Obituary of Henry Ansgar (Andy) Kelly  
AD 1934 to AD ca. 2035

Henry Ansgar (Andy) Kelly was a long-time professor of English at UCLA, beginning in 1967 as an assistant professor. He became emeritus in 2004, but, as he continued his scholarly publishing and consulting, he was given the title of Distinguished Research Professor. He served as Director of UCLA’s Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, and he helped to found its journal, Viator: he served as one of its editors in the 1970s and 80s, and was sole editor from 2004 to 2021.

Andy was born on June 6, 1934, the second of three sons of Harry and Inez Kelly, who lived in the small farm town of Fonda in northwest Iowa. A note on his name: he was intended to be “Harry Francis Kelly, Jr.” after his father, and this is the way his name was entered on his birth certificate, just after he was born in Mercy Hospital in nearby Fort Dodge. But the parish priest in Fonda, Fr. Murphy, said that nicknames could not be used in the baptismal ceremony and register, so he put “Henry” for “Harry.” Then, instead of adding “Francis” as his middle name, he mistakenly put “Ansgar,” which was supposed to be used at confirmation. This name referred to the ninth-century “Apostle of the North,” St. Ansgar (who now has a feastday in the Catholic calendar on February 3, along with St. Blaise). The baby’s mother, Inez, née Anderson, was a member of the Society of St. Ansgar, established for converts from Swedish Lutheranism. She was a nurse, hence known by her last name, Anderson, or “Andy” for short, and the new arrival became Andy Jr. instead of Harry Jr. Harry Sr. had the reliably steady job of RFD mail carrier from the time that his own father, Patrick Kelly, died in 1906. Harry was active in the local Knights of Columbus and was the Pocahontas County Red Cross representative, an especially vital position during World War II. Andy’s older brother Patrick became county attorney for Sarpy county outside of Omaha (he died in 1990). His younger brother, David, obtained his medical degree from the University of Iowa and, after serving a stint in the army, practiced medicine in Tampa, Florida, until his untimely death by drowning in 1974. Inez had died in the previous year, 1973, having been born in 1899. Harry, who was born in 1889, passed away in 1962.

Harry’s father, Patrick, was born in County Leitrim, Ireland, in 1851, son of Patrick Kelly and Ellen Sheridan. His mother was Mary Ann Hennessey, born in Louisville, Kentucky four years after her parents came from County Cork (her mother was a McSweeney); the family soon moved to eastern Iowa, near Ryan. Inez’s father, John G. Anderson, who died in 1936, came from the province of Halland of southwestern Sweden, around Gothenburg. Her mother, Emma, née Ericson, who died in 1946, was born in Lyrestad, halfway between Gothenburg and Stockholm. They met in the Swedish settlement of Stanton in southwest Iowa.

Andy was solidly educated by the wonderful Sisters of St. Francis of Clinton, Iowa, at the parochial school in Our Lady of Good Counsel parish in Fonda. He remembered with especial fondness his Latin teacher Sister Clarice, his science teacher Sister Jude, his history and literature teacher Sister Robert, the principal (who at the end of his junior year had him take home all of the good books in the school library to read during the summer), and his piano teachers Sister Jeanne Marie and above all Sister
Natalie. During high school there he decided that he wanted to join the Jesuit Order of priests and educators, but he was advised to go to the nearby Jesuit college, Creighton University in Omaha, for a year to strengthen his knowledge of Latin. He enjoyed college life and the friends he found there, especially Karen Haggar, a recent convert to Catholicism (he finally got back in touch with her in 2019, sixty-six years later).

**Into the Jesuits**

He persevered in his vocation, and in the summer of 1953 he joined the newly founded Wisconsin Province of the Jesuits, which branched off from the Missouri Province. He spent the first two years in just-built Novitiate on Lake Winnebago near Oshkosh, Wisconsin. Life as a novice was a time of spiritual formation, devotional reading, manual labor, more Latin (and now Greek), prayer, and lots of silence, except for an hour of recreation after lunch and another hour after dinner. Necessary talking at other times had to be in Latin, in a specialized dialect that the novices dubbed *Culina Latina* (Kitchen Latin).

He spent the next two years with the recent ex-novices of the Missouri Province in the “Juniorate” near Florissant, close to the banks of the Missouri River on its way to join the Mississippi in St. Louis. Here the asceticism was reduced and the Latin and Greek increased, to which other “liberal” studies were added: English and history. But there was still some manual labor required, this time working in the vineyard of the Lord: namely, the grape-growing and wine-making enterprise established there after the Jesuits arrived in the 1820s. Having managed to evade shut-down during Prohibition, it was still flourishing, and needed all available hands, especially at the eleventh hour of harvest time.

**At St. Louis University**

After that, in 1957, Andy moved with his cohort to the “Philosophate” in the city, on the main campus of St. Louis University. Three years of scholastic philosophy followed, with the lectures, texts, and textbooks, and oral and written exams, all in Latin. He also took lots of courses in the history of philosophy. In addition, this was the time to select an academic specialty, and Andy chose English—in part because from high school onwards he had fancied himself something of a poet (he was soon enough self-disabused). After the first two years, of this stage, in 1959, he and his colleagues received their A.B. degrees with triple majors, in Andy’s case classics, philosophy, and English.

It was in an American literature class in following year, taught by Janine Langan (the French wife of Thomas Langan an assistant professor of philosophy there), in studying Hawthorne and the witches of Salem, that he first became interested in the Devil. The bizarre beliefs that had collected around Satan struck him as a double opportunity, both scholarly and “apostolic”: by setting the world straight about the facts of the Devil’s development, he would make new discoveries (the objective of academic research) and at the same time purify the doctrine of the Church on the subject. Current history also intervened when Fr. William Bowdern, the exorcist from the celebrated case of 1949 that would later by novelized and filmed as *The Exorcist*, came to live in the Philosophate building, Fusz Mermorial Hall, and Andy got a chance to interview him. He included the details of the case in the second edition of his book, *The Devil, Demonology,*
and Witchcraft, 1974 (Tom Langan was the professor who passed on the report mentioned on p. 95 that the afflicted boy spoke multiple languages).

At that time, in 1960, Andy became an exorcist himself, being ordained with his class by the auxiliary bishop of St. Louis to the four minor clerical orders of usher, lector, exorcist, and acolyte. In later days he often had to tell people that he was not an ex-priest, never having proceeded to major orders: he “never made it out of the minors.” But he maintained that those four ordinations made him qualified, even overqualified, to conduct wedding ceremonies and sign off on marriage licenses. Which he did, specializing in unions of older gents named Ken (Ken Adams and Ken Lincoln).

He finished his philosophy studies by acquiring a master’s-level degree, a licentiate in philosophy (Ph.L). The usual Jesuit training at the end of the three years of philosophy called for an assignment to one of the Order’s high schools in his province for three years of “regency” (teaching) before finally entering the “Theologate” for four years of courses in theology, biblical studies, and canon law. But his superiors decided that he should instead go on for further studies in English literature. He stayed another year at St. Louis University, moving across the street from Fusz Memorial to Verhaegan Hall, where the Jesuit faculty lived, and took more graduate courses, including a year of Old English, and completed the gigantic reading list set for the master’s degree (A.M.) in English, which he achieved at the end of the school year, in 1961. He submitted a substantial thesis, “The Conscious Focus of Stream of Consciousness,” which led to his first published article, “Consciousness in the Monologues of Ulysses,” in 1963.

On to Harvard

Andy’s main mentor at St. Louis University, Fr. Walter Ong, was eager for him to go to Harvard to study nineteenth-century literature with his own mentor, Perry Miller. But when he got there, he found that the offerings in medieval and Renaissance areas were more interesting. He started to take Larry Benson’s course on the Pearl-Gawain Poet, but when he heard that Harry Levin and the psychologist Henry Murray were jointly teaching a seminar on “Eden,” a sequel to their seminar of the previous year on “The Devil,” he immediately joined it instead, and was able to make use of his already lengthy history of the Devil to write on “The Devil in Eden and Beyond.”

He hit upon his dissertation topic in the first seminar he took, “Historiography,” under Herschel Baker, featuring the reigning “Tudor Myth” thesis put forth by E. M. W. Tillyard in Shakespeare’s History Plays (1944): he claimed that Henry VII employed historians to say that God sent him to end the divine punishment of England for Henry IV’s removal of Richard II. The fundamental flaw in the thesis, Andy saw, was that Henry VII presented himself as the Lancastrian heir to Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI, and it would be very much against his interests to say that God was punishing the Lancastrians. It was in fact the Yorkists who had come up with this “myth.” A revised version of the dissertation was eventually published in 1970 by Harvard U.P. as Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare’s Histories.

Society of Fellows, Society of Jesus

The dissertation was actually finished in the summer of 1964, missing the deadline for the Ph.D. that year (so it was awarded only in 1965). According to the original Jesuit plan, it was time for Andy to go on to the Missouri-Wisconsin Theologate
at St. Mary’s in Kansas, but in the mean-time he had been nominated and elected to be a Junior Fellow in the Society of Fellows at Harvard. Such fellowships were originally intended by Abbot Lawrence Lowell, when he founded the Society in 1932 (the last year of his presidency of Harvard), to be a substitute for the Ph.D.; but they had evolved into a three-year predoctoral, intradotal, or postdoctoral award. Andy’s superiors decided that he could instead go to Weston College (part of Boston College), the Theologate of the New England Province in nearby Weston, Massachusetts, and thus be able to accept the fellowship and attend the Society’s regular gatherings. These consisted of an elaborate banquet every Monday evening at Eliot House, preceded by a sherry hour, in the company of the Senior Fellows and their guests, and two lunches with the other Junior Fellows, on Tuesdays and Thursdays, in the same Eliot House venue.

The purpose of these gatherings was to provide occasions for interesting conversations from many fields and perspectives, while the Junior Fellows pursued their particular projects. Among the Senior Fellows there at the time were two of Andy’s professors, Harry Levin and Walter Jackson Bate; and two Nobel laureates, Edward Purcell in physics, and James Watson, of Crick-and-Watson double-helix fame. Another was a Nobel-to-be: Wassily Leontiev, who had just taken over as Chair of the Society, would receive his prize in 1973. Other Senior Fellows in his time were the philosopher Willard Van Orman Quine, the classicist Herbert Bloch, the chemist Paul Doty, and the federal judge Charles Wyzansky. Erich Leinsdorf, conductor of the Boston Philharmonic, was a frequent guest.

Since Andy had finished his doctoral work, he spent most of his time on demonological research, especially the exorcistic rites connected with baptism. (The resulting manuscript, after long hanging fire at a German liturgical series, was finally published by Cornell U.P. in 1985 as The Devil at Baptism.) He was also taking the full load of courses at Weston, in theology, Scripture, and canon law. It often appeared strange to him that in the fourteen-year-long seminary curriculum for Jesuit “scholastics,” no courses in these obvious subjects were taken for the first ten years of their training. It was only decades later that he realized what the reasons was for this: it was the way things were done in the Middle Ages! At the Universities of Oxford and Paris, it was first necessary to achieve the seven-year Arts course, followed by a three-years regency, before embarking on the bachelor of theology course (St. Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, had only done the Arts course at Paris).

Fortunately for Andy, one of the priest-professors in the Juniorate recommended that he start studying the Bible on his own, reading it through in an annotated version. He began to study it in earnest in connection with his Devil researches, and during his three years of working on his doctorate he managed to get a very long article, “The Devil in the Desert,” accepted by the Catholic Biblical Quarterly, and it came out in the summer of 1964, just before he arrived at Weston to begin his first Bible courses. The editor of CBQ, the renowned biblical scholar Roland Murphy, was worried that some of his radical readjustments to traditional interpretations of Satan’s role in various scriptural passages might draw the attention and denunciation of conservative readers, advised him to put in a mollifying note, which appeared as the third paragraph in the very long n. 45: “Perhaps it would be well at this point to remind ourselves that whatever was the path in the development of thought concerning the forces of evil, the conceptions that emerged, like the notions of messianism and eschatology, were evolved under the guidance of divine
providence.”

This note occasioned much amusement among the other Jesuit scholastics and priests who were living at St. Andrew Bóbola House on Newbury Street in Boston, and were engaged in similar doctoral studies at Harvard and MIT. These fellow-Jesuits were very stimulating companions, as his companion novices, “juniors,” and “philosophers” before had been. The “theologians” at Weston were also very agreeable, though in many cases not as interested in their studies as his former colleagues had been. Some of this he attributed to the fact that they had got used to hustle and bustle of high-school teaching, and the sense that that was where their future vocation lay.

As for Andy himself, he was getting disenchanted with the prospect of spending the rest of his life as a celibate cleric without the consolations of married and family life, and he was dreading the approach of ordination to the subdiaconate and beyond; he was seeking an honorable way out, hoping that he would be found somehow unsuitable to continue, perhaps doctrinally unsound because of his opinions on the Devil or morally lax or insubordinate for opposing the Vatican line against contraception. Just as he came to Weston he had published an anonymous letter (“A Jesuit Scholastic”) in *Jubilees* magazine outlining his objections. One thing that brought matters to a head was his marching in a pro-bussing demonstration in the spring of 1966 in “Southie” (South Boston) together with other Junior Fellows, which at the last minute the Weston theologians had been prohibited from joining. For this he was “rusticated” by the dean at Weston, who also suggested to him that the Jesuit life might not be for him (the dean himself was later disciplined by the president of Weston for acting without proper authority). This set in motion his formal request to detach himself from the Society and to receive a dispensation from the pope releasing him from his perpetual vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience.

**Rome, 1966-67**

He still had a year left as a Junior Fellow, and, and because he was embarrassed to suddenly start appearing at Eliot House in mufti rather than in a clerical suit with Roman collar, he received permission from Chair Leontiev to spend the entire third year abroad, rather than the six months that was ordinarily permitted. He decided to rent a room at the American Academy in Rome, as a suitable half-way house between the religious and secular life, thinking of it as a kind of coeducational monastery. He had started studying Italian on his own, and because of his relative ease in getting along in Latin, he had fancied that he would be equally adept in acquiring a living language, but in the event he found that his ear was not entirely up to the challenge.

After spending a month or so in the summer of 1966 at home in Fonda with his mother, he made his way to Italy by way of Great Britain, visiting London and Edinburgh and some of the War of the Roses battle-sites in between. He also spent a week at the quaint house of Francis Crick in Cambridge (kitchen on the bottom floor, dining room on the fifth floor), at the invitation of fellow-Junior-Fellow Howard Berg, who had been invited by Crick’s son Michael, a grad student at Harvard. Howard and his wife Mary had taken Andy in tow in the other Cambridge, letting him stay for two weeks in their apartment, where he said his goodbyes to his local friends, notably Kristin Morrison, who was getting her English degree at Harvard, and who would later pass on to him her apartment in Los Angeles when he first came to UCLA.
Rome was all that he had hoped for and more. It had a good library and very stimulating Fellows and staff and guests, and proved a suitable base for pursuing his diabolical researches along with sight-seeing in the city and environs. While there he finished his Devil-at-baptism book and a brief history of the Devil. The latter was meant to be published by the Paulist Press through the efforts of his informal agent Tom Collins, another former Jesuit. But when even their “best bishop” refused to give it an imprimatur, it was published by Doubleday in New York with the above-noted title, *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft* in 1968. The title was not Andy’s choice, having been insisted on by the Doubleday editor. It was published simultaneously in Great Britain and Australia by Geoffrey Chapman with the title that Andy wished for it: *Towards the Death of Satan*. It presented the hypothesis that Satan was simply a part of Hebrew cosmology, not an integral feature of Christian doctrine, and should best be dispensed with. The Italian translation, published by Bompiani in 1967, took it as an accomplished fact: *La Morte di Satana*.

**To UCLA and CMRS and the English Department, 1967-69**

Andy had offers from the new SUNY campus at Buffalo, which was been promoted as “the UCLA of the East,” and from UCLA itself. He chose UCLA, not for the weather, to which he was indifferent (being from Iowa), but in large part because he was swayed by the small brochure he had seen describing the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, which had been recently founded by Lynn White. Its impressive listing of faculty in the various fields associated with the Center held out a promise of the sort of interdisciplinary intermingling of scholars that he had experienced as a Junior Fellow.

His hopes were in great part fulfilled after he arrived at UCLA in 1967. True, there were only three banquets a year at CMRS instead of forty-three, but White eagerly welcomed him and enlisted him, along with Richard Rouse in the History Department, to start a new journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies in connection with the Center. White staged a competition for the best name for the publication. It had to be one word, like *Speculum*, so that it could not be abbreviated to an initialism. Rouse won the prize (a fifth of Jack Daniels) with the name *Viator* (voyager, pilgrim, traveler), inspired by a recent article by his fellow-faculty-member Gerhart Ladner, “Homo Viator.” It summed up the kind of intercultural and multi-focused approaches that Lynn wished to foster at the Center. The first volume appeared in 1970, and Andy contributed an article for the second volume on “The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent,” having taken advantage of the recent installation at UCLA of the Princeton Index of Early Christian Art. Andy continued for many years as associate editor and co-editor of the journal. Later, after he stepped down as Director of the Center in 2003 and becoming emeritus in the English Department in 2004, he became the sole editor of *Viator*, a post he continued until he completed its 50th volume in 2021.

In a few years there were a total of nine Fellows of the Medieval Academy of America in the UCLA History Department: besides White, Ladner, and Rouse, there were Robert Benson, Robert Burns, Milton Anastos, Lauro Martinez, Eleanor Searle, and Speros Vryonis, and, a bit later, Patrick Geary and Teo Ruiz, as well as Mary Rouse (long-time managing editor of *Viator*); and three in the English Department: besides Andy himself, Del Kolve and Florence Ridley. This was a record that no other university
came close to matching.

Andy considered himself pretty much of an “instant medievalist” when he arrived in the English Department. Brad Booth, the chair at the time, had asked him whether he wouldn’t like to take over the position recently vacated by Donald Howard, a Chaucerian. He replied that he loved Chaucer, but had taken no graduate courses in medieval English studies except for a year of Old English. However, since he had studied a lot of medieval philosophy and was very interested in the Middle Ages as a whole, he was willing to educate himself as he went along. Over the summer, he boned up on Chaucer and the Middle English “mystery plays,” and taught courses on them in his first term there, the Fall Quarter of 1967. He had only two participants in his graduate seminar on the plays, and eleven undergraduates in his Chaucer course. That was the only section of Chaucer taught that year, but shortly afterwards Chaucer was made mandatory for all English majors, and eventually there were up to a dozen sections each year (UCLA long had, and still has, the largest number of English majors in the country).

This was a time of great expansion for UCLA. The school had begun only in 1919, as the “Southern Branch” of the University of California, taking over the California State Normal School of Los Angeles and its faculty. In the late 1960s, large numbers of assistant professors were hired in the English Department, even fifteen or sixteen in a year, and by the time of the school’s half-century mark in 1969, there were a total of forty-five assistant professors in the English faculty. The table below shows all the numbers for that year and the 75th and 100th years:

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<th>UCLA English Dept.</th>
<th>Year 50: 1969</th>
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Soon after Andy’s arrival at UCLA, he and two other former Junior Fellow colleagues, Jared Diamond and Bill Schopf, had formed a “Junior Fellows West” group that met once a month for a couple of years. Among the members were former Junior Fellows Alan Grinnell in Biology and George Kennedy in Earth and Space Sciences; and Willard Libby was the token Nobel laureate. Not long after, George attempted a Society of Fellows fundraiser at his home, with Wassily Leontiev and Derek Bok, the president of Harvard, present as well as Franklin Murphy, UCLA’s chancellor, and various high-level possible donors, together with Andy and other ex-Junior Fellows. The latter, who drove up in their aging VW Bugs, did not seem to make up a very impressive group, and the event turned out to be a failure.

**Australia, England, Rome, 1968-69**

UCLA’s quarter-system allowed its professors to take a quarter sabbatical at full pay every three years, or at two-thirds pay every two years; but assistant professors were able to apply for a supplement to bring the latter to full pay. Andy took advantage of this opportunity, and, just after being promoted to Associate Professor, he went on his first sabbatical in the fall of 1969, with his new bride, Marea Tancred.
He had met Marea during his year in Rome at a Christmas party held at the British School. She had come to Rome from Australia a couple of years earlier, and found a job working as switchboard operator for the American bishops in their office on the Via della Conciliazione during the last year of the Second Vatican Council. When the council ended, she went to work at the Jesuit Headquarters nearby on Borgo Santo Spirito, the first woman ever to do so. She became the assistant and secretary to Fathers Vincent O’Keeffe and Andrew Varga, two of the four Assistant Generals of the Society of Jesus. They took a proprietary interest in her, and, when it became evident that she and Andy were becoming attached to each other, they subjected him to a thorough vetting. Fortunately for him, he passed.

Marea returned to her home town of Sydney the following Christmas by way of Los Angeles, and Andy joined her there after the end of the 1967-68 school year. They were married in June, and spent the next three months transiting back to Los Angeles by way of Thailand, Israel, Greece, Rome (for six weeks), London, New York, and Fonda, before settling back into Kristin Morrison’s ex-apartment on Sepulveda Boulevard. On hearing the roar of the 405 Freeway, Marea thought she was listening to the surf of the Pacific Ocean, but she soon realized her mistake.

A return to Rome seemed like a natural for the sabbatical in 1969. But what to work on? Andy returned to one of the subjects that had come out of his dissertation, the project that King Richard III formed of getting a dispensation from the pope to marry his niece Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV, thereby strengthening his dynastic power. Andy had taught himself the ins and outs of medieval canon law while at Weston College and using the library there, he also took advantage of the libraries of Harvard Law and Harvard Divinity Schools when he came to Cambridge for Society of Fellows get-togethers. He submitted the resulting article, “Canonical Implications of Richard III’s Plan to Marry His Niece,” to *Traditio*, and the editor of the canonical section of the journal, Stephan Kuttner, said that he would give him pointers for revision when he joined him in Rome. Meanwhile, Andy had found more pertinent material at the Vatican Library and at the library of the Venerable English College on the Via Monserrato (originally the English hospice the English pilgrims ro Rome), near the Piazza Farnese. The Venerable possessed Cardinal Juan de Torquemada’s commentary on Gratian, which the Vatican did not, and Andy found out from it that Pius II had dispensed a count of Piacenza to marry his niece twenty years before Richard’s quest.

The major project that Andy hit on for his 1969 sabbatical—which, joined to the preceding summer, gave him six months abroad, was to review Henry VIII’s attempt to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon on the basis of canonical impediments. He and Marea first went to London, where Andy studied the manuscript treatises in Lambeth Palace Library written by Bishop John Fisher in defense of Queen Catherine. He also managed to reconstruct Cardinal Wolsey’s first trial against Henry and Catherine’s marriage, in 1527, from a vermin-damaged manuscript in the Public Record Office (still located in Chancery Lane). He also discovered that the actual record of Wolsey’s second process, the Legatine Trial of 1529, was in Cambridge University Library, where it had long lain unexplored by scholars.

During their time in London, Marea and Andy stayed in Bayswater, as they had when passing through on their honeymoon, at the house of Alec Ramsay, son of Sir William Ramsay, who had been knighted by the queen “For his Services to Rugby
Football.” He—that is, Sir Bill, had been an adversary-turned-boon-companion of Marea’s father Arnold Tancred, when Arnold came through London in 1928 playing for Australia. The Ramsays invited their guests to their box next to the queen’s box for the Ascot races. Queen Elizabeth herself was in attendance, since her horses were running. Andy, of course, had to wear the regulation morning-suit—frock-coat, striped trousers, and grey top hat. He had difficulty enjoying the races because he had to keep running to a pay telephone to try to straighten out their cheap Air Icelandic flight to Rome, which was imminent.

When they got to Rome, they took over a roof-top apartment on the Via del Governo Vecchio, not far from the Piazza Navona, which they inherited from Loren Partridge, an art-historian friend from American Academy days, after he departed for Berkeley. Marea resumed her job at the Jesuit Curia, and Andy went off regularly to the Vatican Secret Archives, which Dan Brown’s protagonist in The Da Vinci Code was so proud of gaining access to. Then, when they closed at 1:30, off to the Venerable on Via Monserrato.

He finished a book-sized manuscript, but spent many years trying to find a publisher. He discovered that Tudor historians looked unfavorably on simple monographs, preferring to retell the whole history of Henry VIII, with full political and military details, while adding a few revisionist twists here and there. The book was finally brought out by Stanford University Press in 1976 as The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII. It received two dozen favorable reviews in respectable journals, but was not mentioned by any historian for ten years afterwards, and only then after Andy alerted John Guy to its existence. Thereafter it was routinely listed in bibliographies, but its lessons not necessarily noted. Some overlooked highlights were pointed out in a new preface to book’s reprinting in 2004, notably the inquisitorial nature of the trials (see below), the proof that the argument of public honesty—the impediment caused by the marriage consent—was constantly used, and Cranmer’s and Henry’s new theology of affinity: it arose not from coitus, but from matrimonial consent.


After managing to avoid the influenza spaziale which, according to Italian diagnoses, had been brought back to earth on the return of the moon-landers in 1969 (after all, the term influenza itself originally referred to astral causes), Marea and Andy returned to California at the turn of 1970, and took up living in a different apartment, at 19th and California in Santa Monica. A few months later, on April 13, Marea gave birth to a daughter, Sarah, in the Kaiser hospital at Harbor City (where Andy was supposed to have access to the birthing room to continue the Lamaze method that he had been practicing, but the obstetrician on duty declined permission). They decided that they needed a house of their own, and found one in the erstwhile Methodist settlement of Pacific Palisades (set up in 1922 to host annual Chautauqua festivals). It was on the street named for Toyouhiko Kagawa (d. 1960), a famed Christian reformist known as “the Ghandi of Japan.”

Soon it was time for another quarter sabbatical, this one coupled with a year of Guggenheim fellowship. The expanded family (now including infant Sarah) embarked for England in the summer of 1971, and stayed in an apartment in Chelsea. In September Andy returned home the teach the Fall Quarter at UCLA (thus accumulating the sixth
quarter necessary for the sabbatical), while Marea and Sarah, now joined by Marea’s mother Molly from Sydney, made their way to Rome. They found a spacious apartment in Prati on Via Alberico II, next to the park surrounding the Castel Sant’Angelo, and parallel to the elevated escape passage from the Vatican (which Clement VII took advantage of it in 1527 during the Sack of Rome).

Andy’s publication project this time was a further outgrowth of his research on the canon law of marriage, now finally tied in with his teaching concentration on Chaucer. He set out to invalidate the theory of “courtly love,” especially as formulated by C. S. Lewis. Lewis held that romantic or emotional love in the Middle Ages was portrayed as anti-matrimonial because marriage was primarily seen as a financial or dynastic concern. Andy put forth the contrary theorem, that when a man and woman fell in love they usually wanted to get married. It held true not only in literature but also in life, exemplified notably in the Middle Ages by the widespread practice of clandestine marriage. He showed that this tendency was illustrated not only in Chaucer’s pre-Christian love-stories of the Legend of Good Women and Troilus and Criseide, but also in various stories of the Canterbury Tales. The resulting book was Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer (Cornel U.P., 1975).

A good part of the writing and research for this book took place in the British Library (which was still located in the British Museum) in the summer of 1971, and, in Rome, in the American Academy library, as well as in the Vatican and the Venerable English College. A major event this year, 1972, was the birth of son Dominic on June 2, in the international hospital Salvator Mundi, just outside the Porta San Pancrazio on the Janiculum, near the American Academy. At the same time, Andy got word that he had been promoted to Full Professor back at UCLA.

**UCLA full time, 1973-2004**

Andy spent the rest of his active academic life at UCLA, until reaching emeritus status in 2004. It was taken up in the ordinary run of teaching, committee work, and research at the university, and domestic life at home. Marea first started working for the Immaculate Heart Community at its center on Los Feliz, and then, after the dissolution of the order and its reconstitution, at the Immaculate Heart Studies Center at Pico and Veteran. She later headed the Westside Food Bank in Santa Monica, and then started working at Loyola Marymount University, where she rose to Acting Vice-President for Development.

One important committee that Andy served on fairly early (1976-79) was the “Budget Council,” soon more realistically renamed the “Council on Academic Personnel,” which gave him insight into the workings of the Academic Senate and the campus as a whole, including the Medical School. It also provided the sort of interdisciplinary interchange that he constantly sought.

A welcome interlude came in the 1980-81 school year, which he spent as a visiting professor at the University of Sydney, on sabbatical joined with an NEH fellowship. He gave only a few lectures, using the time mainly to catch up on his writing, while his family renewed their ties with Oz. Sarah was ten and Dominic eight at the time, and the skewed timetable of the Antipodean school year made it necessary to enroll first in the second half of the current year’s studies, and then on to the first half of the next.

After his return from Australia, Andy became Vice-Chair of Graduate Studies in
the English Department, from 1981 to 1988, during which time, especially under the chairmanship of Daniel Calder (and the management of Adele Butterfield), financial support for graduate students increased and only applicants to the Ph.D. program were accepted. Andy also served on, and chaired, the Committee on Privilege and Tenure, the Grievance and Disciplinary Committee, and the Graduate Council, and also ex officio on the Executive Committee of the Academic Senate, during which time several departments of the university were re-organized or founded—notably the new School of Public Policy in 1994.

The tragic years, 1979-2000

During his year in Sydney, Andy mainly expanded the research he had been doing on the subject of ancient-to-medieval tragedy. In 1979 he had published two large studies, one on classical times, “Tragedy and the Performance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity,” and another on the medieval reception of Aristotle, “Aristotle-Averroes-Alemanonnus on Tragedy: The Influence of the Poetics on the Latin Middle Ages,” when tragedy was considered to be simply “praise-poetry.” In Australia he produced a giant manuscript, but other projects got in the way of going forward with the topic, and he eventually published the results in three volumes:

*Tragedy and Comedy from Dante to Pseudo-Dante* (1989): Dante himself considered tragedy to be any writing on noble subjects; his commentators, including the author of the Epistle to Cangrande (not Dante), thought it was a story moving from prosperity to adversity.

*Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages* (1993): A history of the word “tragedy.” Not just one idea but lots of them. Forms: after turning into ballet and sung aria in Rome, tragedy disappeared until Chaucer’s verse narratives.

*Chaucerian Tragedy* (1997). Chaucer turns out to be the general protagonist and hero of the plot, being the first author to think of himself as writing tragedies in any of the modern vernaculars.

One of the intervening projects before this also featured Chaucer, as the inventor of St. Valentine as patron saint of love: *Chaucer and the Cult of St. Valentine* (1986). The saint in question was not the winter one of February 14, but the springtime St. Valentine, first bishop of Genoa, feastday on May 3. Another such project resulted in *Canon Law and the Archpriest of Hita* (1985), a foray into Spain (Toledo, Madrid, Hita) and Spanish literature: in it, he redated the *Libro de buen amor* and explicated its many references to Church law, and explained the functions of archpriests.

MAA and MAP

In the spring of the year that the Valentine book came out, 1986, Andy was inducted as a Fellow in the Medieval Academy of America. The laudatio that was read over him, composed and delivered by the current Orator of the Fellows, his old canon-law mentor, Stephan Kuttner, reads as follows (with Andy’s translation on the right):

Ex laudationibus novorum sociorum Academiae Mediaevalis Americae
Anno Domini millesimo nongentesimo octogesimo sexto

[From the encomiums of the new fellows of the Medieval Academy of America, AD 1986]
Henricus Anscarius Kelly, quondam in novitati Societatis Jesu alumnus, sed ante professionem sollemnem e vita religiosa canonice egressus, doctoris philosophiae gradum viginti et unum ante annos in universitate Harvardiana assecutus est. litterarum anglicas in universitate Californiae Angelorum (Los Angeles, vel plenius de Nuestra Senora Reina de los Angeles) iamdum professus, quattuordecim abhinc annos ad cathedram ordinariam ibidem promotus est. Haec autem, quamvis litterarum anglicarum cathedra audit, nunquam Henrici Anscarri scripta diversa, dispositiones multifarisas, et eruditionem plenitudinem nobis valeret indicare; quae omnia suadent ut potius, si titulum s. Alberti Magni ioculando imitare licet, doctorum quasi universalem collegam nostrum nuncupaverim.

Scripsit enim non semel de diabolo et daemonologia, ubi recente textibus liturgicis non solum graecis, latinis, et hebraicis, sed etiam arabicis, copticis, et syriacis usus est; scripsit de divina providentia in scacnicis historiis Willelmi Shakespeare; scripsit de amore et matrimonio in operibus Galfredi Chaucer et aliis eiusdem temporis; sed etiam de matrimonii tribulationibus Henrici regis VIII protulit librum; qui liber permulta documenta antehac ignota ex Archivis Vaticanis et Vindobonensis in lucem protulit quaer ad causam nullitatis a rege contra Catherinam reginam motam spectant—causam tantae notorietatis ut vix aliquid novi de ea inveniri posse putaverimus; quae autem noster invenit, magna pro parte ad ius canonicum pertinent. De iure canonicum etiam traxunt quae scripsit de Richardi III regis intentione ad fratris filiam in uxorem ducendam. Ad interpretandum demum librum hispanicum "Del buen amor" ab archipresbytero de Hita saeculo decimo quarto compositum auctoribus iuris canonici usus est noster.

Quae vero nuperrime aumunianti, Henrice, de S. Valentinio amantium patrono—quid neque, a scriptis Galfredi Chaucer in silvam ingentem hagiographiae proprio marte profectus, de eius vera persona et de die festi eiusdem invenisti (nam plures iam ab antique venerabantur [Henry Ansgar Kelly, formerly studying in the novitiate of the Society of Jesus, but canonically departed from the religious life before solemn profession, achieved the degree of doctor of philosophy twenty-one years ago at Harvard University. He has long taught English letters in the University of California of the Angels (Los Angeles, or, more fully, De Nuestra Señora Reina de los Angeles). Fourteen years ago he was promoted there to an ordinary chair [full professorship]. This chair, however, denominated “of English letters,” can scarcely indicate to us Henry Ansgar’s diverse writings, his wide-ranging disquisitions, and the abundance of his erudition; all of which urges me instead to name our colleague, if it be permitted to jestingly imitate the title of St. Albert the Great, “the Quasi-Universal Doctor.”

For he has written more than once on the Devil and demonology, concerning which he has recently employed not only Greek, Latin, and Hebrew liturgical texts but also Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac. He has written on divine providence in the historical dramas of William Shakespeare; he has written on love and marriage in the works of Geoffrey Chaucer and others of his time; and he has also published a book on the matrimonial tribulations of King Henry VIII. In the latter book he brought to light many previously unknown documents from the Vatican Archives and Viennese archives relating to the annulment effort instigated by the king against Queen Catherine—a case of such notoriety, we should think, that hardly anything new could be found out about it; but what our colleague has found deals in great part with canon law. His writing concerning the intention of King Richard III to marry the daughter of his brother also deals with canon law. Finally, our colleague resorted to canon law to interpret the Spanish Book of Good Love composed by the archpriest of Hita in the fourteenth century.

But, Henry, what you have most recently announced, concerning St. Valentine, the patron of lovers—namely, your discoveries concerning his true person and his feast day, in moving unassisted from the works of Geoffrey Chaucer into the immense forest of hagiography (for many saints of this name have
sancti huius nominis)—non solum
culturibus medi aevi mox in novo libro
praesto erunt sed etiam amantibus ubiquem
terrarum, quos certe propius attingit.

Tot meritis inspectis et scrutatis,
onnium plausu sodalitati nostrae te
cooptavimus. Ascende igitur, Henrice
Anscari (vel, familiariter loquendo, Andy),
ad hoc rostrum, ut nomen tuum inscribas in
librum sociorum.

...  
Dixi.  

Stephanus Kuttner  
(Orator et Scriptor Sociorum)  

[I have ended my report.

Andy served as a Councilor of the MAA from 1987 to 1990. Meanwhile, also in
1986, he was elected to a two-year term at Vice-President of the Medieval Association of
the Pacific (MAP), as Caroline Bynum rose to the Presidency. MAP was a wonderful
group founded some three decades earlier, designed to serve as a regional MAA. It
provided the sort of interdisciplinary mingling and cross-fertilization that CMRS aimed
for at UCLA, and Andy started attending and participating in their annual conferences
eyearly on. In 1972, MAP joined with CMRS to host the annual MAA conference in Los
Angeles, the first time it had met west of Chicago since its founding in 1926. Andy was
on his Guggenheim in Rome at the time, but he flew home to deliver a paper at the
conference, “Clandestine Marriage and Chaucer’s Troilus,” which was published in vol. 4

Andy went on to serve his two-year stint as President of MAP, in 1988-90, and
later had the great pleasure of seeing colleagues whom he had befriended over the years
take over as President in due course, notably Anita Obermeier of the University of New
Mexico, Leslie Arnowick of the University of British Columbia, and Michael Hanly of
the Western Washington University, not to mention fellow-ex-Jesuit George Brown of
Stanford, whom he had known previously in his studies at St. Louis University.

Inquisitorial proceedings, 1989-2023

One large area of Andy’s future research was inspired by the Henry VIII book: his
realization that the king’s trials were not civil litigations in which he appeared as plaintiff
seeking an annulment, but criminal trials using inquisitorial procedure, in which the judge
also acted as prosecutor. It eventually replaced the older “accusation” trial, a brilliant
example of which was portrayed by Juan Ruiz in the Libro de buen amor: the Wolf
accused the Fox of murder before the judge Don Ximio (Monkey)—which was fully
explicated in Canon Law and Archpriest of Hita. He quickly saw that the usual notion
that inquisition was an unfair form of trial reserved to heresy cases was totally wrong. It
was a new method of criminal procedure introduced to the world by Pope Innocent III at
the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, and its rules guaranteed full due process to
defendants. If they did not receive it in heresy trials, it meant that the inquisitors were
violating the law.

He showed that the rules of inquisitorial procedure were more religiously followed in England than on the Continent and even in the papal court. He produced a large book demonstrating this phenomenon: Criminal/Inquisitorial Proceedings in English Church Courts: From 1215 to 1600, which appeared from Catholic University Press in 2023.

**Director of CMRS, 1998-2003**

Lynn White stepped down as Director of the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in 1970, the year that the fist issue of Viator appeared, and he was succeeded for two years by William Matthews in the English Department. Matthews was the decipherer and textual editor of the eleven-volume Diary of Samuel Pepys, and one of his legacies was the annual Pepys Lecture with an accompanying endowed banquet for CMRS faculty and guests. He was followed as Director by Fredi Chiappelli of the Italian Department, who stayed in office until 1988 and much enlarged the Center’s focus and activities. Michael Allen of the English Department followed, succeeded by Patrick Geary in History, who had to weather displacement from the campus in the aftermath of the 1994 Northridge earthquake. After the Center was restored to the Royce Hall’s East Tower, Andy took over, in 1998. His main emphasis as Director of CMRS was on intercommunion and mutual inspiration among the faculty and associates in the medieval and early modern fields at UCLA and surrounding areas, and he instituted weekly lunch-sessions at the new Morris room (with its magnificent loggia in Royce overlooking Powell Library), at which work-in-progress could be aired and critiqued. The quarterly banquets continued, and the programs were stages under the careful control of Karen Burgess. A quarterly newsletter, Viva Vox, edited by Debora Kennel, featured a historical essay of Andy’s in each issue.

At the conclusion of his directorship, a conference in his honor was held, organized by his colleague in the English Department, Donka Minkova and his former student Theresa Tinkle (professor of English at Michigan), the proceedings of which were published as Chaucer and the Challenges of Medievalism: Studies in Honor of H. A. Kelly (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003).

**Emeritus: Research Professor, 2004-2035**

After taking a delayed year-long sabbatical, Andy became Professor Emeritus in 2004 at the age of seventy. But in a few years he took advantage of a newly created working-title for active emeriti, Research Professor, with the addition of “Distinguished,” carried over from when he advanced to “Above-Scale status” in 1986.
As noted above, he became Editor of Viator in 2004, working with Dr. Blair Sullivan as Associate Editor. After he stepped down in 2021, he remained on the masthead, as his position was taken over by his colleague from English, Matthew Fisher.

An early product of his expanded leisure time was Satan: A Biography (Cambridge U.P., 2006), in which he resumed his campaign of revisionist history of the Devil. Rather than hypothesize his non-existence, the book advised those who believed in his existence, because of his prominence in the Bible, should not believe in postbiblical distortions (the fallen Lucifer, the tempter of Adam and Eve, the enemy of God), but rather part of the celestial government. His true biblical status was capsulized in an article that Andy wrote for the American Journal of Folklore in 1990 (edited by a former Junior Fellow colleague, Bruce Jackson), “Satan the Old Enemy: A Cosmic J. Edgar Hoover.” Because this central theme was not stressed in reviews of the 2006 biography, he put out a pithier book in 2017 with the theme in the title: Satan in the Bible, God’s Minister of Justice.

For his on-going researches and publications, Andy was given the UCLA Dickson Emeritus Professorship Award in 2010, and later, in 2018, the University of California Constantine Panunzio Distinguished Emeritus Award.

He dipped into the common-law tradition when doing his book on Thomas More’s Trial by Jury (2011), which, as usual, overturned many firmly held ideas about the case. Going back to canon law and keeping an eye on historical milestones, he organized a conference on Galileo at CMRS in 2016, the 400th anniversary of Cardinal Bellarmine’s warning to Galileo not to hold the heliocentric theory (since it had just been declared heretical). In his article that resulted from the conference (“Galileo’s Pre-Trial,” etc.), he showed that Galileo’s actual trial, when it finally happened, took only an hour or so on a day in May of 1633; in it he took a plea deal and confessed guilt on a lesser charge. In 2017, as the 500th anniversary of Luther’s ninety-five theses approached, Andy decided to look into the papal prosecution that followed, which resulted in the 2019 article on Luther mentioned above: he was condemned without a trial.

After co-authoring an article on the Catholic Bible with Leslie Arnovic, “Bishop Challoner's Ecumenical Revision of the Douai-Rheims Bible by Way of King James” (Review of English Studies, 2015), Andy got interested in the English translation of the Bible made in Chaucer’s time, which was universally attributed to followers of the heretic John Wyclif. Historians called it the “Wycliffite Bible,” and claimed that the Church authorities banned it. Andy said no, and revived old thesis of Cardinal Francis Gasquet, at the turn of the twentieth century, that the translation was completely orthodox in production and reception. That was the upshot of his book, The Middle English Bible: A Reassessment (Penn, 2016).

Back in the 1980s, Andy was co-opted by Paul Ruggiers, founder of the New Chaucer Society, to be one of the regional editors of a proposed Chaucer Encyclopedia, in charge of religious topics. After years of working on the project, nothing came of it. But it was revived decades later, under the editorship of Richard Newhouser, and published in four volumes in 2023. Of the 1400 entries, Andy was the author of 140 of them, a book-sized contribution when added up.

He found time to return to biblical studies, apart from his diabolological efforts, writing on “Adam Citings before the Intrusion of Satan: Recontextualizing Paul’s Theology of Sin and Death” (2014), showing that Adam and Eve’s transgression was not
a factor in the teachings of Jesus and his predecessors, but only later, in Paul. He also showed, in “Love of Neighbor as Great Commandment: Grasping at Straws in the Hebrew Scriptures” (2017), that it was wishful thinking on the part of Jesus and his contemporaries that love of neighbor was the basis of the Old Testament.

While working on his long book on English Church trials, which, as noted above, was published in 2023, he fleshed out the section on Reginald Pecock into a long article: “Judicial Processes for and against Bishop Reginald Pecock: New Perspectives on the Mechanisms of His Downfall,” which came out in Viator in 2022, after Andy had stepped down as the journal’s editor. He had taken special interest in Pecock after Jennifer Tran Smith, a graduate student in the Department of English (currently a professor at Pepperdine University), decided to write her dissertation on his surviving English works. She took the unusual step of choosing Andy as her doctoral advisor after he became emeritus. “Since he had few other duties,” she explained, “he could devote more time to my project.”

In fact, he made it a point of honor to be always available in the English Department for consulting and advising, and after he withdrew from teaching duties in 2003, he continued to spend every school-day in his office in Rolfe Hall. In 2006, the English Department moved to the former physics building, when it was finally retrofitted following the 1994 Northridge earthquake and renamed the Humanities Building. The deep offices allowed an open-door policy, and, since Andy’s new office was opposite the Coffee Room, he was a familiar sight, at the end of a pathway through high-stacked bookcases. This lasted until 2020, when he was forced by the CoViD 19 pandemic to set up his research shop at home. It was also necessary because of a new democratic practice of treating emeriti professors equally, by evicting all of them: even the few who used their offices for research and writing (contrary to long-standing University policy, which mandated preferential treatment for productive emeriti). But after the shutdown ended, a more enlightened regimen allowed him to share the next-door office with another evictee, Donka Minkova, recently emerited. Thus he remained near the department’s other medievalists, Matthew Fisher, Chris Chism, Erica Weaver, and Arvind Thomas (the latter recently transferred from the far south of the building). Thomas was a particularly congenial new colleague for Andy, since he too applied canon law to the study of medieval literature and history.

One major post-pandemic project for Andy was to return to the study of the Maid of Orleans, having been enticed to write an essay on her treatment in the movies. He aimed to give a blow-by-blow analysis of the procedures in 1431 that ended in her delivery to be burned alive at the stake. He also wished to produce a minute account of the suit that was brought two dozen years later by Joan’s mother and brothers, seeking damages for the unjust verdict and the resulting infamy to Joan and to them; the trial that followed produced widely varied accounts of the original trial. The resulting book, What Happened in the Trial and Retrial of Joan of Arc, appeared in 2025, and became an academic best-seller, rivaling his biography of Satan.

During the last decade of his life, he was still hard at work on various variegated projects, and a slew of posthumous works are expected to be forthcoming.

He passed away on his 101st birthday. We may ask, with Hamlet, “Where be his quiddities now, his quillets, his cases, his tenures,* and his tricks?” The answer, of course, is: they be in his writings.
In pace requiescat.

*One of his quillets deals with the word “tenure,” used in the sense of “permanent tenure.” He points to the first recorded instance, in Nabokov’s 1957 novel Pnin: the narrator refers properly to “life tenure,” but Pnin himself speaks of “getting tenure.” Andy brings this up in his 1989 essay on “Chaucer and Shakespeare on Tragedy,” where he discusses the restriction of the word “tragedy” to mean only “good tragedy.” He does so again in “Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy” (also 1989), in criticizing scholars for not knowing that “inquisition” refers to more than “heresy inquisition.”