Spring, 1996

CHRONICA

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THE MEDIEVAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC

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PROGRAM OF THE ANNUAL MEETING
OF THE MEDIEVAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC

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University of San Diego

James Otté, History, University of San Diego
Chair: Program Committee

I. SESSION: Friday, March 15   1:30-3:00 PM

A. Orality
Chair: George Brown, Stanford

"Literacy in the Ascendant: The Subversion of Oral Sayings in Chaucer's House of Fame." Leslie K. Arnovick, University of British Columbia

"Res(is)ting the Singer: Anglo-Saxon Non-Performative Oral Poetics." Mark C. Amodio, Vassar College

"Direct Quotation in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes." Carleton W. Carroll, Oregon State University

B. Aspects of Monasticism
Chair: Gary Macy, University of San Diego

"Activa aut Contemplativa: Narrative Extremes in the *Vitae Patrum* Testimonies." Kevin Roddy, University of California, Davis

"A Prior's Restraint: Episcopal Authority, Erring Monks and Benedictine Reform in the 13th-Century Papal State." Robert L. Cooper, University of California, Davis

C. Spain and its Influence
Chair: Harvey L. Sharrer, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Spain in the Fourteenth Century, as Seen through *El fuero de Briviesca.*" Francisco J. Martin, California State University San Marcos

"Islam as an Agent of Christian Settlement." William Clay Stalls, Loyola Marymount University

"The Wife of Bath's Pilgrimage to Santiago." Adele Birnbaum, Willamette University

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II. SESSION: Friday, March 15   3:30-5:00 PM

A. Aspects of Gender Studies
Chair: Francis X. Hartigan, University of Nevada

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"The Case of the Female Foundling: Gender and Genre in *Lai le Freine.*" Elizabeth Archibald, University of Victoria

"Aucassin et Nicolette and the Medieval Poetics of Race, Class and Genders." Sharon Kinoshita, University of California, Santa Cruz

B. Books and Reading
Chair: Henry Ansgar Kelly, University of California, Los Angeles

"The Book and Reading in Medieval German Literature." Albrecht Classen, University of Arizona

"Letters in Malory's *Morte d'Arthur.*" Georgiana Donavin, Westminster College

"Malory's Two Narratives." Joseph D. Parry, Brigham Young University

C. Philosophical Issues
Chair: Richard C. Dales, USC

"A Large-Headed Luther?: Possible Connections from Grosseteste to the German Reformer." Elwood E. Mather III, Montana State University

"Of Angels and Pinheads: The Contributions of the Early Oxford Masters to the Doctrine of Spiritual Matters." R. James Long, Fairfield University

"Plato and Gratian: Church Authority and the Search for God." Thomas Talboy, Boise State University

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FOUNDERS CHAPEL   Friday, March 15   8:00 PM

A Performance of Late Baroque Music

Early Music Ensemble *Nota Bene* and the USD Choral Scholars

U.S. Premiere of recently discovered cantatas by
Johann Ludwig Krebs d. 1780, Carl Friedrich Fasch d. 1800
and Johann Gottfried Krebs d. 1814

III. SESSION: Saturday, March 16   9:00-10:30 AM

A. The Anglo-Saxon World
Chair: Joseph McGowan, University of San Diego
> "The Anglo-Saxon Subject in *Beowulf*." Carol Braun Pasternack, University of California, Santa Barbara
> "The Characteristic Moment as a Motif in *The Finnsburg Fragment* and *Deor*." Robin Waugh, University of British Columbia
> "Engendering Speakers and Readers in *Wulf and Eadwacer*." Lisa Weston, California State University Fresno

B. Commentaries and Editions
Chair: Florence Gillman, University of San Diego
> "The Resolution of a Paradox: Jerome's Use of the Image of the Holy Women at the Tomb." Anne C. Barton, University of California, Santa Barbara
> "*Drihtnes Wipersacan*: The Image of Jews in the Old English Homilies." Nancy M. Thompson, California State University Hayward/Laney College
> "Too Many 'non's Spoil the Pot: Negative Theology and the Edition of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*, IV." Mark A. Zier, University of the Pacific

C. Methodology
Chair: Patrick Geary, University of California, Los Angeles
> "Medieval Legend and Method." Deborah Crawford, Huntington Library
> "The Missing Penstroke: Editing in the Age of Imaging Enhancement." Roger Dahood, University of Arizona
> "Grappling with Feminine Inspiration: Self-Critical Strategies in Petrarch's Writings." Anita Obermeier, Arizona State University

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IV. SESSION: Saturday, March 16   11:00 AM-12:30 PM

A. Chaucerian Studies
Chair: Elizabeth Walsh, University of San Diego
> "Accounting Theory in Chaucer." John M. Ganim, University of California, Riverside
> "Chaucer and Froissart's *Voyage en Béarn*." John M. Fyler, Tufts University

> "A Neo-Revisionist Look at Chaucer's Nuns." Henry Ansgar Kelly, University of California, Los Angeles

B. Social History
Chair: Nancy van Deusen, The Claremont Graduate School
> "Jean Gerson and the End of Friendship." Brian McGuire, Copenhagen University
> "Brewing and Women in France and the Low Countries at the End of the Middle Ages." Richard W. Unger, University of British Columbia
> "Medieval English Brewing: The Economic and Social Contexts." Karl T. Hagen, University of California, Los Angeles

C. Medieval Romance
Chair: Richard H. Osherg, Santa Clara University
> "Erotic Embrace/Political Union: Exemplary Rule in *Havelok* and *William of Palerne*." Elisa Narin van Court, Stanford University
> "The Medieval Menror: The Lady of the Lake in the World of King Arthur." Meriel Wisotsky, Independent Medievalist
> "Medieval Romance: Measuring More than Love." Edward L. Condren, University of California, Los Angeles

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LUNCH   Saturday, March 16   12:00-1:30 PM

PLENARY ADDRESS   Saturday, March 16   1:30-2:30 PM

Derek Pearsall, Harvard University
"Strangers in Chaucer's London"

MAP Business Meeting   Saturday, March 16   2:30-3:15 PM

V. SESSION: Saturday, March 16   3:30-5:00 PM

A. Chaucer and His Contemporaries
Chair: Robert Roberts, California State University Northridge
> "Female Responsibility and Interpretive Tension in Chaucer's *Miller's* and *Merchant's Tales*." Catherine Corman Parry, Brigham Young University

"A Preface to the Wife of Bath: An Ideological and Cultural Context for the Wife as Witch." Matthew J. Brosamer, University of California, Los Angeles

"Tempering the Will in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*." Laurel Amtower, California State University San Marcos

B. Images

Chair: Barbara Zeitler, University of California, Los Angeles

"The Function of the Forest as it Relates to the Natural and Supernatural Worlds in *Sir Orfeo*." Shelley Krois, Boise State

"The Illustrations of Mercy and of the Devil in the Douce 104 MS of *Piers Plowman* and Traces of Audience Response." Maidie Hilmo, University of Victoria

"The Donation of Constantine Fresco Cycle in the Oratory of S. Silvestro, Rome: An Example of the Influence of Papal Propaganda on Art." Jennifer Pinto, Portland State University

C. Gender Studies

Chair: Phyllis Brown, Santa Clara University

"Gender and Status in the Inquisitorial Register of Jacques Fournier." Susan Taylor Snyder, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Intertextuality, Gender and the Interpretation of Dreams in *Troilus and Criseyde*." Valerie A. Ross, University of California, Santa Cruz

"Sex, Responsibility and Salvation: Eve in All Her Forms." John Hilary Martin, Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology at the Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley

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LATIN MASS   Founders Chapel   6:00 PM

The Rev. Msgr. I. Brent Eagen officiating

Choral Presentations by *SCHOLA PACIFICA*, **Max Chodos, Director**

BANQUET   Saturday, March 16   7:00 PM

THIRTY YEARS OF MAP

Reception, Banquet and Celebration:

"Past Presidents Reflect on the History of MAP"

VI. SESSION: Sunday, March 17   9:00-10:30 AM

A. Fabliaux, Romance and Epic

Chair: Eren Branch, University of San Diego

" 'His wyf is swyved, and his doghter als': The Sexual Politics of the Fabliaux." Martin Blum, University of British Columbia

"Re-Ker: Epic, Romance and (Modern) History." Glen S. Davis, University of California, Irvine

"A Fast Horse, an Epic Battle, 'And Thou under a Tree': Romantic Adventure in Scythia and on the Seine." Gunar Freibergs, Los Angeles Valley College

B. Liturgy ad Exegesis

Chair: Marie Anne Mayeski, Loyola Marymount University

"Obadiah the Proselyte and the Roman Liturgy." Alfred Büchler, Independent Medievalist

"Doubt, the Devil, and Divine Intervention in Fourteenth-Century Women's Spirituality." David F. Tinsley, The University of Puget Sound

"Herodotus and the Feigned Flight of William of Poitiers." Chris Kuipers, University of California, Irvine

C. Spirituality

Chair: Alberto Ferreiro, Seattle Pacific University

"Apocalyptic Expressions of Ascetic Spirituality in Early Medieval Europe." Douglas W. Lumsden, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Imitation of Christ or the Apostles: The Monk-Canon Controversy and a New Spirituality." Phyllis G. Jestice, University of California, Davis

"The Ascetic Virtues in the Dialogues of Gregory the Great." Christine McCann, University of California, Santa Barbara

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VII. SESSION: Sunday, March 17   11:00 AM-12:30 PM

A. Literature

Chair: Stephen Barney, University of California, Irvine

"How to Stress Words and Reconstruct Meter: Accent-Shifting in Middle English Verse." Donka Minkova, University of California, Los Angeles

" 'Be þou Marie': Mary, Motherhood and Teaching in the Books
to a Mother and Chaucer's *ABC*." Mary Katherine
McDevitt, University of San Francisco

"Franciscan Time in the English Nativity Lyric." Theresa Ken-
ney, University· of Dallas

B. Miracles and Allegories

Chair: Patrick Gallacher, University of New Mexico

"The Miracles of Saint David: New Manuscript Evidence."
Michael I. Curley, The University of Puget Sound

"Holy Land Pilgrims and the New Vision of Christ." David
Nicolai, University of California, Davis

" 'She Pleyeth with Free and Bonde': The Allegorical Role of
Criseyde." Dorothy E. Pritchard, California State
University Sacramento

C. Discourse, Self and Memory

Chair: Glenn Olson, University of Utah

"Walter Map and the Memory of Courts." Leonard Michael Koff,
University of California, Los Angeles

" 'Til al a citee brent up ys': Discourse and *The House of Fame*."
Michaela Grudin, Lewis and Clark College

"Marriage Fictions in *Girart de Roussillon*." Keith Nickolaus,
University of California, Berkeley

D. Historical Studies

Chair: James Given, University of California, Irvine

"Bad Lordship and the Counts of Maine, 893-1035." Richard E.
Barton, University of California, Santa Barbara

"Community, Memory and Law in Medieval Poland, c.1200-
c.1230." Piotr Gorecki, University of California, River-
side

"Principles of Territoriality in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu
Crone*." Gary C. Shockey, University of California,
Davis

MINUTES

Advisory Council and General Business Meeting

THE MEDIEVAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC

15 March 1996
University of San Diego

The Advisory Council and Officers of MAP met on Friday morn-
ing, March 15th, at 10:10 am. Those present were Richard Unger, Nancy
van Deusen, Kevin Roddy (Officers); Francis X. Hartigan, Richard Osberg,
James Otté, Dhira B. Mahoney, Marie Anne Mayeski, and Harvey Sharrer
(Council). Visiting were George Hardin Brown and Glenn Olsen.
Absent: Cheryl Riggs (Officer); Jean-Claude Carron, Karen Jolly, Patrick
Geary, Christina Maria Guardiola, Margret Jackson, and Seth Leher (Coun-
cil).

MINUTES of the previous meeting, held at the University of California,
Berkeley, March 3rd, 1995, were approved as written.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The President reserved his report for the announcement of upcom-
ing conferences, below.

VICE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The Vice-President announced that there were three applications for
the independent scholar's award, but that no award had been offered this
year. The Vice-President renewed a request that the award be extended to
other deserving medievalists: students and others who do not have access to
travel funds. This proposal was approved in principle, with Independent
Scholars receiving appropriate consideration. The Council unanimously
approved a new name for the award, to reflect this shift: The John F. Benton
Stipend for Travel.

She reminded future applicants for the award that November 1st is
now the deadline for proposals, which are to be sent to the new Vice-
President, who was later chosen: Glenn Olsen, History, University of Utah,
Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

As of February, 1996, $6,421.58 was deposited in the Association account with the Membership Secretary-Treasurer, on an income of $7,020.00 and an expense of $3,050.03. This figure does not included the cost of the Spring *Chronica*, which will add another $2,000, or the Conference Subvention for the University of San Diego at $1,000, nor expenses incurred by the officers performing their duties. *Chronica*, at $4,000 for the two issues, remains the largest cost, and this expense may continue to rise.

Once again, as the Council has for the past six years, California State University at San Bernardino was recognized for its generosity, in supporting her activities as Secretary-Treasurer. In further business,

By the last count, there were 491 members in the Association, down from last year's 565. The Secretary/Treasurer wrote those who had not paid their dues in three years, and those who did not respond were taken off the list. Of this number, 413 are from the United States, 51 from Canada, 19 from Japan, three from Australia, three from the United Kingdom, two from Hong Kong and one from Denmark.

The Secretary reported that the Association's effort to achieve official tax-exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service was unfortunately delayed, due to an error on the part of the firm hired to finished the action, Morton and Associates. There are apparently some forms that need to be completed, and in the meantime the Association remains in a kind of legal limbo.

CHRONICA

In another cyclical ceremony, the Editor-Pro-Tempore of *Chronica* once again apologized profusely for the late date of the fall (and now spring) publications, and once again offered the position to any volunteer with sufficient time and energy for the position.

In response to a new option on the dues form, twenty-five members asked that *Chronica* be sent them electronically. This is still an option for any member who chooses it.

As occurred last year, those members of MAP with electronic mail addresses (243 so far) have been contacted for news of individual and institutional activities for the *Studia generalia* section of the fall *Chronica*. These and print reports of the members will be willingly accepted before the October 1 deadline. The deadline for contributions to *Chronica* is March 1.

OFFICERS AND ADVISORY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP

Through a grand tradition, Vice-President Nancy van Deusen was unanimously elected to the Presidency, an elevation approved in General Assembly on Saturday. As was indicated above, Glenn Olson, History, University of Utah, was also unanimously chosen as Vice-President, to which the Assembly concurred. The four outgoing members of the nominating committee proposed the following slate for the four new council positions, which would extend to 1999.
Sián Echard, English, University of British Columbia; Steven A. Epstein, History, University of Colorado; Hester G. Gelber, Religious Studies, Stanford University; Sharan Newman, Independent. The Council unanimously adopted the slate, and it was approved at the General Meeting on Saturday, March 16th.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

1997: Honolulu, Hawaii will be the conference site for a meeting, with the Ala Moana Hotel as the venue. Karen Jolly, History, University of Hawaii, Manoa, has volunteered to serve as local arrangements contact. Please see the **Announcements** Section for full information.

1998: The Medieval Academy of America will be meeting at Stanford in that year, and George Brown was pleased to propose a joint conference, to take place in March.

1999: Vice-President van Deusen has offered the Claremont Graduate School for this year.

2000: President Richard Unger has been in contact with the University of Victoria.

NEW BUSINESS

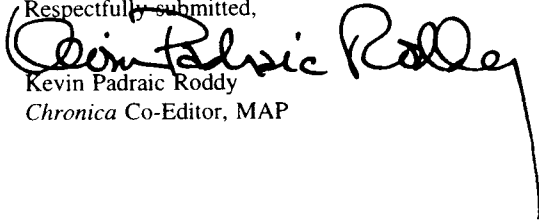There was only two items of new business:
1) The Council entertained a discussion of higher membership dues, made necessary in large part by the rising cost of *Chronica*, though other expenses have grown as well. The resident MAP memory reported the last dues increase in 1989, if this is any comfort. It was decided that nothing need be done at present, but that the matter will be brought up as new business in next year's meeting.

5) The Editor of *Chronica* announced that the Association had a Web Home page at the University of California at Davis. The address is
http://pubweb.ucdavis.edu/Documents/MAP/list.html

All business concluded, the meeting adjourned in time for lunch.

At General Session on Saturday, March 16th, 2:55, the members assembled approved of the business before the council. Lastly, President Richard Unger was roundly applauded for his excellent service to the organization, and thanked by his fellow officers for his fine leadership. In the banquet that night, Jim Otté was congratulated on managing a particularly useful and enjoyable conference.

Respectfully submitted,

Kevin Padraic Roddy
Chronica Co-Editor, MAP

1996 CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Mark C. Amodio
English, Vassar College
Res(is)ting the Singer: Anglo-Saxon Non-Performative Oral Poetics

In attempting to understand the broadly shared inherited lexicon, the hegemony and uniformity of the alliterative stress-based meter, as well as the other distinguishing characteristics of Anglo-Saxon poetics, we cannot, of course, absolutely rule out the sort of direct textual influence often invoked to explain the lexical and narrative similarities of Old English poems because "*grammatica*, the discipline that governed literacy, the study of literary language, the interpretation of texts, and the writing of manuscripts" (Irvine. *Medieval Textuality* 184) played a central role in constituting Anglo-Saxon textual communities, both monastic and secular. But we must exercise caution in invoking the literate poetics which has historically determined the course of critical inquiry into Old English poetry because just as the strictly oral poetics which emerged from the 'classical' Parry-Lord theory fails to explain the inherent (and inescapable) textuality of the poetic corpus, so too the appeal to intertextuality upon which literate poetics ultimately rests fails to account for the extraordinary uniformity of poetic articulation in Anglo-Saxon England. As a first step towards developing a sufficiently nuanced poetics capable of reflecting the complex oral-literate nexus from which Old English poetry emerges, this paper deemphasizes the performative poetics which has long proved essential to oralist conceptions of the Anglo-Saxon past and raises the possibility that Anglo-Saxon oral poetics is largely (if not entirely) non-performative.

Laurel Amtower
Arts and Sciences, California State University, San Marcos
Tempering the Will in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

At the end of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, as Gawain leans forward, neck bared, to receive Bertilak's fateful blow, an exchange of words occurs. Bertilak taunts Gawain for his cowardice in the face of death, reminding him that when he himself had faced the same situation, he had done so much more gallantly. Gawain rather petulantly recapitulates, pointing out that while Bertilak's beheading had not been final, his own, of course, will be.

In spite of its humorous undertones, this final test and its framing discourse, as well as all the other tests that occur in the tale, are concerned with revealing the irony of the incomplete perspective: Gawain is asked to take the other side, to become the victim, and, in becoming the "other" against whom he has so often posed himself, to see the situation from the other's perspective. He utterly fails in this mission. Bertilak urges Gawain to compare his present position to Bertilak's own a year hence; Gawain denies (certainly rightly so) the similarity. But in doing so, he as well reveals himself to be incapable of feeling another person's fear, another person's feelings. He proves himself unable to feel empathy or true kindness.

This, then, is the philosophical and psychological crux that informs the tale. For *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* is not, as has long been contended, a tale about a perfect knight who learns, in the face of his ordeals, something about humility. Rather, it is about the failure of an ideal, and the danger of allowing a society's idealization of certain behaviors and decorum to substitute for individual responsibility and the capacity for mercy.

Elizabeth Archibald
University of Victoria
The Case of the Female Foundling: Gender and Genre in *Lai le Freine*

The Middle English *Lai le Freine*, a fairly close rendering of Marie de France's Breton lay of the same title, survives in only one fragmentary version preserved in the Auchinleck Manuscript, which contains a large number of Middle English texts usually described as romances, as well as religious and didactic texts. A number of critics include *Freine* in studies of romance, and is included in some romance anthologies, as are other texts which can be described (or describe themselves) as Breton lays—*Sir Launfal, Sir Degare, Sir Orfeo, Emaré*. But can *Lai le Freine*—or indeed any medieval narrative of adventure with a single, female protagonist—be described as a romance?

In this paper I shall consider *Lai le Freine* in relation to current definitions of romance, and also as a text which focuses almost entirely on women. I shall discuss the kinds of adventure available to a female as opposed to a male foundling, comparing Freine's story with that of Yrsa in *Hrolfs Saga Kraka*, Tarsia in the *Historia Apollonii*, and Nicolete in *Aucassin et Nicolete*. Finally I shall comment on the ways in which Freine's story is changed in the early thirteenth-century *Galeran de Bretagne* attributed to Jean Renart, which uses the same basic plot but expands it in a much more explicit romance mode, with a much larger role for the hero.

Leslie K. Arnovick
University of British Columbia
Literacy in the Ascendant: The Subversion of Oral Sayings in Chaucer's
House of Fame

One of the central problems in the Middle Ages, according to Brian Stock, "is the relation of orality to a world making ever-increasing use of texts" in both its social interactions and its ontological explorations (1990:35). Because a contemporary self-consciousness can be reconstructed, Stock observes furthermore, "[t]he coming of literacy heralds a new style of reflection. Individuals are aware of what is taking place, and this awareness influences the way they think about communication..." (1990:7). The subject of this paper is precisely some of the "subjective reactions" (Stock 1990:7) that the oral-literate interchange provokes in the mind of the English "aureate/laureate" Geoffrey Chaucer, as Seth Lerer (1993) has it. Recently it has been suggested that tension between orality and literacy animates earlier Anglo-Saxon poetry. Michael Near (1993) concludes that an anxious ambivalence about writing operates as dynamic sub-text in *Beowulf*. In a time of increased literacy and in an age wherein written poetry supplants oral poetry, Middle English literature reflects tensions that are the inverse of those faced by the author and audience of *Beowulf*. Anxiety reveals itself in the systematic disparagement of oral tradition in *House of Fame*. Most notably, as I will show, Chaucer satirizes folklore by manipulating proverbs and proverbial phrases he sets throughout his text. Relatively neglected by scholars other than folklorists, proverbial utterances have seemed to offer little beyond the ordinariness of their observations. They warrant reappraisal. Through the delicate subversion of their wisdom, Chaucer parodies oral poetic material and technique (cf. Hazelton 1960:376). As I will demonstrate, the resulting critique resounds within the newly literate culture he embraces. In his fight to establish new forms in English poetry, Chaucer voices his culture's ambivalence about the basis of its literary tradition.

Anne Barton
History, University of California, Santa Barbara
The Resolution of a Paradox: Jerome's Use of the Image of the Holy Women at the Tomb

Jerome's attitudes to and about women contain a paradox, that of the contrast between his seemingly negative attitude towards women in general and his carefully maintained friendships with particular women. Recent historiography has not focused on this paradox. Rather, historians have either written about Jerome's attitudes towards women in general or about his friendships with particular women. These foci have allowed historians to conclude that Jerome's attitude towards women was more positive than had been

previously believed. A careful examination of the texts discussing the holy women at Jesus' tomb on Easter morning will address this paradox and show that Jerome's fundamental concern with an ascetic moral hierarchy forced him to place the holy women, particularly Mary Magdalene, in a subordinate place on that hierarchical scale. The centrality of these women to the story of Jesus' Resurrection makes understanding Jerome's attitudes towards them a necessary part of understanding his attitude towards women.

The seeming paradox extends to Jerome's readings of the story of the holy women at the tomb. Jerome employs this story rhetorically in a variety of ways, some of which seem to praise them while other criticize them. In several cases, Jerome uses the gospel accounts of the holy women at the tomb to discuss the attributes of steadfastness and unquestioning belief. In one text, Jerome uses the women as a foil for the behavior of the apostles, praising the women for staying while the apostles deserted Jesus' tomb. Rather than praising the women, Jerome is denigrating the behavior of the men. Since men occupy a higher place on Jerome's moral scale, the apostles should have behaved better than the women.

Jerome also holds up these holy women as models of steadfastness in quite another context. He compares their ministrations to Jesus (Matthew 27:55) to those that women such as Paula and Eustochium provided to Jerome. Jerome reads into the fact that the holy women ministered to Jesus the idea that they provided money for his food and clothing. By making this comparison, Jerome is placing himself in Jesus' position, with his female friends serving him. This interpretation was meant to silence the critics who found fault with Jerome for taking money from women, but it also serves to reaffirm Jerome's moral hierarchy, clearly showing him above his friends. Thus, even the paradox of Jerome's personal friendships can be explained through consideration of his concern with the moral hierarchy.

In conclusion, a close examination of the texts concerning the holy women at the tomb reconciles Jerome's apparently contradictory views towards women. Given the central role of these women as the first witnesses of Jesus' Resurrection, an understanding of attitudes towards them is essential to an understanding of any male Christian's attitudes towards women.

Richard E. Barton
University of California, Santa Barbara
Bad Lordship and the Counts of Maine, 893-1035

By tenth century the *pagus* of Maine already had enjoyed a long and illustrious role in the affairs of western Neustria. As the center of the *ducatus cenomannicus* it had been an important military bulwark against the Bretons and the Normans. It had been ruled for many generations by a single family of local aristocrats, the Rorgonids, and indeed had been visited by Charles the Bald himself. In the 890s, however, a new dynasty of local counts seized control of the *comitatus*. After some initial conflict, these counts were accepted by the Robertian kings and dukes of Neustria as legitimate rulers of Maine. What is interesting about this new dynasty is that it appeared to have much going for it. It possessed in Le Mans an important fortified civitas, one of the few towns consistently described as such in Neustria, which was strategically located along the trade and pilgrimage routes of the region. In addition, the new rulers of Maine enjoyed the comital title from the outset; this fact distinguished them from their neighbors and eventual rivals, the viscounts of Angers and Blois-Chartres. For where the Robertian *duces* in the first half of the tenth century ruled Anjou, the Touraine, the Chartrain, and the Blesois through viscounts, Maine was unique in possessing a count. This distinction implies that the counts of Le Mans possessed a larger degree of independence from Robertian authority and consequently more potential power than their neighbors in Angers and Blois. What is more, it seems that we know the reason for their favorable position: they were blood relatives of the Carolingian kings through the marriage of their founder, Rotgarius, to Rothildis, daughter of Charles the Bald. In a late-Carolingian environment where one's family status meant quite a bit, their connection to the royal dynasty probably served to enhance the prestige and position of the new counts of Maine.

Yet despite their inheritance of the mantle of military administration with the *ducatus cenomannicus*, and despite their early status as counts and their blood-ties with the Carolingians, by the 1030s the counts of Maine had become subject to the more powerful and more vigorous counts of Anjou. How and why did this happen? This paper attempts to explain the failure of the counts of Maine in the tenth century by examining some of the essential components of tenth century lordship and the degree to which the counts of Maine exercised them. While many reasons for their failure to use their early advantages to a better end can be adduced, including the relative poverty of the densely wooded *pagus* of Maine and lack of the fierce personal drive that fueled men like Fulk Nerra of Anjou, the most important reason for this failure was their inability to establish control over the ecclesiastical institutions in their region. To an extent the tenth century counts were hindered by the fact that Maine did not possess such important abbeys as Saint-Martin of Tours or Saint-Aubin of Angers, yet nevertheless counts such as Hugh II (c.931-992), Hugh III (c.992-1015), and Herbert I (c.1015-c.1035) were consistently unable to establish the control over the bishopric of Le Mans and over the local abbeys that would have ensured their economic and military power. This is not to say that they did not try to obtain this dominance - for the bishops' *gesta* of the *Actus Pontificum Cenomannis* describe the continuous state of warfare that existed between count and bishop between the 970s and the 1030s - but rather that ultimately

they failed to do so. Their failure to obtain control over the wealth of the diocese of Le Mans is especially significant in comparison with the Angevin counts' successful use of the episcopate and local abbeys of Anjou.

Thus an account of the weakness of the county of Maine in the eleventh century must begin with a study of the failure of the tenth century counts. In the tenth century, by failing to establish a lordship based on manipulation of church lands and revenues, the counts of Maine weakened their position in the county to an extent that the conquests of Maine by both Geoffrey Martel in the 1040s and William the Conqueror in the 1060s seemed inevitable. That such conquests would have been unthinkable in 900 makes their failure all the more apparent.

Adele Birnbaum
English, Willamette University
The Wife of Bath's Pilgrimage to Santiago

In the Fall of 1993 I made a walking pilgrimage along the ancient way through northern Spain to Santiago de Compostela, with the idea that I was walking in the footsteps of Chaucer's Wife of Bath. The well-travelled, well-publicized way I followed, some 700 kilometers long, is known as "The French Road." I had heard that hundreds of thousands of modern pilgrims still follow this road every year. As I walked I found plenty of other pilgrims to join for a time. My intent was to interview modern pilgrims along the way, to find out why this pilgrimage is still so popular in our secular era.

Even though I hadn't walked the whole way, it took me some time to recover from this difficult road. Meanwhile I watched pilgrims and tourists converging in the main cathedral square in Santiago in an impressive crush. I discovered the local daily newspaper in Santiago with its "centerfold" interviewing recently arrived pilgrims, asking them the very questions I had in my mind.

Then, in my explorations of the area around Santiago, I awakened to the fact that I'd been fooled by modern travel literature, and that the French Road was likely the wrong place to look for the Wife of Bath. My later reading led me to see that Margery Kempe took the sea way (chapters 44 and 45). It is probable that the Wife of Bath, like Kempe, would have voyaged by sea from England (it took Kempe 7 days from Bristol), probably to the Iberian port at Coruna, where she could have picked up the short, flat, and easy "English Road," a way that is untravelled by pilgrims now, and unpublicized for pilgrims today.

Martin Blum
English, University of British Columbia

"His wyf is swyved, and his doghter als:" The Sexual Politics of the Fabliaux

Medieval fabliaux often depict a world where the rules of common morality do not seem to apply. While not directly immoral, the worldview propagated in the fabliaux has often been labelled as amoral, as presenting an inner-worldly perspective, which largely ignores the outer reality (e.g. Beyer 1978).

In my approach I want to question this notion of "innerworldliness" and argue for a dependence of the rise of the fabliau-genre on certain social developments of the 12th and 13th centuries, which resulted in formalized vertical allegiances between king and vassals, and left an increasing number of young noblemen without the possibility to succeed their elders in marriage and in the establishment of an own household. This shift in personal relationship also affected the relationship between the genders with a large number of young, aggressive knights being unable to enter into the marriage market (Duby 1978).

Drawing on Duby' analysis of medieval marriage, who interpreted the phenomenon of courtly love as a ritualized form of challenging the position of the seigneur (ibid) as well as the close connection between the courtly and the fabliau genre (e.g. Nykrog 1973, Busby 1986), I want to argue that the fabliaux essentially treat the same issue, however, from a non-courtly side. Thus, fabliaux depict a legitimate outlet for the frustrations of these *iuvenes*, but at the same time also provide a set of proscriptive rules, controlling these violations of conventional morality.

I want to demonstrate this with the following texts: Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale*; justifies the "swyvyng" of the women due to their socially inferior position, (which is *expressis verbis* recommended by Andreas Capellanus II, 6), as well as by the Miller's own hopes of rising socially due to his financial wealth. The cuckolding of the old husband in *The Merchant's Tale* permits to act out fantasies of adultery and subversion, which often form the subtext of the courtly genres. Garin's *Du Berangier au long cul* actually permits the reversal of gender roles in order to subject the churlish husband of a noble woman to his just punishment, whereas Gautier le Leu's *Del sot chevalier* shows the limitation of this sexual license and warns of "crimes against nature."

Matthew Brosamer
English, University of California, Los Angeles

A Preface to the Wife of Bath: An Ideological and Cultural Context for the Wife as Witch

This paper examines Chaucer presentation of the character of the Wife of Bath, seen in the light of a number of contemporary sources relating to *maleficia*, sorcery, heresy, and female sexuality. It concludes that Alisoun exemplifies many of the most commonly cited attributes of the medieval witch.

I examine analogues to the figure of the "old woman" (such as Circe, the Ovidian Dipsas and Medea, Isolde's mother in the Tristan material, and of course *La Vleille* in the *Roman de la Rose*), as well as analogues to The Wife of Bath's Tale, concentrating on the implications of the "hag transformed" motif. In all these materials, the notion of misappropriated speech, or perverted/inverted discourse, is crucial to their structure; the witch (whether literal or archetypal) gains "maistrie" over the male protagonist through the manipulation of words, signs and sexual ritualistic action (such as wooing). What witches did in terms of actual *maleficia* (as related in Canon Law, inquisitorial manuals, and elsewhere) is structurally replicated on the level of simple discourse by the Wife of Bath and other archetypal "old women." The idea of heresy is important here; the Church saw witchcraft and devil-worship as species of heresy, and heretics also were characterized by their duplicity, misuse of language, perversions of sacred discourse, and sexual irregularity. Widely circulated accounts of various medieval heresies and witch-heretics give a picture of people who operated in a manner qualitatively similar not only to witches, but ultimately to the Wife of Bath herself; each malefic characterizing element is distilled into the figure of Allsoun, with each retaining its own structural function in Chaucer's text. These elements are diluted to conform to a character who is not a literal witch, but they are fully recognizable.

Alfred Büchler
Independent Medievalist

Obadiah the Proselyte and the Roman Liturgy

Obadiah the Proselyte is unquestionably the best-documented Christian convert to Judaism in the High Middle Ages. The son of a minor Norman noble in southern Italy, Johannes-Obadiah was educated as a cleric or monk but in 1102 became a convert to Judaism. Some twenty years later he wrote his autobiography, seven sheets of which, together with other related material, have been found among the documents preserved in the Cairo Genizah.

In Obadiah's autobiography, the Hebrew of the text is interrupted at one point by a transcription into Hebrew characters of the Latin version of Joel 2:31 (Vulgate; Hebrew numbering: Joel 3:4): [*Sol*] *convertetur in tenebras* [*et luna in sanquinem*] *antequam veniat dies Domini* [*maqnus et*] *horribilis* (S.D. Goitein, 1954; the sheet is partially damaged). Obadiah's reference to Joel's prophecy has been related to the eclipses that occurred at the time of the First Crusade, but his use of the Latin text, in an autobiography addressed to Jewish readers, has remained puzzling. The Roman liturgy, however, suggests an explanation. ·

In the Missale Romanum, Joel 2:28-32 appears as the first of several Old Testament lessons in the Mass of the Saturday after Pentecost (Ember Saturday of Summer), one of the five days of the liturgical year reserved for the ordination of priests and deacons. Manuscript evidence shows that this particular set of readings was already in use about the year 1000 in southern Italy, the region of Obadiah's birth and upbringing. Obadiah would thus have been familiar with Joel's prophecy as part of the liturgy of the Ember Saturday of Summer. More importantly, however, there is the possibility that at one point Obadiah himself received ordination on this Saturday. Such an occasion would easily have provided the context that would leave imprinted on his memory the Latin version of Joel 3:1-4, a conclusion supported by other passages in his autobiography.

Carleton W. Carroll
Foreign Languages and Literatures, Oregon State University

Direct Quotation in the Romances of Chrétien de Troyes

Chrétien de Troyes made abundant use of direct quotation; a large portion of each romance consists of words his characters say, "reported" as they supposedly spoke them. But in the absence of quotation marks, the reader—whether reading aloud for an audience or reading silently for herself or himself—had to rely on verbal cues to recognize the transition between narration and quoted discourse. This paper explores these verbal cues and attempts to discern any evolution in the use of such cues between Chrétien's earlier and later romances.

Albrecht Classen
German, University of Arizona
The Book and Reading in Medieval German Literature

Although the Middle Ages are normally considered to have been an oral culture, apart from the religious sector, there is plenty of evidence pointing in a different direction. In fact, many texts in medieval German literature indicate that, as far as the poets were concerned, reading and books were sacred activities and objects respectively. Like in Dante's "Inferno," where Francesco and Paolo admit having sinned because of their reading, many medieval poets outline the ominous meaning of reading a literary text. There is Sigune in Wolfram's "Titurel," who forces her lover to chase a lost text containing love stories in which lovers had died. When Schionatulander tries to retrieve this text, he dies in battle ("Parzival"). In Gottfried's "Tristan" the hero proves to be an expert reader. In "Wilhelm won Oesterreich," the lovers exchange many letters and thus maintain their love relationship In Hartmann von Aue's "Gregorius" the protagonist becomes guilty because his reading and interpretation skills are lacking. There are many more examples for this highly intriguing phenomenon. In my paper I will examine these examples and outline a paradigmatic explanation for the role of books and the reading process within a world of oral culture.

Edward I. Condren
English, University of California, Los Angeles
The Organization and Design of the *Pearl* Manuscript

Despite the traditional understanding that the four poems of Cotton Nero A.x, *Pearl*, *Purity*, *Patience*, and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, are unrelated to each other in all but the most general Judeo-Christian ways and in their authorship, the manuscript is actually a single, highly complex artifact. Apart from the oft-noted 101 stanzas in both *Pearl* and *SGGK*, a number of other mathematical and structural details, heretofore unnoticed, point to a calculated plan. Two medieval poems flank two biblical poems, while all four poems have an even multiple of hundreds of lines, plus a small valence. *Pearl* has 1200 lines plus 12; *Purity* 1800 plus 12; *Patience* 500 plus 31; and *SGGK* 2500 plus 31. The number 31 is the twelfth prime. Absenting these hardly unintentional valences, *Pearl* and *Purity* have 3000 lines in a 2:3 ratio; *Patience* and *SGGK* have 3000 lines in a 1:5 ratio. Thus *Pearl*'s relation to the whole manuscript (1200:6000) is the same as *Patience*'s relation to *SGGK* (500:2500), as *SGGK*'s relation to the whole (2500:6000) is the same as *Patience*'s to *Pearl* (500:1200). The design is reminiscent of a classic Anglo-Saxon poetic line, medYs1σU bibYs1σU || bibYs2σU medYs2σU, where the third element (*Patience*) has crucial significance. Moreover, the entire manuscript seems to have been governed

by the Fibonacci Ratio, 1.618, called "phi" and derived geometrically from the intersections of each line in a regular pentangle, the chief symbol in *SGGK*. "Phi" is almost exactly duplicated by dividing the total lines in the two medieval poems by the total lines in the two biblical paraphrases [(*Pe* + *SGGK*) ÷ (*Pur* + *Pa*) = 1.608]. Because "phi" was thought to express architectural perfection, these mathematical details make of the manuscript a linguistic and visual representation of a medieval church and, in turn, a symbol of the union of God and Man. The replicated circular designs of *Pearl*, like those of an apse and the expanding concentric rings of music, contribute the divine presence, while the linear design of *SGGK*, in its own right a cruciform design like the crossing of a nave and transept, contribute a human dimension.

Robert Cooper
History, University of California, Davis
A Prior's Restraint: Episcopal Authority, Erring Monks, and Benedictine Reform in the 13th-Century Papal State

In the years immediately following the death of its founder, Silvester Guzzolini (d. 1267), the Silvestrine Congregation of Benedictines experienced a series of struggles, both internally and with episcopal authorities in the Papal State. Fiercest among these was a bitter five-year contest with the bishop of Camerino over disciplinary measures imposed upon two monks for "serious transgressions against the Rule of St. Benedict." Intervention by the bishop on behalf of the imprisoned Silvestrines—one of whom had been serving as his chaplain—launched a series of increasingly bombastic communications (and excommunications) which ended only with the death of the bishop in 1272.

Examination of the documentary evidence left by this dispute suggests a number of intriguing questions about the state of the Silvestrine Congregation at the death of the founder. This paper explores the dilemma of a new order bereft of charismatic leadership, and caught between adherence to an ethic of religious poverty and an equally strong legacy of cooperation and assistance with secular and ecclesiastical authorities. The failures of his successor serve to highlight the qualities that marked success for the founder of the order, St. Silvester.

Deborah Crawford
Huntington Library
Medieval Legend and Method

Traditional analyses of the historical development of medieval legend have been limited by the boundaries between the academic disciplines, and related differences in perspective and accepted methodology. Medieval legends survive as written documents, but often resemble oral accounts, the separate concerns of literary scholars and oral historians or folklorists respectively. Research related to such traditional stories has been centered within the humanities, but adequate contexts cannot be established without information from the disciplines using the scientific method.

The team orientations used in data processing provide a good model for the type of inter-disciplinary research efforts necessary to deal effectively with medieval legend. Once the requirements of a data processing project have been determined, circles of expertise are assembled, representing each area of specialized knowledge needed. Participation may involve a formal commitment of time with corresponding responsibilities, or an informal agreement to discuss issues and share information on an 'as-needed' basis.

The problem-solving methods used in data processing also can be used to provide a frame of structured procedure, a means of integrating both oral and textual techniques into a methodology characterized by a greater logical rigor than often has been present in traditional analyses. As these methods apply to legend, a primary base of evidence is established, consisting of texts of the legends which have been selected, evaluated, contextualized, and ordered in date sequence. Conclusions are drawn from this base, forming a secondary level; a third level of hypothesis is then created from the first and second levels.

The application of the methodology results in sequences of historical development which are firmly grounded in the evidence, and viable hypotheses which can be tested by further research. The commonalities between data processing procedure and applications of the scientific method also suggest that such a methodology may foster greater communication between researchers in the humanities, and those who use the scientific method.

Michael J. Curley
Honors Program, The University of Puget Sound
The Miracles of Saint David: New Manuscript Evidence

Appended to the copy of Gerald of Wales's *Life of Saint David* in British Library MS Royal 13 C. 1. are eleven accounts of miracles attributed to Saint David. These miracle stories are full of rich circumstantial information concerning life in western Britain and in Wales from the thirteenth down to the early fifteenth century. Most of the people named in the accounts appear in no other medieval document. Their stories combine to yield valuable new evidence about the lives of (mostly) common people in medieval Wales, and about the cultus of Saint David, the patron saint of the Welsh. These accounts will be the focus of my paper.

The account of the liberation of David ap Llewelyn ap Kenewreg illustrates the value of the miracle collection as a whole. Captured and imprisoned by Welsh rebels in the Glyn Dwr rebellion in 1405, David was supposedly freed through the miraculous intercession of Saint David. The position of the cathedral of Saint David's towards the Glyn Dwr rebellion has been unclear, since there is virtually no mention of the cathedral in accounts of the insurrection. We know that Glen Dwr supported the ancient claim that Saint David's should be independent of Canterbury and should enjoy metropolitan status, but there is no evidence that Saint David's itself encouraged Glyn Dwr to promulgate this idea, or that it sanctioned the rebellion in any way. The story of David ap Llewelyn ap Kenewreg, however, clearly derives, as do all the miracle accounts in the collection, frown Saint David's cathedral, and implies that the cathedral was opposed to the very insurrection which was pretending to champion its ancient liberties against the English church. The other accounts in the collection are equally stimulating for different reasons.

Roger Dahood
English, University of Arizona
The Missing Penstroke: Editing in the Age of Imaging Enhancement

My paper considers whether two categories of extra-literal pen stroke, judged otiose in Saara Nevanlinna and Irma Taavitsainen, eds., *St. Katherine of Alexandria: The Late Middle English Prose Legend in Southwell Minster MS 7* (Brewer, 1993), are linguistically significant. In considering strokes of the first category, which my investigation confirms are otiose, I report on an attempt to enhance the frontispiece of the edition by digital imaging. I then reassess strokes of the second category.

In the frontispiece, a photograph of folio 181r, loops suppressed in the transcription appear following three of four instances of "yong" in the phrase

"this yong quene." The linguistic context raises the possibility that the loops are abbreviations for e and that MS Southwell (ca. 1500) might therefore preserve "Chaucerian" final e. While awaiting a microfilm of the manuscript, I attempted to recover the missing loop (l. 411) by digitally enhancing the frontispiece. The result was inconclusive, because, as I came to understand, digitalizing cannot recover details lost in earlier stages of reproduction. The microfilm confirms that the loop is present but also reveals looped final g to be a handwriting feature, occurring throughout the manuscript without regard to grammatical context. The loop is thus probably otiose and rightly suppressed.

Strokes of the second category, loops on syllable-final long-r, are clearly visible in the frontispiece but excluded from the transcription. Scribal practice suggests that the loops are abbreviations for e indicating length in a preceding vowel and should be expanded as e in transcriptions.

Glen S. Davis
English and Comparative Literature, University of California, Irvine
Re-Ker: Epic, Romance, and (Modern) History

W.P. Ker's *Epic and Romance*, initially published in 1896, is a founding document of twentieth-century medieval studies. In the book Ker maps a distinction between literary genres (epic and romance) onto a transition between historical periods (from the Dark to the High Middle Ages) so decisively that nearly all subsequent work in the history and literature of the medieval period has repeated it. It is appropriate, then, one hundred years later, to re-examine Ker's book and the discourse it has produced in order to ascertain to what extent we remain the heirs of both its concepts and its insoluble problems. I intend to bring this legacy to light by laying out Ker's argument and the basic difficulties which remain unaddressed in it and then showing how three of his most influential successors—Erich Auerbach (in *Mimesis*, published in 1946), R.W. Southern (in *The Making of the Middle Ages*, 1953), and Frederic Jameson (in "Magical Narratives: Romance as Genre," first published in *New Literary History* in 1975 and later revised as the second chapter of *The Political Unconscious*, 1981) while reversing many of Ker's judgments, nevertheless remain beset by the same problems. I will conclude by explaining the reasons for this situation and laying out new directions for future work.

Georgiana Donavin
Arts and Sciences, Westminster College
Letters in Malory's *Morte Darthur*

Malory's interest in language has been well documented by such critics as John Plummer and Robert W. Hanning. His use of epistolary form to embody communication of greater sincerity and truth, however, has gone largely unnoticed. This paper notes the plethora of letters occurring in the *Morte Darthur*—beginning with the lovers' exchanges in "The Tale of Sir Tristrams" and ending with Gawain's final conciliatory epistle to Lancelot, which Malory invented and added to his sources. As the *Morte Darthur* proceeds, the letters become prophetic. Whereas Guinevere's letter to Isolde in the "Tristrams" merely predicts that all lovers shall be reunited, Gawain's foresees the precise hour of his death and its consequences. Since written correspondence in the *Morte Darthur* achieves divine inspiration, it may be aptly compared to the "lettirs" inscribed upon the holy relics in the "Tale of the Sankgreal." Such a comparison reveals the *Morte Darthur*'s analogy between the personal epistle and divine revelation: in both, the written word embodies, preserves and directly communicates sacred truths. Caxton's printing of the *Morte Darthur* emphasized this analogy by setting the letters and the divine script in the Grail Quest apart from the narrative in the same way. By highlighting Malory's advocacy of the written word, Caxton subtly advertises his press's achievement in physically conserving and disseminating the manuscript tradition.

Gunar Freibergs
Los Angeles Valley College
A Fast Horse, an Epic Battle, "And Thou under a Tree": Romantic Adventure in Scythia and on The Seine

In the development of medieval secular poetry, halfway between the warrior epic *Song of Roland* and the Arthurian romances of the twelfth century stands the ninth-century *Epic of Walthar*. Containing both the mortal combat theme of the former as well as the courtly love of the latter, this bridge between *chanson de geste* and romance is believed to be made up of Germanic warrior tales sprinkled liberally with classical themes. Helmut Nickel, former Curator of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum of New York, however, has demonstrated in a number of publications that this poem also contains a number of prominent themes which are unequivocally linked with the Scythians, a nomad people of the Eurasian steppes in the sixth to second centuries B.C.

An examination of *Tristan and Isolt* and *Aucassin and Nicolette* reveals that some of the same, as well as other, Scythian influences are present in these

romances. Although this discovery in no way diminishes the concept of the romances as a blend of classical Celtic and Germanic themes, it would appear that the nomadic steppe elements which entered Europe in various waves between the second and fifth centuries A.D. may have had a far greater influence in shaping them than has heretofore been recognized.

John M. Fyler
English, Tufts University
Chaucer and Froissart's "Voyage en Béarn"

Froissart's "Voyage en Béarn" is rightly considered one of the most fascinating and vivid sections of his *Chronicles*, because of his conspicuous insertion of himself in his narrative and the wonders he finds during his visit to the court of Gaston Phébus, comte de Foix. He discovers a world of chivalry, filled with talk of arms and love, ruled by the famous authority on hunting, but also a magical world of second sight, familiar spirits, somnambulism, and mysterious transformation. This section of the *Chronicles* offers an exceptionally interesting comparison to Chaucer's examination of the world of late fourteenth-century chivalry, especially in Fragment V of the *Canterbury Tales*, the tales of the Squire and Franklin. It also offers a vantage point for a more extensive look at the differing points of view of these two writers, acquaintances in the court of Edward III in the 1360s (Froissart's *Paradis d'Amour* is closely copied at the opening and ending of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*), but in the 1380s and 1390s, though no longer personally or literarily connected very interesting for their equally complex but different responses to their age.

John M. Ganim
English, University of California, Riverside
Accounting Theory in Chaucer

Chaucer's lifetime witnessed one of the commercial innovations of the modern world—the development of double-entry bookkeeping. From a few decades before Chaucer's birth, to the publication in 1494 of Pacioli's *De Computis et Scripturis* in Venice, double-entry bookkeeping transformed the accounting of transactions in Western Europe. It must have struck the technologically aware but in many ways traditional poet as a profound symptom of a disturbing modernity, as well as a useful and sophisticated tool. Its real value was in its ability to conceive of concrete transactions as also fluid and manipulable abstractions, and it is that sense which permeates the *Shipman's Tale*. The form of the *Shipman's Tale* itself works like an accounting system. It depends on a careful balance between the resources of its three main actors as well as on a fluid transfer among those resources. As with other aspects of human conduct in this tale, the discourses of medieval culture itself are now shown to be interchangeable languages, able to be divorced from their cultural context and deployed at will, just as double-entry accounting and the other recording techniques of early capitalism treat goods, services and funds.

Piotr Górecki
History, University of California, Riverside
Community, Memory, and Law in Medieval Poland, c. 1200-c. 1230

This paper uses a few case studies from earlier medieval Poland to reconstruct the formation and functions of social groups in the legal system of medieval society, especially in the establishment and maintenance of memory relevant to law and dispute. It is based on about two dozen charters issued by the dukes of Kraków in the early thirteenth century, with special focus on two documents: a record of a lengthy settlement of a dispute over a landed estate between a bishop and a landholder, spanning the years 1229-24; and a record of a sale of another estate and its confirmation in 1228. In conjunction with the witness lists of the remaining charters, these two documents shed light on the composition and recruitment of the groups that were summoned to witness (or participate in), and remember the legal process, and thus on their possible significance as communities of legal memory. These groups included: groups of local peasants, peasant "neighborhoods," and peasant "elders"; ducal, royal, and seigneurial officials and agents; parish priests; "knights" and "nobles"; and town councils, monasteries, and cathedral chapters. They were recruited from the more important towns in the duchy of Kraków, and from several other kinds of local centers of exchange and settlement, estate structure, parish organization, and market activity. The reconstruction of their functions in the two well-documented cases offers some insight into the range of communities that kept and reproduced legal knowledge in earlier medieval Poland; situates such communities in a geographic, demographic, and economic network; and thus illustrates the social groups that might have functioned as agents of social memory in one region of medieval Europe.

Michaela Grudin
English, Lewis and Clark College
"Til al a citee bren up ys:" Discourse and the *Hous of Fame*

Keeping in mind that fame, in Piero Boitani's words, "is closely linked with language—that it is, in a certain sense, the personification of this primary function of the human being: speaking, hearing, communicating"—it is not surprising that Chaucer's *House of Fame* typically calls attention to discourse

itself. It is more self-reflexive that any other of Chaucer's early poems and also more analytical. Chaucer seems especially to feel the power of discourse to amuse, to divert, but also to misinterpret, profane, and obliterate, and he respects this power. The poem touches all the areas of the Italian humanists' praise of speech and sets their estimate on its head. It is as if Chaucer had resolved to reverse every one of their ideas of speech as philosophical inquiry, as community, intelligence, justice, understanding, and morality. We see this not only in the mechanics of the poem—in its many-sided playfulness and in its frequent failure to attend consecutively to its own argument—but also in its explicit statement.

Karl T. Hagen
University of California, Los Angeles
Medieval English Brewing: The Economic and Social Context

Near the beginning of her autobiography, the fifteenth-century mystic Margery Kempe relates her ill-fated attempts to make her worldly fortune. Among her mercantile ventures she turned her hand to brewing:

> And than, for pure coveytyse & for to maynten hir pride, sche
> gan to brewyn & was on of te grettest brewers in te town N.
> a iij yer or iiij tyl sche lost mech good, for sche had neuyr
> vre terto. For, thow sche had neuyr so good seruawntys &
> cunyng in brewyng, yet it wold neuyr preuyn wyth hem. For
> whan te ale was as fayr standyng vndyr berm as any man
> mygth se, sodenly te berm wold fallyn down tat alle te ale
> was lost euery brewyng aftyr oter, tat hir seruawntys weryn
> a-schamyd & wold not dwellyn wyth hir. Tan tis creatur towt
> how God had punched hir be-for-tyme & sche cowd not be
> war, and now eftsons be lesyng of hir goodys, & tan sche left
> & brewyd no mor.

This paper will consider Margery Kempe as a typical commercial brewer at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and place the hints she gives us into a wider context of how medieval English breweries functioned. It will ask what it meant to be "one of the greatest brewers" in a fifteenth-century English town. How was her ale produced, sold and distributed? How did the consumption of ale affect the larger economy? What was did being a brewer imply about her standing in the community? In answering these questions, we will find that Margery's adventure in brewing was notable only for its failure and because unlike her fellow brewers from the period she appears to us as a personality, not a mere name in a tax roll. To understand how Margery's brewery would have operated, I will reconstruct the economic bases of the brewing process itself from raw grain to distribution and consumption of the finished product.

Maidie Hilmo
English, University of Victoria
The Illustrations of Mercy and of the Devil in the Douce 104 MS of *Piers Plowman* and Traces of Audience Response

Out of more than 50 MSS of Langland's *Piers Plowman*, only one is illustrated throughout: Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 104. It contains some 73 marginal illustrations which served as early 15c visual commentaries on the late 14c vernacular poem. In Passus 20 of this C-text version of the poem, the drama of the Passion is visually energized by the illustrator's portrayal of Mercy and of the Devil. Springing from the root of Charity, Mercy represents the new law of love which surpasses both the violence and the legalistic posturing of the Devil.

Prevented by iconophobic sensibilities from portraying the usual iconography of Christ's Entry in Jerusalem, the Crucifixion, and the Harrowing of Hell, all of which William Langland casts in chivalric terms, the illustrator refrained from any depiction of the deity (barring a small hand of God in the previous passus) or indeed of any holy biblical or saintly figures. The head of Abraham, which was sketched with a dry point beside the text in Passus 18 where the dreamer meets this figure during Mid-Lent, was never drawn in, much less colored. This suggests that the image of Abraham, the representative of the faithful under the old law who await Christ's deliverance, was suppressed during the process of the making of this manuscript. Mercy and the Devil, therefore, carry all the spiritual weight of the contesting powers these composite figures represent.

Both illustrations appear to have excited audience response in the past. The face of the gentle feminine form of Mercy has been smudged by someone rubbing it horizontally, either by a pious reader in personal need or by someone seeking to eliminate such idolatrous devotion. Likewise, the entire figure of the Devil has been drastically altered on a few occasions. Most obviously, it has been blackened in its entirety, leaving only the barest suggestion of its former delineations showing through the murky cloud surrounding it. That there was a clearer picture once is obvious by the fact that prick marks, close to but not precisely on the painted details still visible, indicate that it served as a model for a later copy. The blackness obscuring the Devil may have resulted from a subsequent rubbing of the leftover charcoal from such a copyist's pouncing of the holes. This rubbing could have been done by a later owner who was uncomfortable with possessing an image of the Devil.

In my discussion of Mercy and the Devil, I argue that the illustrator demonstrated his profound understanding of the essential message of the text by focusing the debate at the climactic heart of *Piers Plowman* on the transcendent activity of God's mercy and on the counterproductive falseness of the

Devil, rather than on the militaristic triumph of good "over" evil which often characterizes pictorial scenes of the Harrowing of Hell. Further, I show how, through the irony of history, violence was done to the illustrations themselves from a variety of possible motives. Effectively adding "new" illustrations to the known Douce 104 repertoir, I also present my renditions both of Abraham and of the malicious and obscene Devil who seems to have inspired so much reaction.

Phyllis G. Jestice
History, University of California, Davis
Imitation of Christ or the Apostles: the monk-canon controversy and a new spirituality

Among the many things that medieval historians "know" and speak of regularly without thinking much about is that sometime around the eleventh century western European Christians began to perceive Christ differently, as a human who not only suffered but provided a model of suffering and holy life to the rest of humanity. While this shift in religiosity certainly occurred, it is extremely surprising how much its study has been neglected, considering its centrality to medieval thought. Almost no one has asked more precise questions, such as when, where, and even why such a change should have taken place.

In an attempt to answer a very small part of this extremely large question, my proposed paper deals with the role of Christ as understood and exploited in the monk-canon polemics of the twelfth century. This literature is strongly couched in terms of which group, monks or canons regular, better fulfilled the "apostolic life," and it is in this context that historians have studied it. However, I have found in a preliminary study of the first generation of polemics, those written before 1150, that rather than focusing solely on the apostles, an important substratum of argument concerns the proper "imitation of Christ." The way these authors used this theme of *imitatio Christi* is an important and neglected source for the development of the concept, especially since these treatises were not just written by the intelligentsia of the twelfth-century renaissance but often by monks and canons of a much lower (sometimes awful) caliber, and perhaps more representative of broader currents of feeling. My study is based mostly on printed sources, but makes important use of MS Bodl. 561.

Henry Ansgar Kelly
English, University of California, Los Angeles
A Neo-Revisionist Look at Chaucer's Nuns

Chaucer's description of the Prioress has been taken as typical in many ways of the laxity and abuses into which religious life had fallen in the late Middle Ages. The primary source of attitudes towards nuns has been Eileen Power's detailed study of 1922, *Medieval English Nunneries.* In keeping with the spirit of her mentor, G. G. Coulton, she says that there was a "steady movement downhill in the history of the monasteries during the last two centuries and a half before the dissolution," paralleling "the growing degradation of the church in its head and members." She shows herself more sympathetic with the plight of the nuns than with their way of life.

In Sister Madeleva's essay, "Chaucer's Nuns," written at the same time as Power's work, there was an early attempt at revising this kind or Reformationist view ; but it was not generally received as persuasive. Now that newer revisionists are making a case for a high level of devotion up to the time of the Henrician reforms, it is time for a fresh look at Power's data and conclusions.

Power's assertion that the custom of requiring dowries from entrants into nunneries was against canon law is belied by William Lyndwood, writing in the 1420s, who cites a half-dozen eminent canonists justifying the practice. The conclusion that the bishops discouraged nuns from going on pilgrimage is backed up by only three episcopal admonitions; but they deal with the regulation rather than the discouragement of pilgrimage. Similarly, Power's allegation that the bishops struggled long and unsuccessfully against the nuns' keeping of pet animals is documented by a mere handful of warnings, not to remove pets from the nunnery premises, but to keep them in their place—specifically, out of chapel during prayers.

The data in Power's book do support the notion that nunneries were widely involved in educating the young (even though nuns were not plentiful, for there were fewer than 150 houses in Chaucer's time); and Nicholas Orme has pointed out that Chaucer's description of Madame Eglentine's concerns—religious devotion, French, table manners, deportment, and good behavior—were major elements in the aristocratic female curriculum. Perhaps, then, at the same time that we recognize Chaucer's gentle satire, we are are think of her as a headmistress advertising her educational regimen.

By arriving at a more balanced picture of conventual regulations and practices in Chaucer's time, not only among nuns but also among monks, canons, and friars, we will be better able to assess the level or realism and humor in his depiction of religious characters.

Theresa Kenney
English, University of Dallas
Franciscan Time in the English Nativity Lyric

James Ryman, the Franciscan poet, authored a full quarter of those English Christmas lyrics written before 1550 that survive to this day. He is thus to a great degree responsible for what we see as the shape and tenor of Medieval English Nativity poetry. I would argue that in particular the treatment of time and eternity that marks this body of work derives from Ryman's Franciscanism: he articulates not only the Franciscan concern with the Nativity and the Passion inherited from the order's founder, but the Bonaventuran approach to questions of history and to the interplay of the temporal with the eternal brought about by the intersection of the created and the uncreated in the person of Jesus. Bonaventure, Aureol, and others had reworked St. Augustine's schema of the seven ages of history, placing Christ not at the beginning of the last age but at the center, as fulcrum and focal point, radiating into the past and the future.

In lyrics such as "Auctor of helthe, Criste, haue in minde," "Ther is a childe, a heuenly childe," and "Mary so myelde of hert and myende," Ryman expresses the Franciscan understanding of the *kairos*, the hour, the definitive temporal unfolding of Christ's destiny, and thus makes available to the lay audience the theological developments not only of two centuries of Franciscan scholarship but also of the patristic traditions that so informed it. The skewing of the poems' time frames and the obscuring of Christ's age prepare for climactic images of the dead and buried Child, the Child as glorified Judge, or Christ as eternal Child. Ryman establishes in his songs a complex time frame and a fluidity of movement between the eternal and the temporal point of view, making his theme the revelation of the eternal through the salvific event of Christ's life in time.

Sharon Kinoshita
French, University of California, Santa Cruz
Cross-Purposes: *Aucassin et Nicolette* **and the Medieval Poetics of Race, Class, and Gender**

Of all the remarkable texts of the French middle ages, none better exemplifies the thematics of modern cultural studies better than *Aucassin et Nicolette*. Striking for its curious combination of verse and prose, it is literally *sui generis*: a "chantefable," the only example of its genre. In the "New Medievalism" of the 1980s, post-Structuralist readings found fertile ground in the poem's own self-conscious thematization of language: the multiple analogies—the heroine's stint as a jongleur providing a *mise en abyme* of the whole, establishing Nicolette as the figure for the anonymous poet himself (herself). Many of these readings emphasized the importance of gender. In 1989, Maria Rosa Menocal's article "Sign of the Times" took the critical establishment to task for its lack of attention to issues of race. Nicolette, she pointed out, is doubly marginalized: not just as woman, but as a (converted) *Saracen*, whose assimilation-through-marriage into the feudal order of Beaucaire Menocal reads as indicative of the oppositional spirit of the chantefable. Taking several recent readings as a point of departure, I analyze this text at the intersection of a modern cultural poetics of race, class, and gender.

Leonard Michael Koff
Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles
Walter Map and the Memory of Court

It is surprising, or should be, that medieval literary scholars take the court of Elizabeth I as the touchstone for describing courts and courtiers in general. There exist medieval descriptions of court—descriptions of its conceptual structure and its social configurations—more helpful in understanding court life in general, and medieval court life in particular, than descriptions of one spectacular Renaissance instance of monarchy. Indeed, medievalists seem in their lapse of historical memory unwitting accomplices in their own New Historicist marginalization. Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, for example, a curious and fascinating collection of court and courtly stories about mythological *and* real courts provides valuable categories of literary and social analysis medievalists should know better than they do. One such category, perhaps the informing one for Map's entire work, is what I call his "metaphysic of courts." Broadly ethical in its critique of courtly values and specifically Christian in its patterns of analysis, this idea of court includes all creation itself gendered abstractly as an empty structure, though usually called she (in light of Walter Map, the Elizabethan court, because its sovereign was a woman, can be said to actualize, in ways that make it unique, a metaphor latent in all monarchy—that the relationship between individual and authority is a relationship between dependent, or subject, and sovereign who must be "courted"). For Map, any particular court, like that of Henry II with which Map has affinity, is a remembered instance of an eternal courtly construct—Map does not share our idea of historicity or periodization—that requires a courtier's dark and distanced, often wry assessment of his own position as eternal courting subject. Although Map's view of the court imports a vocabulary of moral analysis, really a theology of clarification and reckoning one would *not* want to impose on courts in general, nonetheless the ethical and personal dilemmas he describes—the issues of behavior, advancement, truth, deception, social chaos, princely neglect, and princely redemption—are aspects of court life anywhere.

Shelley Krois
English, Boise State University
The Function of the Forest as it Relates to the Natural and Supernatural Worlds in *Sir Orfeo*

In *Sir Orfeo* two worlds exist in opposition: the civilized world, in which Sir Orfeo reigns, and its foil, the supernatural world, in which the treacherous and deceitful King of Faery reigns. The forest functions here as the place where these two worlds intersect. As the characters move from one realm to the other, changes occur. The people belonging to the faery realm transmute themselves as they move from the furthest reaches of their realm to their kingdom. They appear invisible in their tenuous outpost in the orchard, in the forest they are seen as wondrous creatures, hunting, fowling and dancing much like humans, and in returning to their own realm are seen as the terrible, emotionless, cryptic creatures they are. Sir Orfeo is set up in opposition of them because he remains static, carrying his civilized nature with him as his harp from one world to another. I propose to examine how the actions of certain characters within each realm reveals their relation to the constructs of chivalry and dishonesty, and the functions of each character as they contribute to the lay overall.

Christopher Kuipers
University of California, Irvine
Herodotus and the Feigned Flight of William of Poitiers

Classical references have often been found in William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum.* However, Poitiers does not use solely Latin models (such as Caesar, Sallust, and Virgil); when he compares William to Agamemnon and Xerxes, he appeals to Greek literature as well, specifically, in the case of Xerxes, to the *Histories* of Herodotus.

R.H.C. Davis has pointed to Book 7 of Herodotus in connection with Poitiers, and Herodotus's description of the battle of Thermopylae in particular has numerous similarities with Poitiers' telling of the battle of Hastings, notably in the "false flight" of the Normans. Poitiers seems however to have inverted Herodotus at this very point, calling into question later historians' heavy dependence on Poitiers for this and other "facts" about Hastings.

It is conceded that Poitiers had little chance of knowing the Greek language, never mind Herodotus, but details of his 11th-century education as well as the MSS tradition of Herodotus do leave the possibility open (there was something of a renaissance in this era). Further, there was a strong need in the rising Norman nation for just such an appropriation as Poitiers makes, and moreover, since the connection is a literary one, such a "misreading" that Poitiers performs need not (according to Harold Bloom) have anything

to do with a direct source connection.

R. James Long
Philosophy, Fairfield University
Of Angels and Pinheads: The Contributions of the Early Oxford Masters to the Doctrine of Spiritual Matter

Surely one of the strangest doctrines to emerge from the intense theological debates of the thirteenth century was the oxymoronic *spiritual matter*, otherwise called *universal hylomorphism.* On one level it represented the occasional ill fit between the newly discovered natural philosophy of Aristotle and traditional Christian teaching.

The metaphysical testing ground par excellence for the compatibility of these two world views was the doctrine of the angels, spiritual substances that were at the same time limited and mutable. How account for their composition (or lack thereof) and their distinctiveness both from the incarnate spirits below them in the great chain of being and indeed from each other?

Before positions hardened into the *Wegenstreit* between the Dominicans [read "Thomists"] and the Franciscans, masters belonging to both orders, as well as secular masters, debated the issue without the constraints of following a party line. I intend in this paper to focus on the contributions of the earliest Oxford theologians (Grosseteste, Fishacre, and Rufus—a secular, a Dominican, and a Franciscan respectively) to this debate. Although one cannot ignore the influence of Parisian theologians (William of Auvergne, William of Auxerre, Alexander of Hales, Phillip the Chancellor) on their English counterparts, in fact the distinctly empirical orientation of Oxford casts its shadow even on angelology.

And while no one explicitly asked the question (which has become an old chestnut): how many angels can stand on the head of a pin, given the doctrine of spiritual matter one of the abovementioned masters (Fishacre) did in fact speculate that the locus of an angel was a *locus punctalis,* that is, a pinpoint.

Douglas W. Lumsden
History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Apocalyptic Expressions of Ascetic Spirituality in Early Medieval Europe

Latin biblical exegetes writing during the first thousand years of Christian history interpreted the Apocalypse of John in such a way as to support an ascetic form of spirituality. These commentators used the imagery contained within John's description of his prophetic vision to encourage the

renunciation of worldly goods and bonds, including, if necessary, the bond of physical life itself. By using symbols from John's mysterious vision to promote a life of physical privation, early Latin commentators attached an apocalyptic significance to ascetic sprirituality. According to these commentators, an ascetic life identified one as a member of the eternal elect, the body of God's chosen people that would ascend into the heavenly Jerusalem at the end of time. Furthermore, the encouragement of asceticism could hasten the eschatological hopes of the faithful by helping to bring about the conditions necessary for the Last Days preceding the final triumph of the Christian church. My paper demonstrates the link between apocalypticism and ascetic spirituality by examining three elaborate exegeses of the passages within the Apocalypse of John that describe the opening of the seven seals, an event that these commentators considered a microcosm of the Apocalypse as a whole. These works, written by Primasius of Justiniapolis, Ambrosius Autpertus, and Haimo of Auxerre, contributed to an early medieval tradition that regarded John's apocalyptic prophecy as a history of the elect as it passed through this transitory world of torment on its way to a spiritual kingdom of eternal salvation.

Francisco J. Martín
Foreign Languages, California State University San Marcos
Spain in the Fourteenth Century, as Seen Through *El fuero de Briviesca*

In light of the recent transcription of the Spanish code of law, *El fuero de Briviesca*, this study examines particular aspects of Spanish society affected by the legal codes presented in this document, which until recently were not available for scholars to study. Of particular interest is the fact that it was a woman, the granddaughter of Alfonso X el Sabio, who presented the city of Briviesca with her grandfather's original precepts, which then were modified by her to suit the needs of the people of Briviesca. This study, then, will examine both those aspects of the original document from Alfonso X which remained the same in the *Fuero de Briviesca*, as well as the alterations and changes which were made, in an attempt to better understand the reality of this particular group of people in 14th-century Spain.

John Hilary Martin, O.P.
Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology
Sex, Responsibility and Salvation: Eve in All Her Forms.

Contemporary discussion frequently rebukes the medieval mind for having saddled Eve with responsibility for introducing original sin into the world. Women were asked to remember the damage they had wantonly done, and men were encouraged to remember that women were tainted if not downright

dangerous for a man and for society in general. A male saviour was the obvious response to this and one was duly sent by God in Christ. The origin of this peculiar line of thinking is passèd back to St. Augustine and to the Neo-Platonism fashionable in his day. Misogyny of this type certainly did exist in the medieval world and it would be interesting to isolate its origin, but the paper will not be interested in that. Augustine does not as a matter of fact speak in this way, nor do the mainstream theologians at the medieval universities who followed him. They spoke instead of shared responsibility for sin (the sin of humanity's first parents) and so a shared salvation.
The paper will conclude by noting that the natural balance between woman and man, sin and salvation makes the medieval image more accessible to indigenous religions. It helps to explain the broad resonance and shared acceptance in colonial Meso-America of the icon of the Lady of Guadalupe.

Elwood E. Mather III
Montana State University, Billings
A Large-Headed Luther?: Possible Connections from Grosseteste to the German Retormer

This paper seeks to explore possible connections between Oxford and Wittenberg, particularly in terms of academics who were reformers. The study will examine key passages in the writings of Robert Grosseteste that were transmitted (and perhaps transmuted) through Wycliffe to Hus and perhaps to Luther.

Christine McCann
History, University of California, Santa Barbara
The Ascetic Virtues in the *Dialogues* **of Gregory the Great**

Gregory the Great considered humility to be "the mother and mistress of all the virtues." In his writings, he also emphasized the importance of obedience. This paper will argue that in the *Dialogues* Gregory told stories of relationships between abbots and their monks to promote the cultivation of the ascetic virtues of humility and obedience. In the *Dialogues* Gregory portrays monks who are humble and who obey their abbots as role models for his readers to imitate. Those monks fortunate enough to have truly holy men as their abbots enjoy close, loving relationships with them. These relationships can endure even after the death of one of the participants. In Gregory's *Dialogues* the combination of the ascetic virtues of obedience and humility with love holds a promise that makes the practice of virtue very attractive indeed.

Mary Katherine McDevitt
English, University of San Francisco
Technical Communications Program, Stanford University
"Be þou Marie": Mary, Motherhood, and Teaching in the *Book to a Mother* and Chaucer's *ABC*

Throughout the Middle Ages the Virgin Mary was known as "mater" and "magistra",the latter title a "gloss" on the former because it expressed an essential aspect of Mary's maternity. Just as she had transmitted the Word not only physically, but also through her teaching of the earliest members of the Church (Jacobus de Voragine, William of Newburgh and Rupert of Deutz, among others, make reference to this),so it was believed that, as mother of the Church, she continued to serve as a source of wisdom for the faithful through time. As such, she continued to "bear the Word" to the world. Because Christians were also called to spread the gospel, they were exhorted to be other Marys, to imitate her example. They were to give birth to the Word not physically, but spiritually, through deeds and human words. This call to a Marian mimesis would have particularly strong resonances for mothers, who had the duty of transmitting the faith to their children, as well as for authors of religious texts. Like mothers, the authors were to imitate Mary in transmitting the Word of truth by means of their words, and so to move their audience to a more profound life of the soul—and so to be other Marys. An awareness of the tradition of Mary as maternal teacher allows us to recover more fully the valences of certain religious texts. To illustrate this point, I will discuss two works of the English fourteenth century: the anonymous *Book to a Mother* and Chaucer's *ABC*. These works employ a complex of references from what we might call the Marian and maternal idiom and reflect the authors' awareness of both their "maternal" role as well as the audience's, an awareness articulated most succinctly in the *Book to a Mother*'s exhortation to its readers—"Be þou Mary"

Brian Patrick McGuire
The Medieval Centre, Copenhagen University
Jean Gerson and the End of Friendship

Jean Gerson (1363-1429), chancellor of the University of Paris from 1395, is one of the leading theologians and churchmen of the later Middle Ages. His quick rise to distinction at the University of Paris was made possible by a circle of friendships with scholars at the College de Navarre, especially with Pierre d'Ailly, Gerson's predecessor as chancellor. With such a background, Gerson would seem to be a prime candidate for continuing the tradition of spiritual friendship that had been cultivated in the 12th and 13th centuries by monastic and religious predecessors, such as Bernard of Clairvaux, whose works Gerson knew and used. But Gerson in fact was not at all interested in describing the benefits of friendship. He often warned in his writings against close friendships between men and women. It is my intention to look at Gerson's attitude to friendship in terms of his personality and spiritual life. I will show that Gerson's skepticism is indicative of a loss of confidence in the affective spirituality that Gerson thought he defended in his works on the mystical life. The end of spiritual friendship is also the end of a bold medieval experiment in terms of combining good friendships with good communities.

Donka Minkova
English, University of California, Los Angeles
How to Stress Words and Reconstruct Meter: Accent-shifting in Middle English Verse

The paper deals with the familiar instability of the accent in the Romance loan vocabulary, e.g. *cítee - citée, forést - fórest, pulpít - púlpit*, reconstructed from the deployment of such words in verse. The phenomenon has been accounted for by (a) poetic extension of an Old English Stress Retraction Rule for non-Germanic words (O'Neil, 1973), (b) the introduction of the Romance Stress Rule, coexisting with the Germanic Stress Rule in Middle English (Halle & Keyser, 1971), and (c) by deriving stress from underlying segmental composition without reference to the distinction of the categories to which the words belong (Nakao, 1977). None of these accounts addresses the distribution of doublets across the verse line, or across different verse types. Only Nakao works with a substantial data base, but his principles of scansion, based on strict correspondence rules, can easily be falsified; his findings and claims are therefore suspect. Moreover, he assumes tacitly line-medial secondary stresses on derivatives such as *lóngeỳng, hárdỳ*, which prejudice the scansion and are circular in the postulation of subsidiary stress in disyllabic and trisyllabic words. My claim, supported by a survey of the distribution of accentual doublets in the *Ormulum, Sir Orfeo, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and Chaucer, is that the prosodic reconstruction for accentual doublets should be based on both word-class and syllable weight. The proposal has promising implications for understanding the evolution of metrical form in Middle English.

Andrew Murray
English, the University of Victoria
Social and Societal Inclusiveness in *Havelok the Dane*

Havelok the Dane is one Middle English romance which has provoked notably divergent critical responses. It is probably the poem's combination of "realistic" detail and complex social commentary, highlighted by the extravagant rewards that *Havelok* bestows upon his most loyal followers, that inspires strong feelings among its readers. For instance, while *Havelok* has been called a "peasant fantasy" by John Halverson, Susan Crane and Sheila Delany have asserted that though *Havelok* is not precisely courtly it nevertheless effectively reinforces the social ·status quo. I will suggest that these responses represent extreme reactions to the romance. Certainly *Havelok* is not a peasant fantasy, but the poem does not simply reinforce the position or the existing barony and upper nobility either. For such an imagined audience of aristocrats, the meteoric social ascent of both Grim's offspring and Bertram, an earl's cook, must have seemed potentially subversive. These ascents are complemented by the demise of the aristocratic villains Godrich and Godard. *Havelok the Dane* thus demonstrates that moral superiority ultimately determines social superiority and its attendant rewards. Therefore, the poem encourages nobles and peasants alike to respect their moral and social obligations.

My paper will first examine the *Havelok* poet's tendency toward social inclusion and his interest in, and attention to, the details of peasant life. From there I will proceed to discuss the complex nature of *Havelok the Dane*'s social commentary, considering the hero's "work-ethic," his rise to power and the corresponding ascents of several other characters. These commoners' stunning rise to positions of power, when juxtaposed with the downfall of the earls Godrich and Godard, is suggestive of the poem's analysis of the class structure. *Havelok the Dane* makes it clear that rank cannot guarantee character. The hierarchy that fosters judicial government during the reigns of Aethelwold and Havelok inspires Godrich and Godard to tyranny. Characters like Grim's sons obviously benefit from the established social hierarchy, so *Havelok the 'Dane* cannot be said to undermine that hierarchy's validity. What it does instead is call into question the means of judgment upon which hierarchies that establish or maintain control are based.

Elisa Narin van Court
English, Stanford University
Erotic Embrace/Political Union: Exemplary Rule in *Havelok* and *William of Palerne*

The didacticism of the otherwise highly fantastic and idealized realm of *William of Palerne*, in which ideal kingship and just government are emphasized in passages of instruction, connects this work with other English romances, and most notably with the romance of *Havelok*. Both romances are concerned with issues of lost inheritance, forced marriage, ideal rule and ideal rulers, and the hero as the embodiment of political (and courtly) virtues. Yet a somewhat more subtle connection between the two works suggests that their model for exemplary rule resides somewhere outside the more traditional formulations of king as the source of justice, king as warrior, and king as figure of Christ, as they both, in strikingly similar fashion, invite a reading of exemplary rule as embodied in the figure of the prince as erotic lover; an embodiment either translated or envisioned by a female character in the works. Both romances share a central iconographical image of political unity figured in the gesture of embrace: in *Havelok*, the hero dreams of the people of Denmark suspended from his embracing arms and turns to his wife, Goldeborw, for the interpretation of this perplexing vision; in *William of Palerne*, William's mother dreams of an embrace which encompasses countries—a dream which she knows represents the political unity attendant upon her son's coming into his rightful inheritance. ·These gestures of embrace, where the highly personal and eroticized dimension translates into the political realm, is further emphasized in *Havelok* when the sexually voyeuristic scene between Havelok and Goldeborw is the means by which Havelok is revealed to be the true king. If William is represented as the ideal knight, ideal ruler, and ideal lover in his romance where the "frankly sensual love affair" between Meliors and him parallels the relations between the heads of state, Havelok, too, is eroticized as exemplary hero and king as ideal ruler and ideal lover are conflated in narrative gestures proleptic of Gower's later *Confessio Amantis*. The mediation of female interpretation translates (in all senses of the word) this conflation of idealized prince and idealized erotic lover to form an alternative model of exemplary rule where personal conduct is the blueprint for political relations.

Keith Nickolaus
Comparative Literature, U.C. Berkeley
Marriage Fictions in *Girart de Roussillon*

This paper presents a formal and functional analysis of marriage plots and themes in *Girart de Roussillon* (*GR*). It questions the assertion put forth by Louis and more recently by Gaunt that the poem allows for little or no appreciation of the concept of conjugal love. It also questions the nature of the mutual sentiments and vows that bind Girart and Elissent and casts doubt on the idea that the relation between Girart, Elissent and Charles corresponds to the conventional model of the adulterous triangle.

A close study of the marriage dramas in *GR*) helps to demonstrate 1) how the work succeeds in fusing epic and lyric motifs 2) what influences or models night account for the poets unusual and elaborate marriage dramas and 3) how the marital intrigue functions in relation to the poets dominant concern with and appeal for social peace.

Building upon Hackett's remarks on the poem's courtly vocabulary, this study argues that the marital subplots are not only coherently integrated to but proceed logically from the secular and feudal concerns that animate the epic narrative. Secondly, the marriage dramas reveal vestiges of a mythic subtext central to our appreciation of the poem's ideological tensions and aspirations.

The findings of this thematic study demonstrate that although peripheral to much of the poem's narrative action, the marriage dramas are indispensable to the poet's vision of feudal order and social peace.

David Nicolai
History, University of California, Davis
Holy Land Pilgrims and the New Vision of Christ

My paper is an exploration of one side of a widely held but little articulated assumption among medievalists: that in Christian spirituality sometime during the tenth or eleventh centuries there was an increased emphasis on the humanity of Christ. According to this view the awe-inspiring "Christ in judgement" of the early middle ages was eclipsed by a more human savior who experienced suffering for the sake of humanity. I examine this change by looking at the motivations and itineraries of three pilgrims to the Holy Land in the tenth and eleventh centuries: Bononius of Lucedio, Symeon of Trier, and Richard of St. Vanne of Verdun.

Starting from the assumption that the "new vision of Christ" would have encouraged the faithful to visit in person the very places where Jesus suffered, I examine the accounts (all eleventh century) of the experiences of the three pilgrims, asking whether it is possible to see in them the influence of this new vision, and, if so, whether one can construct a timetable for the process of change. I argue that by the 1020's two distinct traditions of Holy Land pilgrimage existed—an older one grounded in the idea of *peregrinatio*, and a newer one, stemming from the new vision of Christ, wherein physical presence in the homeland of Jesus is the all-consuming goal. I conclude that, although a more exhaustive treatment of the question would be in order, the three pilgrims embody three stages in the shift from the older tradition to the newer one.

Anita Obermeier
English, Arizona State University
Grappling with Feminine Inspiration: Self-Critical Strategies in Petrarch's Writing

In my continuing research on authorial apologies in the Middle Ages, I have reached the conclusion that the apology tradition was fueled by an antifeminist subtext, informed by biblical and theological notions about women. For the male medieval writer that in essence meant that women had to be excluded from the divine because they were viewed as a sexual threat, as given more to the passions of the flesh, without the saving grace of rational thought. Thus by removing the feminine from male writing, patriarchy in essence wanted to remove the female body. This poses an interesting problem for the three great medieval Italian writers—Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio—whose writing is greatly focused on feminine inspiration. Among them, Petrarch is the most ambivalent author, weaving a perplexingly complex intra-auctorial web; unlike Dante, he cannot fuse love of God and love of woman, although he tries; unlike Boccaccio, he would not even consider abandoning his writing career. While he attempts to portray Laura as a divine representative on earth, he does not fuse but instead polarizes the issue, wavering excessively between self-criticism and self-justification. Because he never quite achieves the *donna angelicata*, he has to use the conventional apology trappings of old-age repentance. Against the background of contemporary language philosophy, Petrarch theorizes about the feasibility of an old poet writing love songs, the appropriate language for love poetry, and Laura's role in composing that love poetry, which is illustrated by a pattern of affirmation and negation. These auctorial concerns, as well as flashes of lucid self-criticism, manifest themselves metatextually in several of his letters, intratextually in the *Rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, and intertextually in the *Trionfi* as well as the *Secretum*.

Catherine Corman Parry
English Department, Brigham Young University
Female Morality and Interpretive Tension in Chaucer's *Miller's* and *Merchant's Tales*

The generic and situational similarities between Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* and *Merchant's Tale* invite their comparison. Indeed, in several ways these two tales seem even to be retellings of each other, each filling narrative gaps the other lacks, but also containing gaps which the other fills. Most significantly, partly through characterization of the women and partly through plot (including both tales' problematic resolutions to their plots) both tales introduce moral context into the usually amoral world of the fabliau and lead us to speculate about Alisoun's and May's responsibility within that moral context. Indeed, as far as poetic justice goes in *The Miller's Tale*'s Alisoun is a troubling figure. The three main characters receive symbolically fitting punishments for their crimes; Alisoun alone receives neither punishment nor ridicule. She seems at the end of the tale to stand outside the poem's moral structures though at other times she seems to bear responsibility within them The tale accomplishes this moral exclusion/inclusion partly through the physical description of Alisoun which is filled with ambivalent, even contradictory, details and images and partly through its contradictory assertions about her responsibility for participating in Nicholas' scheme to cuckold John.

The *Merchant's Tale* contains similar contradictory structures, which remain similarly unresolved. The text goes to some lengths to engage our sympathies for May, again partly through characterization and partly through plot. The discussion of January's motives for marriage turns us against him, and the wedding night details turn our stomachs. Yet having taken such care to portray May as a victim and thus release her from fault within the tale's moral context, the text unexpectedly reinvests her with blame by suddenly victimizing January, then granting him the sort of understanding of which we had not thought him capable.

The point of such a self-contradictory critical examination is precisely to highlight the contradictions with which the text presents us, or rather, to highlight the textual oppositions that won't comfortably reconcile. Women are victims, and they are victimizers; they both stand outside the tales' moral structures, and are made to bear the brunt of them. Rather than canceling each other out, such contradictions within tales and between tales form interpretive tensions which we must confront in our coherence-forming processes.

Joseph D. Parry
Humanities, Classics, and Comparative Literature, Brigham Young University
Malory's Two Narratives

This paper examines Launcelot's encounter with the mysterious huntress who inadvertently wounds him in the buttocks with a "stray" arrow in Thomas Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur*. Launcelot, preparing for the "Great Tournament," travels out into the Forest of Windsor to rest in the company only of Lavaine. Into this restful place comes "a gentlewoman" who seems to live on or just outside the gendered boundaries of Malory's world. Launcelot is made to confront a contiguous female society which has no particular regard for his own society or its male-centered chivalric principles; the nonchalance of the huntress deflates, with mild comic effect, Launcelot's chivalric ego. This is an odd, brief glimpse into a community unaffected by the events recounted in the narrative, a community which is generally unconcerned with the movements and motivations of the text's characters—a community on or just outside the boundaries of the narrative itself. The reading narrator becomes particularly conspicuous at this moment as he gazes into this feminine, alternative community. He reads them quite closely; in fact, his reading draws his eyes momentarily away from the society he has been reading throughout the narrative. He seems to admire, maybe even envy, their freedom of movement.

Though a reader can explain their intrustion in the logic of the narrative—revenge, for example, for the Fair Maid of Astolat's tragic death in the previous episode—these women retain the freedom to leave when they will with no explanation or apology. The only trace they leave is a wound in Launcelot's derriere. One can read in Launcelot's wound the vulnerability of his society when it converges with another kind of "gentle" society with no magical, fairy qualities to speak of, and with other rules of socially acceptable behavior. Yet the narrative, after all, can only partially inscribe them into its world. They cannot even be defined fully as one of the surprises that Romance Forests can throw at readers. Even more than their self-contained alterity, their femaleness, or their refusal to enter into the male or female chivalric rituals of negotiation, it is, perhaps, the ease with which they disappear back into the forest and out of the range of the narrator's focalization that most clearly indicates that they cannot or will not be contained by the structures that organize Arthurian society for our interpretation.

Their movements in the text signal two kinds of narrative impulses—one that traces causality, responsibility, and guilt, and one that follows the untraceable path of tragedy. The first story, as it were, follows Launcelot's movements in order to find him guilty of misdeeds that play a significant role in the collapse of Arthurian empire. The second narrative, on the other hand, sympathetically follows the difficulties Launcelot encounters as he tries to

reconcile contradictory demands that inform his life as a knight who would be true to honor, therefore, to Arthur, and also be true to love—to Guinevere. The first allows the reader to extend Malory's antique world into their own, not only its physical (the forest of Windsor) and, by extension, its moral arrangement, but also the very notion that one can map political and moral causality. The second resists our efforts at and belief in literature functioning as an historical and moral map for its audience.

Carol Braun Pasternack
English, University of California, Santa Barbara
The Anglo-Saxon Subject in *Beowulf*

This paper is intended to show the results of bringing post-structuralist theories to an old problem in *Beowulf* studies, the text's amalgam of a Christian ethos with pagan heroes. Most of the text elides this difference, but one passage, the so-called 'Christian Excursus', points to the conflict and the depth of its significance. It is a kind of jagged edge in an otherwise smooth melding of the heroic ethos with monotheism, the sort of detail on the margin that Jameson would identify as a slippage. Pushing on this opening, one perceives the contradiction in the characterization of a Hrothgar or Beowulf who admits that an *alwealda* has an all encompassing power and wisdom and even more so the contradiction in mapping a heroic world in which the opponents to the heroes (Grendel and his mother) are positioned on the side of Cain. In addition to representing the Danes and Geats and, more generally, the heroic world, the narrative asks readers and listeners to identify with the Danes and the Geats and in this way represents the Anglo-Saxons to themselves, as well. From a post-structuralist perspective, it shows the construction of an Anglo-Saxon subject in which there is no contradiction between the heroic ethos and Christian ideology and no contradiction between their media of expression, the oral performance and the manuscript. Yet, despite this attempt at transforming an essentially pagan heroism into a Christian text and practice, the narrative figures the loss of the heroic and of its oral milieu, a loss that is necessary to the construction of the Christian subject.

Jennifer Pinto
Portland State University
The Donation of Constantine Fresco Cycle In the Oratory of S. Silvestro, Rome: An Example of the Influence of Papal Propaganda in Art

My discussion of the 13th-century fresco cycle depicting Constantine's legendary Donation of temporal power to Pope Silvester presents a specific example of the influence of papal propaganda in late medieval art, not only in the cycle's content, but also in its adoption of an archaic style, a convention

which has precedents in Italian art history. The cycle, decorating the Oratory of S. Silvestro (adjoining the basilica of SS. Quattro Coronati) in Rome, reflects the political difficulties between the papacy and the emperor during the period in which it was painted.

The Oratory and frescoes date to 1246 and the choice of the Donation theme is clearly a propagandistic one given the escalation of problems between the Emperor Frederick II and Pope Innocent IV (in 1244 Innocent fled Italy under pressure from imperial troops and in 1245 he deposed Frederick). The Oratory is further connected to the expression of papal propaganda by the fact that early in 1246, when a conspiracy to assassinate Frederick was uncovered (in which the pope was implicated), Innocent corresponded with three cardinals, asking for their assistance. Two of these cardinals were responsible for the construction and the consecration of the Oratory of S. Silvestro in the very same year.

The unusual relationship of this specific church to the papacy is supported by the fact that the cardinal responsible for building the S. Silvestro chapel also built a series of residential rooms which were incorporated into the fortified walls of the convent in the same year. The pope's Roman residence, the Lateran Palace, was located just a few city blocks from the Church of SS. Quattro Coronati, and the newly built rooms served as the temporary Holy See both in times of difficulty for the pope and during the restoration of the Lateran Palace.

In my paper I explore the obviously archaic style adopted in the frescoes as well as the narrative as opposed to religious nature of the cycle and the specific scenes chosen to illustrate the legend. I support my belief that these elements all appear to have been influenced by the pope's desire to clearly illustrate papal authority at that specific time.

Dorothy E. Pritchard
California State University, Sacramento
"She Pleyeth with Free and Bonde": The Allegorical Role of Criseyde

Bernard L. Jefferson once speculated that perhaps Chaucer translated Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* so that the Troilus might be better understood. Whereas this assessment was possibly true in Chaucer's time, it is definitely true today. A medieval reader, accustomed to see art allegorically, carefully sought several meanings of interpretation. Unfortunately, I believe the modern reader finds it a contradiction to see a work as multidimensional, preferring instead to confine an artist's meaning into one level of interpretation or genre, often overlooking the rich allegories and their significance hidden within the work. Not until one reads and understands Boethius' philosophical concerns of fate, fortune, happiness and free-will in

the *Consolation* does Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* achieve its full impact and beauty.

Where Jefferson and other scholars have seen Troilus in the role of Boethius and Pandarus assuming an ironic role as Lady Philosophy, most deny Criseyde's character as a representative of the goddess Fortuna. Although I admit it would be difficult to see Criseyde holistically as an allegory to Fortuna, she does, for Troilus, become the personification of the goddess. She is a woman on whom Troilus rests his destiny; her choices become his choices. The Boethian Troilus, caged within a prison of inaction and what he believes is the loss of free-will, makes Criseyde his "bright sterre". It is she who steers his heart through Fate's dark night, and like the goddess Fortuna who "pleyeth" with everyman, steering her victims either into good or bad port, Criseyde guides and plays with Troilus' destiny.

Ultimately, however, Criseyde can not be blamed for Troilus' tragic circumstances, for she in the role of Lady Fortuna is by nature fickle and mutable. The favors that she bestows on Troilus are hers to give and take back at will. When she decides to favor Diomede and turn her wheel against Troilus, neither Troilus nor we as readers should be surprised. It is her purpose under the providence of God to bring a man to a higher level of awareness. Indeed, it is Criseyde as the allegory of Lady Fortuna who brings Troilus full circle on the wheel of fortune, showing him the folly in making her or any secular desire the ideal of happiness.

Kevin Roddy
Medieval Studies Program, University of California at Davis
Activa aut contemplativa: **Narrative Extremes in the *Vitae Patrum* Testimonies**

The extraordinary popularity throughout the Middle Ages of the various *Vitae* and *Dicta* of the Desert Fathers is not difficult to estimate: a vast quantity of manuscripts survive, and editions appear with astonishing frequency throughout the incunabular period. From a very early stage, a large number of Western monastic reforms proceeded in the name of a purer, and more authentic desert hermeticism, and Egyptian saints broadly populated the liturgy. It is said, in fact, that the palm tree that sustained Jerome's Paul of Thebes—who lived for 115 years in total solitude—inspired the "Justus ut palma" introit said on the feastday of a confessor.

A reasonable expectation, given this profound influence, is that medieval life in general—and monastic life in particular—was disadvantageously subject to a harsh standard: since the desert accounts are characteristically dedicated to extremes of simplicity, deprivation, and most of all isolation, and since the hermits, monks and monasteries themselves of the Egyptian and Syrian

deserts were a brutal condemnation of worldly attachment, anything less, even if it promoted the public good, would only serve evil. Certainly this is how many medieval and most modern scholars have viewed desert asceticism, and assumed that many of the ills of medieval society, from anorexia to shiftless vagrancy, could be directly attributed to the lurid austerities of the wilderness. As with many reasonable expectations, however, this one disregards a good deal of primary evidence.

One need not search the literature long before encountering a leavening of statements affirming a strong monastic social obligation, a *vita activa*. To cite one typical *verbum*, an elder is asked to judge who is more pleasing to God, a brother who fasts in six-day intervals and does considerable penance, or one who tends the sick: in a stroke of hyperbole (one hopes), the elder replies, "If that brother who fasts six days at a time were to hang himself up by the nose, he would not equal the one who takes care of the sick." This raises two large questions that I will attempt to answer in my presentation: how extensive is this commitment to the active life among the Fathers, and did the later periods altogether understand and accept its presence?

Valerie Ross
Literature, University of California, Santa Cruz
Intertextuality, Gender, and the Interpretation of Dreams in *Troilus and Criseyde*

This paper examines Chaucer's treatment of Troilus's dream in Book Five of *Troilus and Criseyde* as a critical re-working of Boccaccio's *Filostrato* that privileges female interpretive and narrative agency over Boccaccio's conventional anti-feminism.

I suggest that Chaucer uses the figure of Cassandra as an emblem for his own subversive project of intertextual appropriation and literary self-legitimation when he advances her persona in his text as a voice of interpretive truth, historical insight and ironic wisdom. Cassandra functions for Chaucer as a "Sibille," an oracular (and accurate) interpreter of signs and dreams. She offers Troilus a rich and truthful account of his dream after he realizes he cannot interpret it himself, even after Pandarus has tried and failed. This privileging of female interpretive agency stands in direct contrast to Boccaccio, who authorizes Troilo, not Cassandra, as the interpreter of his dream, and only introduces Cassandra into his narrative in order for Troilo to mock and insult her at great length.

I suggest that Chaucer's radical reworking of this scenario of power, gender, and the interpretation of dreams, links his own appropriative resistance to Boccaccio with Cassandra's marginalized agency in an alliance of transgressive self-authorization. Even though Chaucer's Troilus also vehemently

resists Cassandra's reading of his dream, Chaucer's audience knows that she is right, thus vindicating her interpretive prowess, and discrediting Troilus in the process. I suggest that Chaucer interacts with Boccaccio's *Filostrato* much in the same way Cassandra works with Troilus's dream: as a source-text upon which they both assert their narrative agency. And Chaucer, like Cassandra, vindicates his own version of the Troy story, over that of his *auctor*, while aligning himself with distinctly female oracular power, and the proto-feminist ethics her character implies, in order to do so.

Gary Shockey
German, University of California, Davis
Principles of Territoriality in Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crone*

In a work destined to remain anchored in the canon of medieval texts, Otto Brunner laid the foundations of modern medievalist thought on the subjects of public and private law, land, and statecraft. His work— *Land and Lordship: Structures of Governance in Medieval Austria*—remains both challenging and controversial, and has led others in the fields of medieval history and literature to measure numerous texts against the grain of Brunner's pioneering effort.

To this end, Gert Kaiser, now of the University of Düsseldorf, sought, in an essay published some twenty years ago, to project principles of Brunner's theories on *jurisdictio* and *imperium* into the realm of literary analysis of courtly romance, most notably in *Wigalois* of Wirnt von Gravenberc. The resulting critical attention afford this treatise continues to this day, and has served to focus the attentions of scholars on the legal/ political dynamics of the genre of Arthurian courtly romance, as well as the implicit criticism of existing state systems.

Reflecting on the efforts of these authorities with respect to establishment of princely, hence regionalized dominions, I shall be examining another Arthurian courtly romance—Heinrich von dem Türlin's *Diu Crone*—with the intent of demonstrating the unique incorporative skills of the poet, who, I believe, succeeds in blending the traditions of French and German courtly romance in the reestablishment of Arthurian or imperial dominion with his own creative interpretation of Wirnt's poem, *Wigalois,* where the bard crafts an emerging kingdom that usurps the Arthurian political condition.

I will be focusing on the following points as they relate to Heinrich's poem: (1) The existence of fealty to Arthur and the limited seigniorage accorded Gawein, the main protagonist; (2) the emergence of rivals to the Round Table within the tradition of Chretien and Wolfram—the twin paragons of French and German courtly romance; (3) the departure from this tradition, with the protagonist Gawein achieving territory, magical devices, and a

wife—insignia of political legitimacy and knighthood, and (4) the unique circumstances surrounding the retention and subsequent rejection of this acquired seignioral independence in favor of restoration within the Arthurian world.

The changes and developments that I have briefly noted should, I believe, offer evidence to support my hypothesis regarding the revisionary character of *Diu Crone,* a poem that reflects incorporation and alterations of various 13th-century French and German works of courtly romance. The result is a text that expands and reduces the scope of regional political independence on the part of Arthurian knighthood. The implications for a greater sociopolitical commentary on the part of the poet remain, and future studies may someday provide the extant political messages encased in Heinrich's enigmatic romance.

Susan Taylor Snyder
History, University of California, Santa Barbara
Gender and Status in the Inquisitorial Register of Jacques Fournier

In discussions of the treatment of women by inquisitorial courts, historians often write of "women" as a homogeneous group and fail to recognize differences between women of varying social status. An examination of the inquisitorial register of Jacques Fournier, Bishop of Pamiers from 1318 to 1325, however, shows that the inquisitors did treat women of higher and lower social status differently and also made distinctions in their treatment of men and women.

Fournier and his assistants afforded women of higher status courtesies which they did not show to women at the lower end of the social scale. The register portrays Fournier as having more concern for and taking greater pains with women of higher status than women of lower status. Fournier did not make the same sort of distinctions among the male witnesses in the register. In fact, the men of higher status tended to receive worse treatment than their female counterparts. At the lower end of society, we find very little difference between Fournier's treatment of men and women.

In Fournier's register, therefore, the inquisitors obviously see a difference between women of different status but differentiate between men and women only at the higher levels of society. In short, only the women of higher status are engendered in the register, and, therefore, we cannot speak, as many historians have done, of "women" as a unified and undifferentiated group of witnesses before the inquisitorial courts.

William C. Stalls
Loyola Marymount University
Islam as an Agent of Christian Settlement

Traditional *Reconquista* historiography considers the critical issue in securing Christian conquest of Islamic Iberia to be the aggressive transplanting of Christian settlers and institutions into subjugated Islamic lands. Successful Christian settlement involved the sweeping away of the Muslim past and its replacement by the institutions and culture of Iberian Christians, whether Castilian, Catalan, Aragonese, or Portuguese. The inability of Christian conquerors to accomplish this is, or their tardy progress in realizing this, whether in New Castile, Andalucia, Valencia, or lower Aragon, represented incomplete Christian control of conquered lands.

Despite its undoubted merits, this major theme of *Reconquista* historiography overlooks and underestimates the complex interplay of Christianity and Islam in post-conquest society. Indeed, from reading many works on the subject of Christian settlement, one would never know that Islam had even existed in these territories now under Christian rule or that Muslims were anywhere to be found. In contrast to the approach which overlooks Muslim influence in the post-conquest period, I would point out that the great paradox of Christian settlement in Iberia was its exploitation of the Islamic past, whether found in the Muslim population who remained after conquest or the well-developed Islamic agrarian and physical infrastructure ruled by Christian society, as the foundation of settlement. This can be documented in Christian property divisions and territorial organization, the use of the Islamic field and irrigation system, and Christian reliance on Muslim peasant labor. Settlement was thus more than the imposition of Christian social and economic organization and establishment of large numbers of Christian settlers, with the correlative sweeping away of the Muslim past. In short, Christian settlement heavily depended on, indeed needed, the Muslim past to be successful, a reliance that was a necessary and fundamental trait of Christian settlement, and an overlooked key to understanding its social processes.

Thomas H. Talboy
Boise State University
Plato and Gratian: Church Authority and the Search for God

Pope Gregory VII and his associates, found themselves with a Church that needed to buttress its position in the world with an intellectual justification for its existence. Gratian, a Bolognese monk and canon lawyer, was charged with codifying statements of Church fathers, popes and others, as well as associating them with biblical passages in order to provide such a basis. In addition, Gratian allowed other earlier thinkers to imbue his work. Most

importantly here, was the influence of Plato.

In order to find an echo one would be greatly assisted by parallel texts of Gratian and Plato. This not being the case, the next best step is to consider particular aspects of thought as manifested in Gratian and then attempt to find a related or direct expression in Plato.

Gratian addresses these concerns by examining the role of bishops and the pope, and the role of earthly authority. But, Gratian's overriding concern was for a functioning Church community, within the body itself and in terms of the members in the world. The first step in becoming a functional community is that the authority instilled in its leaders must be kept viable, and while he allowed for dissent, it was not at the whim of the objector. Thus I will explore Plato's treatment of these same concerns throughout his dialogues, and then show parallels to them in Gratian's work. In doing so, it will become more clear that Plato's thought abounded, at least tacitly, in Gratian's work.

Nancy M. Thompson
History CSU, Hayward / Laney College (Viatrix)
Drihtnes Wipersacan: **The Image of Jews in the Old English Homilies**

Anglo-Saxon homilists frequently interpolated anti-Jewish comments into sermons which otherwise faithfully translated a Latin source. Jews were presented, not only as historical agents of Christ's crucifixion, but as persistently hostile opponents of the Lord *(Drihtnes wipersacan)*. Such remarks were not intended to arouse popular feeling against non-Christian neighbors, for it seems unlikely that the pre-Conquest English were acquainted with living Jews. Anti-Jewish comments instead reflect the homilists' concern for eschatological matters and their characteristic tendency to speak of agents or beings rather than abstractions such as sin or disbelief. Jews had to exist somewhere, if not in England, for they still had a divinely appointed role to play in the Last Days; moreover they vividly illustrated the ongoing struggle between Christ's adherents and the devil's, Christianity and non-belief. This is not anti-Semitism in its usual sense, but a prelude to anti-Semitism, for by the time Jews entered England in appreciable numbers, they had long been identified as a present enemy of the faith, and in contexts which were not confined to the literate classes, but reached the popular level.

David F. Tinsley
Foreign Languages, University of Puget Sound
Doubt, the Devil, and Divine Intervention in Fourteenth-Century Women's Spirituality

One of the salient characteristics of fourteenth-century women's spirituality, as practiced in upper-German Dominican convents involved, in the words of Carolyn Walker Bynum, "becoming the crucified, not just patterning themselves after or expanding their compassion toward, but *fusing with*, the body on the cross." Suffering became thereby synonymous with spiritual development, whether achieved by "ascetic practices ... meant to demonstrate either the ability to overcome the primitive demands of the body or the desire to keep the demands of the body in check through voluntary experience of pain by self-flagellation" (Otto Langer), or imposed or granted by God as the means of spiritual ascension. Unconventional charismatic practices demanded equally unconventional confirmation of spiritual progress. The nuns often looked beyond the scriptures or their confessors for assurance that they were on the proper path; they relied on revelation in the form of visions and *auditiones* . They were well aware, however, that revelation won through rapture was fraught with peril. They knew that rapture could have three causes, as Thomas Aquinas tells us, "...first, from a bodily cause ('ex causa corporali'), as is clear from those who by reason of some infirmity have lost their reason. Secondly, from the power of demons ('ex virtute daemonum'), as with those who are possessed. Thirdly, from the divine power ('ex virtute divina')" (*Summa*, Qu. 195, 97). It is not surprising, then, that the ecstasy of each revelatory experience was tempered by doubt concerning its authenticity. In my paper I shall explore Aquinas' second cause, specifically, how power of the devil or demons works to hinder or to enhance spiritual development, as recounted in exemplary *vitae* of Dominican sisters in the convent chronicles.

Using the *vita* of Ita von Hohenfels, which is contained in the first part of the Otenbach convent chronicle, and the *vita* of Christina of Stommeln, the only contemporary *vita* included in the collection of saints' and martyrs' lives used for refectorial readings in Otenbach, I shall first discuss the forms diabolical intervention takes in these accounts, comparing them to conventions of diabolical intervention in the Middle Ages. I then shall explore the devil's ability to inflict suffering, through external mortification and internal subversion of good intention, this in the context of the function of suffering in divine interventions, as explicated in the *vita* of Henry Suso. Finally, I shall discuss the ways in which Christina's and Ita's suffering is made exemplary, this in the context of hagiographic conventions. In conclusion, I shall summarize the function of diabolical intervention in the spiritual framework of the *via triplica*, and discuss briefly the function of diabolically-inspired doubt in spiritual development.

Richard W. Unger
History, University of British Columbia
Brewing and Women in France and the Low Countries at the End of the Middle Ages

Brewing went through major changes in scale, organization and in technology beginning in the thirteenth century. Despite the scope of those changes at least in France and the Low Countries it appears that women retained throughout the late Middle Ages and beyond an important role in the industry. The specific nature of the trade and the traditions of beer brewing worked to mitigate any trend toward the exclusion of women. The growing scale of production and the higher levels of investment for big brewing coppers and their hearths that went along with the change to using hops made inroads into brewing practice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Along with government regulation those changes might have posed a threat to the position of women. Despite the increase in investment the size of the workforce in firms and the proportion of women seems to have remained the same.

The admission requirements of brewers' guilds, where such organizations existed, meant that there were two ways to become a brewer: by inheritance or by purchase. Guilds were often the agency of exclusion of women from trades but brewers' guilds were different from other craft guilds. Since brewing was very early subject to close scrutiny by government, brewers in northern Europe functioned within prescribed limits set by civic bylaws long before they got guild status, recognition, or legislation. The model for guild legislation was civic regulation of brewing rather than practices with other trades. The guilds did not include in their regulations the exclusion of women. In fact, the opposite. Widows had the option, under most guild bylaws, to carry on with the breweries of their late husbands. There was commonly no entry fee required by the guild and they could exercise the trade immediately.

The structure of brewing, where there were no specific technical requirements, no required or demonstrable skills needed to be a brewer worked to the advantage of women. The structure of brewing, with investment levels rising, strangely enough gave some women, those with capital, an opportunity to act as independent businesswomen. The labour required in the brewing industry was large, not because of the number of employees per brewery but because of the number of breweries. The workforce of each unit remained essentially static even if the scale of output per brewery on average rose. Brewing was often done by couples with both husband and wife taking a role in producing the beer. A maximum figure of ten workers directly involved in making beer in a brewery is a reasonable estimate, as is a minimum of five. The crew was often, at least in the fifteenth century, the

brewer and his wife and/or her family along with a few helpers. Women were among those workers including typically those responsible for overseeing the cooling of the beer. Women were thought to have certain special powers which prevented spoilage.

In Holland women appear to have remained very active in most aspects of the beer trade, that is at least down into the early years of the seventeenth century. Women could always inherit breweries and continued to receive them and operate them. It does seem a number of skilled tasks became less and less the preserve of women by the middle of the sixteenth century and there are some hints that women as employees became less important and even disappeared but that not until the early seventeenth century. Women could still be the brewers of beer and operate their own breweries certainly as late as 1616, for in that year at a country inn outside Amsterdam a woman refused to allow tax collectors to measure the quantity of beer she had made. She said it was still hot and so was the day so the measurement would give an inflated result. Witnesses reported that the investigators then struck her and dragged her across the floor by the hair. Violent enforcement of taxes on beer was common and that for all those making beer which had for centuries and continued to include women.

L. M. C. Weston
English, California State University, Fresno
Engendering Speakers and Writers in *Wulf and Eadwacer*

Wulf and Eadwacer is one of two Old English poems in the Exeter Book which "speak" with a female voice. Whereas the other, *the Wife's Lament*, announces the gender of its speaker in the first lines, *Wulf and Eadwacer* delays unequivocal identification of gender until the tenth line, over half-way into the nineteen-line poem. This paper begins from a specific analysis of that moment, the point at which the poem engenders its speaker as female in distinction from the unambiguously male *se beaducafa* ("the battle-hard one," "the warrior"). The very same passage (lines ten and eleven) co-inscribes both gender and (hetero)sexuality in its reference to sexual intercourse, and that co-inscription further implicates violence and power as the basis of sexual difference within the poem.

In thus interrogating the inscription of gender and sexuality andits relationship to aggression within the world of the text, the paper explores what elements construct a feminine voice and text. It draws upon gender performance theory as well as upon recent feminist criticism of *Wulf and Eadwacer* and other Old English texts to situate the construction of the feminine and of heterosexuality within the violent homosocial world of the the named feuding warriors, Wulf and Eadwacer, to whom the anonymous speaker addresses her words. In doing so, the paper undertakes a reading of the poem against

contested discourses of sexuality, marriage and kinship.

Meriel Wisotsky
California State University, Sacramento
The Medieval Mentor: The Lady of the Lake in the World of King Arthur

The Lady of the Lake is, in most people's minds, the samite-clad arm rising from the waters, sword in hand. Her appearance in the Arthurian stories is fragmented among the various episodes and few readers feel the same sense of a complete character with the Lady as they do with the other female characters, notably Morgan and Guinevere. She is a figure worth close examination, though, because she appears as a crucial element in so many stories. The more the stories reveal about her nature, the more intriguing her character becomes.

One of the Lady's most interesting aspects is that of surrogate mother or mentor to the young knights. In Malory, in the French *Mort Artu*, and the German *Lanzelet*, she appears as a foster mother to Lancelot. She gives him much of the training in the chivalric arts which he will need to become a successful knight at the court of King Arthur. In other stories, she appears to different knights to give them advice and aid.

The mentor role the Lady of the Lake fills is firmly based in the traditions of Northern European mythology and folklore. Earlier versions of women as teachers often appear in Celtic tales. As guides, these precursors to the Lady teach their young charges the arts of war. In later stories, the female mentor does not teach the young men the martial arts, but prepares them for the more complex role of the knight in the Middle Ages by training them in the chivalric arts.

The Lady's position of foster mother and of guide to the courtly side of the knightly ideal is echoed by the real women of the Medieval nobility. Women like Eleanor of Aquitaine had charge not only of her own children but of other noble children as well. She was in charge of overseeing their training in social, philosophic, and esthetic matters. The Lady's powerful and important character is not merely a fictional device, but reflects an area of life in which Medieval women were most influential and powerful.

The interweaving of the old and new material, the mythic background and the reality of women's position in the courts of the Middle Ages, combine to suggest an exciting role for the older woman, especially the role of teacher and advisor, of mentor and guide. Once examined and understood the Lady becomes a powerful symbol and even a role model for the academic woman of today.

Linda Marie Zaerr
Boise State University
For I Haf Sen a Selly: Pageantry as a Pedagogical Tool

Dramatic performance of narrative texts can enhance student engagement with complex works and can function as a hermeneutic device. Using brief excerpts from a performance of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, we will illustrate some of the possibilities. Since students today chafe at a performance all in Middle English, we have used short excerpts in Middle English, translating and abridging the rest of the work to highlight major thematic concepts. This performance is designed as a prelude to further study.

For example, when one individual plays the Green knight, the lord of the castle, and the lady, students are able to derive for themselves connections between the different exchange games. This choice also allows us to model historically-based freedom from the modern insistence on verisimilitude, by which an exact correlation is required between the gender of the performer and that of the character portrayed.

The performance is accompanied by music played on a reconstruction of a fourteenth-century fiddle tuned according to the first system of Jerome of Moravia. This music enhances the drama of the narratives while introducing students to an element that would have been vital to almost any medieval performance.

Mark Zier
University of the Pacific
Too Many 'non's Spoil the Pot: Negative Theology and the Edition of Eriugena's *Periphyseon*, IV

Although Johannes Scottus Eriugena has a reputation for being an obscure and cryptic philosopher (if not theologian), not a little of this reputation comes from doubly obscure translations and the author's own unnerving habit of what several of his editors have come to regard as "incomplete corrections." This presentation will outline these difficulties, including examples of some of the more "mystical" English translations that have been put forward in recent decades, and some of the more obscure "incomplete corrections," including a notorious one, drawn from the principal manuscript of *Periphyseon*, IV (Reims, Bibliotheque municipale 875), which has either been passed over in embarrassed silence by Eriugena's interpreters, or has benumbed them. The presentation will argue that Eriugena is much more lucid—at least to the biblically literate interpreter—than he is usually given credit for.

Announcements

1997 Meeting in Hawaii, 14-16 March, 1997

Conference Hotel:

ALA MOANA HOTEL
410 Atkinson Drive, Honolulu, Hawaii 96814-4722
Telephone: 808-955-4811; Fax: 808-947-7338
US toll free number is 1-800-3676025.
Rates: $99.00/night (+10.17% tax), single or double occupancy

Accommodations:

Karen Jolly
History, University of Hawaii at Manoa
Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
T438990@uhccmvs.uhcc.hawaii.edu

or:

Yvonne Y. Yamashita, Director,
Conference Center, University of Hawaii at Manoa
2530 Dole Street, C401, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822
Fax: 808-956-3364; E-mail: yyy@serv1.arthum.hawaii.edu

Alternate accommodation:
East-West Center
1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848
The Center is on the campus of the University and a short bus ride from the conference hotel.

Hale Manoa and Hale Kuahine (dormitory rooms with shared bathroom facilities): telephone service, bedding and linen provided in all rooms. Room cleaning services, towels and soap are not provided. Towel packets are available at the front desk for a nominal cost. Double rooms are furnished with 2 single beds. Single room: $25.00 per night; Double room (single or double occupancy): $33.00 per night

Lincoln Hall (rooms with private bathrooms and cable TV): bedding, linen and towels provided. Rooms cleaned Monday through Friday. All apartments have only one double bed. Studio (single or double occupancy):

$42.00 per night; 1-bedroom (single or double occupancy): $53.00 per night; 1-bedroom with kitchen (single or double occupancy): $61.00 per night

Telephone: 808-944-7157; E-mail reservations: ewhousng@ewc.hawaii.edu Members should refer to the "Medieval Association of the Pacific", so reservations can be processed expeditiously.

The East-West Center's WWW home page is http://www.ewc.hawaii.edu where the latest visitor housing information, rules and rates are listed.

Air Travel:

UNITED AIRLINES is the official airline of the meeting. Members are eligible for a 5% reduction on any published fare (10% off full fare) for travel between 8 March and 22 March. There is also a 10% reduction on any rate for cars rented from Avis or Alamo. Members can book through any agent or through United Airlines Meetings Plus [800-521-4041], mentioning identification number 503IK to take advantage of the discount and to benefit the Association.

Wei Lun Visiting Professor

Medieval Association of the Pacific member Frederick (Hok-Ming) Cheung, History, The Chinese University of Hong Kong, was pleased to announce the appointment of C. Warren Hollister, History, University of California, Santa Barbara, as Wei Lun Visiting Professor. Professor Hollister lectured on "The Decline and Fall of the Middle Ages: Reperiodizing European History" on March 28, 1996 at The Chinese University of Hong Kong.

Medieval Association of the Pacific Website

A website containing the Conference abstracts for this year, the MAP Roster, and *Studia generalia* from the fall is available at:

http://pubweb.ucdavis.edu/Documents/MAP/list.html

Medieval Association of the Pacific
31st Annual Meeting
University of Hawaii at Manoa
Honolulu, Hawaii
14-16 March, 1997

(See previous section for information on accommodations and travel).
Abstract submission date: November 1, 1996

(Preferably email) to: Kevin Roddy   kproddy@ucdavis.edu
Medieval Studies
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(916) 752-4541
(916) 752-8630 (fax)

Abstracts of approximately 200 words are welcome on any topic and discipline concerning the Middle Ages, including philosophy, theology, literature, history, language, the fine arts, law, medicine, science, culture, social life, economics, and political science.

Please follow fax copy with a mailed paper version. If the abstract is to be submitted electronically, members are requested to follow the following conventions, in which "x" is the accented letter, and a word like "état" would be submitted as "&e^;tat":

<i>	begin italics
</i>	end italics
	begin list
	end list
<super>	superscript
</super>	end superscript
<sub>	subscript
</sub>	end subscript
&x';	acute [use single close quotation mark]
&x';	grave [use single open quotation mark]
&x^;	circumflex
&x-;	macron [use hyphen]
&x,;	tailed e, o-hook, or cedilla [use comma]
&x";	umlaut [use double quotation mark]
&x~;	tilde
&x/;	slash
&x@;	ring [use at-sign]
&x.;	lenited [use period]
&AE;	capitalized ae ligature

&ae;   lowercase ae ligature
&OE;   capitalized oe ligature
&oe;   lowercase oe ligature
&Th;   capitalized thorn
&th;   lowercase thorn
&Dh;   capitalized edh
&dh;   lowercase edh