere Ivanhoe goes, he is equally alien because the world is divided into two and at the same time he is normal because the world around him is filled with the same ideas of heroism and shame, glory and honour understood by both cultures. The protagonist understands that and seeks people who also find themselves between the two warring nations and by sharing the same ideals of unification, they contribute to the reconciliation of the two cultures. Thus, Scott, taking inspiration from this idea, presents the knight Ivanhoe, a Saxon by birth, as a faithful servant and a pupil of the Norman king Richard the Lionheart. The common intentions between these two characters can be symbolised as a relationship between Scotland and England strictly pursuing one outcome – the economic and political stability between the two countries. According to the same scholar (ibid: 69) Scott, instead of recreating solely practical and partially hostile relationships between the characters, offers the readers an image of a synthetic nation state created from the providentially enriching union of different cultures - the merging of Norman and Saxon in the figures of Richard I and Ivanhoe – essentially a symbol not just for a peaceful co-existence between England and Scotland but rather for Scott's expectation of them evolving towards a new Great British alignment. Moreover, Worth (ibid: 69) determines that Ivanhoe with Norman values marrying the Saxon heiress, and Richard I rejecting the name "Richard of Anjou" to call himself "Richard of England!" shows "England" to be a result of cultural blend without the simple preservation of the Saxon heritage in Norman conquest, nor as a simple conversion of the Saxons into Normans. Thus, Ivanhoe's actions contribute not only to the recognition of the legitimacy of the existence of another opinion but more importantly to the reconciliation and unification of the parties which Scott presents not as an effortless task but an objective that might take years to accomplish.

Although Scott's Ivanhoe is noble in every aspect of his conduct, the knights were

still a military class that found fulfilment in proving their expertise in arms by spreading violence into the experience of everyday knighthood (Saul 2011: 181). Scott shows De Bracy who, rejected by Rowena, together with Bois-Guilbert, as his companion, devising a plan to capture her by pretending to be forest outlaws and take her to Torquilstone, the castle of Front-de-Boeuf. De Bracy himself would appear later as the knight whose duty is to safeguard those in need and the blame for the violence would rest with the outlaws of the Yorkshire forests. In response, Richard the Lionheart, a knight following the knightly conduct, is leading a force to aid the oppressed. The traditional right of self-defence, which Scott represents, roots in the aristocratic code of honour and is an essential part of chivalric conduct which helped to perpetuate and institutionalise enmity and encouraged the spread of private wars (ibid: 186). During the battle De Bracy, Bois-Guilbert and Front-de-Boeuf pay due respect to their enemy in the field by holding the attack of the outlaws, yet, when trapped inside the castle set on fire by the Saxon serf Ulrica, their best outcome of the situation is to surrender the castle and run outside the country, exhibiting cowardice. However, Keen (2005: 75-76) states that surrendering the lord's castle or cowardice in the field was a grave offence followed by public disgrace. Nevertheless, Brian Bois-Guilbert, after much deliberation, chooses to flee and escapes with Rebecca forcefully taking her with him, thus exhibiting unknightly conduct.

As has already been mentioned, the Normans positioned themselves as the ultimate rulers over the Saxon lands and celebrated their luxurious life in the face of common people (Šmardová & Podroužková 2006: 22). The fall of the Torquilstone castle and the rejection of tyranny serves as a metonym for local tyranny in ruins defeated by the combination of a brave and concerned ruler together with common people of lower classes. Yet, as Worth (1995: 70) demonstrates, what is originally implied has to do less with the resistance to tyranny and more about the potential for anarchy that follows tyranny.

Similarly to the unstable economic position after the Napoleonic Wars, which resulted in sharp need of reforms and left the government in almost autocratic control over the country, the absence of Richard, the legitimate ruler gave spread to the disorder among those like Prince John and his henchmen who wished to usurp the economic and political power within the country. “The multitude of outlaws”, as Scott (1995: 62) writes, were driven to despair and poverty by the oppression of the feudal nobility as well as the forest laws, which, according to Woodbury (2012), similarly to the New Corn Laws of 1815, prohibited the hunting of game in the forest as well as the cutting of wood, the collection of fallen timber and berries – all very important for the medieval family not only as a source of income but also during wintering time. In parallel to 19th century Britain where voting was restricted to rich landowning men leaving middle- or lower-class people not having a voice in the parliament, the serfs were socially even lower and most often than not were somebody’s possession. In the image of the disguised Richard we can see the spirit of the liberating French Revolution and its ideas which interested the lower working classes and greatly terrified the established aristocracy in Britain. King Richard showed that the ruler, interestingly being of Norman descent and simultaneously symbolising French liberating views and ideas, can be interested in the faith of ordinary yeomen, serfs and outlaws who used every means known to them to protest and attract the attention of the wealthier classes to the problem. Similarly to his outlaws, Scott during his time uses *Ivanhoe* and suggests to his contemporaries that a fair ruler, or in this case government, should listen to the needs of the common people and try to resolve the problem not by ignoring or erasing it but by negotiating with them and ultimately taking these people and their needs into account. Moreover, Scott also draws a parallel with France where he presents the potential outcome for the problem of an unfair governing of the country and demonstrates that just like the people of France the commoners of his country might take the matter into their hands and

forge their own ideal society that includes everyone and everything.

In the novel there is also a scene of a Jew imploring admittance and hospitality in the hall of Cedric the Saxon (Scott 1995: 36). One mention of a Jew causes strong protests not only from the Templar and Abbot but also from their attendants. The Abbot opposes the idea of admitting him into the presence of Christians. Wamba who is the property of the owner of the castle, suggests that only Gurth the Swineherd is a fit usher to the Jew (ibid: 36). Certainly, nobody from their group resigns their seat to Isaac and the thought of breathing the same air with the Jew is not tolerated. Although, as Rajamäe (2007: 40) claims, with the knight's ascension on the social ladder, nobility, courtesy, administrative ability and the role of the knight as the protector of the community became pronounced. Yet, in the sight of the malnourished Jew the Templar not only supports the Abbot in his idea of not letting Isaac in but also calls the Jew a dog who is not to approach a defender of the Holy Sepulchre. Saul (2011: 199) as well as Kaeuper (2012: 34) agree that peasantry was the source of the Church's wealth and even such people as the sons of Zion had to pay taxes when it came to using or buying land. Yet, in the novel Scott presents the Jews as the only oppressed people who are considered bigots robbing the elite of their money. Blair (2000: x) emphasises that this clash of cultures can be considered a falsification of the true situation because in the twelfth century the linguistic and cultural consolidation, to which Scott looks forward at the end of the novel, had already occurred and there was simply nothing to fight for.

In this episode Blair (2000: xviii) sees Scott as offering not only a thorough critique of historical but also European contemporary attempts to 'solve' the Jewish 'problem' by xenophobically driven attempts at enforced conversion and evident exclusion from society. According to Lincoln (2007: 70), the episode where the Jew was identified as a figure whose presence threatened the integrity of the 'modern' nation, signifies a specific kind of

judgement that had been made against the Scots during the 19th century. It is through Isaac's words of not understanding what he has done to people by being a Jew, Scott starts to criticise the conventional structure of English national identity. According to Ragussis (1993: 185), Scott by using the technique of historization demystifies the concept of conversion – that is, through redefining it in the sense of Jewish history and by rewriting English history as Anglo-Jewish history in *Ivanhoe*, Scott exposes the ways in which cultural differences are regularly erased in the project of writing English nationalist history. As an allegory Ragussis (1993: 183) reminds us of the trial held in the Preceptory of Templestowe as the model of inter-cultural tensions which were historically resolved by rapprochement and assimilation rather than by cultural eradication. He (ibid: 183) analyses the two opposing forms of delivery offered to Rebecca where the English champion Ivanhoe fights against the reckless Norman noble Bois-Guilbert and states that Scott is responding to the different European approaches to "the Jewish question" within the contemporary European community. During the trial Bois-Guilbert essentially claims that he loves Rebecca and she is the only one who can understand him. He presents himself as being ready to throw everything away, including his career, and run from the country to live somewhere where Rebecca might be accepted. Although his reason is covered by love and protection, he takes pity on her. Bois-Guilbert does not solve the Jewish problem, he only shows that everything 'alien' cannot live in a different culture and essentially needs to return either to the culture she came from or live among those who are similar to her. Ivanhoe, on the other hand, has spent the majority of the novel near Rebecca. He could have sent another knight to defend the lady, yet he chose to be there for them as they did for him when he was wounded. He is not only indebted to her taking care of him but also accepts her as someone who always believed in him when nobody would. Being in such close vicinity to Rebecca and her father, Ivanhoe not only observes their culture and ways

of living but also learns to accept people the way they are. Furthermore, him and the Jewish family living together in one house can be seen as an allegory for living in one society and accepting each other's beliefs, styles of life which in its stead leads to sharing the same objectives and creating a new national identity of their country.

2.3 'Medieval' Women in *Ivanhoe*

Similarly to Scott's time, the Norman Conquest in *Ivanhoe* symbolises change that the French Revolution produced in England. The Normans came with their own culture and ideas which they projected on Saxons who tried to preserve their culture and everything 'normal' to them. Scott, being a social conservative, applied this notion to the gender roles in his novel and made *Ivanhoe* a vivid example of an implicit valorisation of 19th century domesticity (Blair 2000: xiv). The protagonist is most vividly portrayed when he has already decided to serve his suzerain and is now in conflict with his personal predilections. Ivanhoe cannot devote himself to Rowena, the dedicatee of his heroic deeds, as he has to be near his suzerain either on a pilgrimage or at tournaments – ultimately achieving success in the public sphere. However, his thoughts are largely occupied by his beloved, so everything he does is directed towards returning home and meeting her. That is why, having acted as a guide, Ivanhoe is summoned to bring the Abbot and his companions to Cedric's castle in Rotherwood where his encounter with Rowena takes place. The genuine desire for the other person that Scott recreates serves as a vital part of a partnership between knight and lady as well as husband and wife where the women should not only support her beloved in all the endeavours but more importantly guide him in the direction of success and prosperity, which Rowena ultimately does when Ivanhoe is proclaimed the victor of the first day of the tourney. Aside from the contemporary parallel that Scott employed throughout his novel, he also considered the historical aspect where, according to Gies and Gies (2010: 18) as well as another scholar named Gies (2010: 96),

medieval men were most often than not the main object of ballads and there was no space for such weak creatures like women. The martial heroism, shared by the Saxons as well as Normans and sanctioned by their Christian institutions, presents conquest as a display of masculine strength and courage, in which, according to Lincoln's (2007: 76) claims, the Saxon men can regain their honour by overcoming the Norman stronghold of Torquilstone, or by becoming a Norman knight - as *Ivanhoe* does. Consequently, this scholar (ibid: 76) identifies Scott's consolidation of the nation as a masculine project with shared masculine values and well-established patriarchal structure. When discussing female characters and their treatment, then the narrative offers us alternative perspectives on this masculine project where the female is always either a spectator or victim of the masculine power game - the violence of the strong against the weak (ibid: 76). The episode of the siege of Torquilstone castle is the episode where the role of female characters like Rowena, Ulrica and Rebecca suddenly becomes central and vital for the understanding of the problem.

When De Bracy enters the apartment in which Rowena is confined, he proclaims her to be his beloved, yet in response Rowena quite boldly responds that she does not know the man nor is she interested in him. He then decides to blackmail her, knowing fully well that the woman is in love with *Ivanhoe*. Initially, Rowena courageously resists De Bracy but because she is in the habit of submitting to men, she ultimately yields with dismay to the man's stronger will. In this episode Rowena is portrayed as weak, dependent and serves as an example of a woman who, as Blair (2000: xiv) claims, can be essentially considered a passive wife – a bourgeois ideal of domesticity of the early 19th century. Moreover, the scholar (ibid: xiv) claims that in addition to this episode we can also find that in the patrician world of *Ivanhoe*'s Rotherwood hall Rowena's presence is ceremonial and symbolic: the domestic space that Scott represents, occupied by husband and wife is an arena within which the more brutalising and unlovely traditions of male behaviour can be

modified by female influence, and female vulnerability finds assurances of security which allow its 'real' character to expand and assert itself. The moment the Templar proclaims that when Ivanhoe returns to Britain, he underlies the challenge of Brian de Bois-Guilbert or otherwise will be proclaimed a coward, Rowena defends the young man by pledging her name and fame that Ivanhoe would give the Templar the meeting he desires. She even calls the pilgrim to her chambers to enquire about the presumable whereabouts of Ivanhoe, the condition of his health and when he is expected to return home. Thus Rowena publicly pledges her name and fame in defence of a banished knight while being engaged to Athelstane who, on account of his descent from the last Saxon monarchs of England, is held in the highest respect by all the Saxon natives of the north of England. Rowena behaves riskily, but in the medieval and Christian tradition, showing generosity and compassion by a highly born lady is not a sexual misdemeanour, but a manifestation of virtuous Christian compassion (Gies & Gies 2010: 109). What Scott is trying to show is that women despite their position as weak, dependent companions can ennoble the knight or husband to conduct great deeds. At the Passage of Arms at Ashby-de-la-Zouche when Ivanhoe is proclaimed the victor of the first day of the tourney, he is expected to display his good judgement by selecting from among the beauties of the galleries a lady who should ascend the throne of the Queen of Beauty and of Love. The knight selects lady Rowena to be put on a pedestal as the queen not only because, according to Rajamäe (2007: 41), historically the chosen lady is worshipped on a pedestal by her champion in tournaments, but because she initially symbolises the woman to whom Ivanhoe owes his success. This quite literal elevation of the lady indicates her virtue and turns her into an object of veneration, not unlike the Virgin Mary in the chivalric tradition, whose cult was part of the moral education of the knight.

In contrast to Rowena who symbolises a wife occupying the domestic sphere,

Ulrica is a perfect example of a woman's position in a male-dominated society. Her story begins with her being a beautiful free Saxon maiden who was honoured and loved by her father Torquil Wolfganger, but then came the Normans in the face of father of Reginald Front-de-Boeuf who took possession of the Torquilstone castle by murdering her entire family and raping her (Scott 1995: 196). As Ragussis (1993: 193) claims, Scott makes the slaughter of the male line of Ulrica's family the ultimate test of a woman's role in the annihilation and preservation of cultural and national identity during conversion which Scott presents as rape. Moreover, through Wamba who is really the voice of the author, Scott describes not only the peculiarities of Normans and Saxons by comparing them to the Saxon word 'swine' and the Norman 'pork', which Ragussis (ibid: 193) shows to be the same word, but he greatly focuses on the gender-specific term for swine – 'sow' who in the beginning is running on all fours but then is flayed, drawn quartered and hung up like a traitor. He (ibid: 193) argues that this very phrase is a direct reference to Ulrica's story in which conversion simultaneously functions as a sexual transgression and a cultural erasure. Therefore, after becoming Front-de-Boeuf's concubine, Ulrica lives as his paramour-slave and this leads her to enact the process of complicity with Reginald to murder the subjugator of her identity, honour and freedom (Lincoln 2007: 77). According to the same scholar (ibid: 77), Ulrica represents the rage and guilt of the powerless victims of the conquest who cannot be freed through the heroism of combat. Furthermore, she represents women of the 19th century who were considered dependent companions without a place in the patriarchal society which elevates masculine importance above feminine. Even her own people like Cedric the Saxon who was the son of her father's friend did not spare her and accused her of being guilty for living under the oppressor and partaking in his immoral deeds (Scott 1995: 196). Consequently, Ulrica is neither accepted by her Saxon kind nor is her person acknowledged by the Norman oppressors which as a result forces her to return

to her pagan heritage and express herself through uncontrolled violence. Lincoln (2007: 77) sees her actions as something that challenges conventional categories of judgement and claims that her descent into outrage can be regarded as reinforcing conventional fears of dishonest female sexuality which in medieval times, as Gies and Gies (2010: 45) claim, was in fact a very common opinion among men of higher position in society believing that woman is a vessel of sin and cannot be trusted under any circumstances.

The last female character, Jewess Rebecca is certainly the type of woman who does not fit into conventional norms of medieval society and can be considered a spirit from a more modern period. As has already been established, Scott did not condone the idea of cultural conversion where everything oppositely different had to either submit and merge with the dominant aspect or give way and leave the battlefield. The episode in the castle of Torquilstone is a good example for the reader because Bois-Guilbert attempts to physically and mentally subdue Rebecca, who, in contrast, stands against the usurpation of her sex and nation by being prepared to throw herself out of the window. Rebecca perceives death as the only solution for the life in the peaceful, united world, which, as Blair (2000: xix) explains, leads her to rise above the clamour, personal vanity and intellectual poverty that drive not only the confused medieval world of *Ivanhoe* but also Scott's period. Blair (ibid: xix) claims that such an attitude is presented throughout the entire novel where Rebecca, a Jewess, conscientiously rejects the ideology of conversion and ultimately violence supported by the Saxons, Normans and the Church. Moreover, the same scholar (ibid: 77) claims, that Scott adopts for her the role of the mother of the nation with an emphasis on Christian self-sacrifice, compassion for other as well as peaceful coexistence in opposition to military values and masculine traditions of heroic poetry where such Christian values ultimately serve as a reminder for the contemporaries not only about the importance of faith but also the woman's purpose of refining, guiding men who dominate the society. It is

Lincoln (ibid: 77) who foregrounds the conclusion to *Ivanhoe* to be the most vital part of the novel where Scott makes a contradictory move by assigning pacifist ideas to a Jewess who embodies moral purity, chastity, virtue and serves as the epitome for the modern feminine ideal that further increased the influence and the position of women in a patriarchal society. Thus, being the ideal image for the modern woman, she is in the position to criticise the divided society which, according to Sroka (1979: 654), is full of misconceptions, prejudice and religious bigotry. In the last scene where the episode of *Ivanhoe* and Rowena's marriage portrays the long-awaited unification of Normans and Saxons, it is Rebecca who leads the readers to believe that the alternative union between *Ivanhoe* and Rebecca is also possible (Lincoln 2007: 77). However, according to Sroka (1979: 654), her final renunciation of England, according to Scott (1995: 357-358), as 'a land of war and blood, surrounded by hostile neighbours, and distracted by internal factions' and eventual decision to leave it questions the reconciliation scene. Moreover, the same scholar (ibid: 654) argues that Scott, through Rebecca's decision to leave England, exposes the naivete of the belief that social corruption lies only in such wicked individuals like Prince John or the Norman knights whose internal confusion, intolerance, hypocrisy, and irresponsibility destroyed them in the first place. Rather, Scott unveils the difference between the official objective of the historical romance, which Lincoln (2007: 77) defines as the triumphant foundation of a unified nation anticipating future glories, and its true emphasis on the corruption that resides in society as a whole and is more often than not either complicated or excluded by the historical version of a joyful, united England.

CONCLUSION

In the given thesis I wished to demonstrate the forgotten importance of historical fiction and suggest that it can be perceived as a veiled response to the modern problems by employing the conflicts of the by-gone periods. As the basis for this intention I used *Ivanhoe*, a historical novel which with the publication of other pieces of literature has now lost its true significance. I analysed various historical phenomena like chivalry which Scott used to draw parallels with the 19th century world and offer an unconventional response of learning on previous mistakes and seeking compromise to the problems of his time.

The central motif of the novel is the idea of altering an outdated image of English society where only the higher classes occupied the central position and ultimately forging a new, national identity that in addition to the nobility includes all the lower classes of the country. The research showed that Scott, originating from the lower middle classes, not only set an example by living like a medieval gentleman but also created similar characters like Gurth the Swineherd, Wamba the Jester and Locksley, the outlaw, through whose behaviour suggested to the lower classes to be ‘natural gentlemen’ with a possibility to ascend the social ladder by implementing such qualities as wittedness, cunning and bravery rather than money as the means towards success and prosperity.

During the research, I also traced Scott’s political views about the unification of England and Scotland under one monarch. Initially, Scott accurately uses the medieval past of England and intricately draws a parallel with his world of opposition by presenting Ivanhoe as a Saxon, living by the Norman rules, who is also equally alien when analysed in regards to both cultures. Throughout the novel it can be seen that Scott emphasises the economic benefit of the union for Scotland and suggests the form of compromise where he criticises the hostile relationship between the two countries and brings the two opposing cultures in the face of a Saxon knight Ivanhoe and a Norman king Richard together,

creating a new, national identity with shared values and ideas.

From the literature review as well as the analysis it is evident that Scott was greatly concerned with social issues, especially the Peterloo Crisis, its reasons as well as the outcome. He incorporates this episode as the fall of a Norman castle and demonstrates on the English example what such acts of tyranny towards the lower classes might lead to - upheavals on the part of the common people - and gives reasons why the ideal of chivalry has to include them and be adapted to their needs. Consequently, Scott fully shared in the image of England as an inclusive society, unified by common interests across and within social orders.

By analysing the previous idea, it is evident that Scott associated strongly with the Jews whose position during the 19th century drastically changed, and they were now deemed as those who are to be expelled, converted or killed. Similarly to them, the Scots were also the focus of English hostility whose 'alien' influence threatened the true identity of the English people. Evidently, Scott not only heavily criticises such a position but promotes a society with shared interests and experiences not only to welcome the multi-cultural involvement within the country but more importantly to establish a new national identity.

Lastly, scholars present Scott as a social conservative whose romanticised point of view perceives women as an ideal image of a calm, caring wife for an early 19th century woman. From the analysis it can be seen that they are presented as spectators worshipped by men and noble in their quietness. Yet from the novel we learn that such passive characters like Rowena, Rebecca and Ulrica actually present the point of view from outside the action and lead the reader to a conclusion that the problem of identity is not settled when only excluding certain individuals like Prince John but that it is society which is corrupted with internal confusion.

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RESÜMEE

TARTU ÜLIKOOL
ANGLISTIKA OSAKOND

Anastasija Birjukova

Sir Walter Scott's Depiction of Chivalric Culture in *Ivanhoe* Sir Walter Scotti Kujutus Rüütliekultuurist *Ivanhoes*

Bakalaureusetöö

2020

Lehekülgede arv: 38

Annotatsioon:

Kuigi Sir Walter Scotti poolt kirjutatud *Ivanhoe* käsitleb konflikti kahe kultuuri vahel Normani vallutamise järelmõjul, võib seda analüüsida aga hariva näitena, kus autor kasutab rüütellikust, et meenutada eakaaslastele sarnastest probleemidest, mis ilmsid varasematel aegadel, võrrelda neid 19. revolutsioonilise sajandi probleemidega ning pakkuda neile lahendusi. Käesoleva töö eesmärgiks on uurida *Ivanhoe* teksti põhjal, kuidas Scott ühendab romantikat romaani keskaegsete elementidega, et kajastada oma seisukohta Inglismaa klassiühiskonna idee suhtes; illustreerida oma suhtumist sellistesse poliitilistesse sündmustesse nagu Šotimaa ja Inglismaa ühendamise, Peterloo kriis, juutide 19. sajandi rõhumine ning pakkuda ebatraditsioonilist lähenemisviisi, mis hõlmab varasemate vigade tundmaõppimist ja kompromissi otsimist ühiskonna probleemidele.

Bakalaureusetöö jaotub neljaks osaks: sissejuhatuseks, kirjandusülevaateks, analüüsiosaks ning kokkuvõtteks. Sissejuhatuses antakse üldine ülevaade ajaloolise romaani kohta, demonstreeritakse Scotti seost žanri loomisega ning käsitletakse Scotti kirjanikuna. Sellele järgneb alapeatükk, mis räägib *Medieval Revivalist*, Scotti mõju sellele nähtusele ja Inglismaa klassiühiskonnale. Teises alapeatükis antakse ülevaade Scotti poliitilistest vaadetest Šotimaa ja Inglismaa ühinemisest, Peterloo kriisist, samuti juutide rõhumisest ning arutatakse Scotti arvamust sellele, kuidas tekkiva ebastabiilsusega hakkama saada. Teoreetilise peatüki viimane alapeatükk pakub lugejale ettekujutuse sellest, kuidas Scott suhtub naistesse ja nende rolli ühiskonnas. Analüüsiosa samuti jaguneb alapeatükkideks ning kasutades romaani näiteid, analüüsib Scotti vaateid ning nende tähendust *Ivanhoes*.

Kokkuvõtteks võib öelda, et Scott püüdis muuta Inglise ühiskonna vananenud kuvandit ja lõpuks luua uue rahvusliku identiteedi, kus autor läbi nõrgema soo rolli soovitas uusi võimalusi ühiskonna paremaks muutmiseks ja pakkus, et edaspidi uus kuvand hõlmaks kõiki ühiskonnaklasse, arvestaks lihtrahva vajadustega, hõlmaks kõiki ühiskonnaklasse ja lubaks teistele kultuuridele ühiskonnas elada.

Märksõnad: 19. sajand, Inglismaa identiteet, ühiskonnaklassid, Šotimaa ja Inglismaa, Peterloo kriis, juutide rõhumine, naiste roll.

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