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CHRONICA



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

March 14 to 16, 1997
University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Karen Jolly, History, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Chair: Local Arrangements

Friday March 14 AM Sessions University of Hawai'i at Mānoa
Session 1A: The Debate on the Eternity of the World: In Honor of Richard C. Dales [Organizer: R. James Long].
Friday, March 14. 10:30-12:00 Sakamaki C308

Cosponsor: Department of Philosophy
Chair: R. James Long, Fairfield University

Gordon A. Wilson, Theology, Xavier University of New Orleans.
"Henry of Ghent and Duns Scotus on Good Fortune: An Additional Problem With the Aristotelian Notion of the Eternal World"

R. James Long, Philosophy, Fairfield University. "The Earliest Oxford Debate on the Eternity of the World: Grosseteste, Fishacre, and Rufus"

Marcia Colish, History, Oberlin College. Commentator

Session 1B: Chaucer: *Troilus and Criseyde*.

Friday, March 14. 10:30-12:00 Kuykendall 410

Cosponsor: Department of English

Chair: Florence H. Ridley, University of California, Los Angeles

John M. Fyler, English, Tufts University. "The Power of Exemplarity in *Troilus and Criseyde*"

Suzanne Hagedorn, English, University of Arizona. "Chaucer's 'Ovide': *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Heroides*"

Elisabeth Walsh, English, University of San Diego. "Exit Criseyde: 'Guiltless I yow leve'"

Session 1C: Exploration.

Friday, March 14. 10:30-12:00 Burns 2121/2125

Cosponsor: East-West Center Program on Education and Training

Chair: James Given, University of California, Irvine.

Ikuo Higashibaba, The Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley.
"Popular Christianity in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Japan"

Tim Sullivan, History, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa. "There and Back Again: Colonialism, Travel, and Medieval Europe, 1100-1300"

Richard Unger, History, University of British Columbia. "Exploration, Sea Power and Governments at the End of the Middle Ages"

Session 1D: Health and Welfare.

Friday, March 14. 10:30-12:00 Sakamaki A201

Cosponsor: Department of History

Chair: Cheryl Riggs, California State University, San Bernardino

Louise M. Bishop, English/Honors College, University of Oregon.
"'Measure is Medicine': The Intersection of Cure and Curae in *Piers Plowman*"

Mark Damien Delp, Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology. "The *De sex rerum principiis*: An Astrological Theology of the Early Twelfth Century"

Kate Greenspan, English, Skidmore College. "Dead On Their Feet: Folklore and Theology in the Story of the Cursed Carolers"

Session 2A: Music and Literature [Organizer: Marie Louise Göllner].

Friday, March 14. 1:30-3:00 Kuykendall 301

Chair: Nancy van Deusen, The Claremont Graduate School

Blair Sullivan, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, University of California, Los Angeles. "The Polyphony of the Spheres"

Heike Lammers, University of Munich. "*Homo quo vigeas vide* (Carmen Buranum 22): From the Liturgy to Songbook"

Marie Louise Göllner, Musicology, University of California, Los Angeles. "Music and Poetry or Poetry and Music?: The Medieval Motet"

Session 2B: Monastic Perspectives [Organizer: Cheryl Riggs].

Friday, March 14. 1:30-3:00 Sakamaki A201

Chair: Cheryl Riggs, California State University, San Bernardino

Richard Barton, History, University of California, Santa Barbara.
"Political Memory and the Foundations of Saint-Pierre de la Couture and Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour"

Robin Fleming, Boston College. "Cooking the Books at Christ Church Canterbury"

Marylou Ruud, University of West Florida. "Community and Miracles in 12th-Century England"

Session 2C: Old English Culture.

Friday, March 14. 1:30-3:00 Kuykendall 410

Chair: George Brown, Stanford University

Angelica Duran Cassutt, English/University. "The Gift of 'Pis lif' in the Exeter Book's 'The Gifts of God to Humankind'"

Paul Szarmach, The Medieval Institute. "Æðelflæd, *mise en page*"

Session 2D: Female Patrons, Courtly Culture.**Friday, March 14. 1:30-3:00****HIG 110***Chair: Richard Unger, University of British Columbia.*

Keizo Asaji, Faculty of Letters, Kansai University. "A Household Account of the Countess of Leicester, 1265"

William W. Clark, Queens College, City University of New York. "The Royal Benedictine Nunnery of Saint-Pierre de Montmartro: Female Patronage in Capetian France"

Martha Bayless, University of Oregon. "Bearded Women and the Literature of Inversion"

Session 3A: Music and Literature [Organizer: Marie Louise Göllner].**Friday, March 14. 3:30-5:00****Kuykendall 410***Chair: Marie Louise Göllner, University of California, Los Angeles*

William Mahrt, Music, Stanford University. "Musical and Poetic Voice in Three Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut"

Phyllis Brown, English, Santa Clara University. "Machaut's Curse: Late-Medieval Lyric and the Modern Aesthetic"

Nancy Bowen, Music, The Claremont Graduate School. "Chaucer and the 'Gay Sautrie' in the *Miller's Tale*"**Session 3B: Medieval Science.****Friday, March 14. 3:30-5:00****Kuykendall 301***Chair: Leland E. Wilshire, Biola University*James K. Otté, History, University of San Diego. "The Atom Versus *Genesis*: The Church Fathers and Atomic Theory"Alan M. Smith, Honors College, University of Utah. "The Role of the *Consilia* in the Development of Medieval Scientific Methodology"

Jens Ulf-Møller, History, Brandeis University, University of Copenhagen. "Commercial Arithmetic and Duodecimal Counting Practices in British and Scandinavian Account Books and Texts."

Session 3C: Tools.**Friday, March 14. 3:30-5:00****HIG 110***Chair: Richard W. Unger, University of British Columbia.*Joan Grenier-Winther, French, Washington State University. "Electronic Editions of Uncanonized Texts: The Case of *La Belle dame qui eut mercy*"

Dhira Mahoney, English, Arizona State University. "'A short epilogue excusatorie of the translatours rudenesse': Liminal Rhetoric of Late Medieval Translators"

Glenn Luft, and Kevin Roddy, Medieval Studies Program, University of California, Davis. "Reconstructing Hadrian's Wall: A Web-Based 3-D Multimedia Project"

Session 3D: Medieval Aberrations.**Friday, March 14. 3:30-5:00****Art 132***Chair: Christopher Kleinhenz, University of Wisconsin*

Richard Barnes, English, Pomona College. "Jacopone from Inside"

Steven Botterill, Italian Studies, University of California at Berkeley. "Parodic Deformation of Dante's 'Inferno' in Fifteenth-Century Florence"

Carol Knicely, Fine Arts, University of British Columbia. "Exploring Rhetorics of Violence in the Visual Imagery of the Romanesque Era"

Steven A. Epstein, History, University of Colorado. "A Late Medieval Lawyer Confronts Slavery: The Cases of Bartolomeo de Bosco"

Special Session: Tour of Saint Andrew's Cathedral.

William W. Clark, Queens College, City University of New York. "The Conundrum of Saint Andrew in Honolulu: English or French?"

Saturday March 15 AM Sessions Ala Moana Hotel**Session 4A: Performance and Literature [Organizer: Maria Dobozy].****Saturday, March 15. 9:00-10:30****Ala Moana 1***Chair: Maria Dobozy, University of Utah*Maria Dobozy, University of Utah. "Reflexivity and Performance in *Diu Crone* by Heinrich von dem Türlin"

Hubert Heinen, Germanic Languages, The University of Texas at Austin. "Being (Mis)Guided by the Inscribed Audience in Minnesongs"

Linda Marie Zaerr, Boise State University. "The Prehensile Tail and the Powerful Princess: Relics of Performance in *Sir Bevis*"**Session 4B: Romance.****Saturday, March 15. 9:00-10:30****Ala Moana 2***Chair: Florence H. Ridley, University of California, Los Angeles*Sarah Gordon, European Literature, Oxford University. "Translation and Adaptation: the Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* and the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*."James D. Johnson, English, Humboldt State University. "The Family Drama in *The Tale of Gamelyn*"

Margarita Yanson, Medieval Studies, University of California, Davis. "Beaflor's Mantle and Emaré's Cloak: The Message of the Heroine's Attire"

Session 4C: Politics.**Saturday, March 15. 9:00-10:30 Ala Moana 3***Chair: C. Warren Hollister, University of California, Santa Barbara.*

James Given, History, University of California, Irvine. "Violent Opposition to the Inquisitors of Languedoc, 1230s-1320s: An Essay on Popular, Collective Political Action in Medieval Europe"

Takeshi Kido, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nanyang Technological University. "The Reign of Henry IV of England: A Century of Historical Research and Writing"

Sharan Newman, History, University of California, Santa Barbara. "The Light-fingered Bishop: Philippe d'Harcourt and the Stolen Arm"

Session 4D: Literary Perspectives.**Saturday, March 15. 9:00-10:30 Ala Moana 4***Chair: Henry Ansgar Kelly, University of California, Los Angeles.*

Dara Hellman, Comparative Literature, University of California, Los Angeles. "Evidence for Life on Mars, or Gaston Paris was Right"

Christina M. Fitzgerald, English, University of California, Los Angeles. "'Ubbe dubbede him to knith': The Scansion of *Havelok* and Middle English -es, -eth, -ed(e)"

Edward I. Condren, English, University of California, Los Angeles. "Playing Tennis with the Net Up: The Mathematical Design of the Gawain Manuscript"

Session 5A: Oral Tradition [Organizer: Franz Bäuml].**Saturday, March 15. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 2***Chair: Franz Bäuml, University of California, Los Angeles*

Jesse Byock, Germanic Languages, University of California, Los Angeles. "*Egils Saga* Seen in a New Light"

Joseph Falaky Nagy, Folklore and Mythology, University of California, Los Angeles. "Trace and Text in the Legend of Tristan and Isolde and in its Celtic Analogues"

Ursula Schaefer, Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Humboldt Universität zu Berlin. "Textualizing Prose: Considerations on Translating as a Forgotten Contribution to the Transition from Orality to Literacy in England"

Session 5B: Hermits, Mendicants, and Confraternities.**Saturday, March 15. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 3***Chair: Glenn Olsen, University of Utah*

Robert L. Cooper, History, University of California, Davis. "The Chill Winds of Lyons in the Marches: Disciplining the Early Silvestrines"

Atsushi Kawahara, History, Tokyo Metropolitan University. "Confraternal Charity in Florence and Ghent during the Late Middle Ages: A Comparative Sketch"

John Hilary Martin, Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology. "Emerging Cultural and Regional Identity: The Formation of Provinces within the Mendicant Orders in Europe of the 13th Century"

Session 5C: Music and Representation.**Saturday, March 15. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 1***Chair: Theodor Göllner, University of Munich*

Eleonora (Nora) M. Beck, Lewis and Clark College. "Justice and Music in Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes"

Susan Boynton, School of Music, University of Oregon. "*Artes lectoriae* as Witnesses to the Performance of Chant"

Mary Kay Duggan, University of California, Berkeley. "The Sequence in the 15th Century: Print Technology and the Canon"

Session 5D: Romance Literature.**Saturday, March 15. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 4***Chair: Kevin Roddy, University of California, Davis*

Sharon Kinoshita, Literature, University of California, Santa Cruz. "Unruly Speech: Female Discourse and the Construction of Alterity in Old French Epic"

Ineke Hardy, French, University of British Columbia. "Sounds of Meaning, Meaning of Sounds: An Analysis of Phonetic Patterns in a Song by Bernart de Ventadorn and Two of its Contrafacta"

Michaela Paasche Grudin, Lewis and Clark College. "Ciappelletto and Griselda: The Diagnostics of Satire"

12:45-1:15 LUNCH: Ala Moana Garden Lanai**1:15-1:45 BUSINESS MEETING: Ala Moana 5****2:00-3:00 PLENARY SESSION: Ala Moana Garden Lanai****Opening Chant: Momi Kanahele**

Dr. Paul Varley, Sen Soshitsu XV Professor of Japanese Cultural History, Department of History, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa "The Life of Provincial Warriors in Medieval Japan: A Slide Lecture on a 13th-Century Picture Scroll"

Session 6A: Boccaccio and Chaucer [Organizer: Leonard Koff].**Saturday, March 15. 3:30-5:00 Ala Moana 1***Chair: Leonard Koff, University of California, Los Angeles*

Leonard Koff, English, University of California, Los Angeles. "Literary Reception and the Values That Make it Possible, or Impossible: The Case of Boccaccio's *Decameron*"

Brenda Deen Schildgen, Comparative Literature, University of California, Davis. "Islam in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*"

John Ganim, English, University of California, Riverside. "Chaucer, Boccaccio, Confession and Subjectivity"

Session 6B: Malory.

Saturday, March 15. 3:30-5:00 Ala Moana 2

Chair: Luke Wenger, Medieval Academy of America

Henry Ansgar Kelly, English, University of California, Los Angeles. "Malory as Rapist, or Rescuer of Matron in Distress?"

Meg Roland, English, Columbia Gorge Community College. "The Naming of Malory's Text: It isn't Just the 'Morte' Anymore"

Meriel Wisotsky, California State University, Sacramento. "The Adversary: The Devil and Morgan le Fay"

Session 6C: Mysticism and Spirituality.

Saturday, March 15. 3:30-5:00 Ala Moana 3

Chair: Cheryl Riggs, California State University, San Bernardino

Christine McCann, History, University of California, Santa Barbara. "Spiritual Mentoring in Early Medieval Ireland"

Anne M. Schuchman, Italian, New York University. "The Cult of Umiliana de' Cerchi (1219-1246)"

Constance S. Wright, Carmel, California. "The Soul and Gender in Men's Mysticism"

6:00-7:00 RECEPTION: Ala Moana 6

7:00 BANQUET, SPEAKER:

Christopher Kleinhenz, University of Wisconsin "The Discovery of the Lost Manuscript of Dante's *Divine Comedy*"

Sunday, March 16, 1996 Sessions: ALA MOANA HOTEL

Session 7A: Chaucer and Dream Visions.

Sunday, March 16. 9:00-10:30 Ala Moana 2

Chair: Florence H. Ridley, University of California, Los Angeles

Leslie Arnovick, English, University of British Columbia. "The (In-)Compleat House of Fame: Chaucer's Ending in Light of Medieval Reception Theory"

Jane Beal, English, University of California, Davis. "The Poetics of Necrophilia in *The Book of the Duchess*"

John M. Bowers, English, University of Nevada Las Vegas. "The Summoner's Bisexuality and How It Matters"

Session 7B: Medieval History.

Sunday, March 16. 9:00-10:30 Ala Moana 3

Chair: Scott Waugh, University of California, Los Angeles

John D. Cotts, History, University of California at Berkeley. "Charters, Performativity and the Development of Literacy in Early Medieval England"

Jennifer McKnight, History, University of Washington. "A Question of Feud"

Hiroshi Takayama, Faculty of Letters, The University of Tokyo. "Amiratus in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily—A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration"

Session 7C: Methodology.

Sunday, March 16. 9:00-10:30 Ala Moana 1

Chair: Marie Anne Mayeski, Loyola-Marymount University

Curtis Gruenler, University of California, Los Angeles. "Augustine's Hermeneutics of Enigma and Historical Criticism of Medieval Literature"

David F. Tinsley, Foreign Languages, University of Puget Sound. "Gendered Transcendence in the *vitae* of Suso and Stigel"

Max Withers, History, University of California, Berkeley. "Against Theory: The Problem of Unbelief in the Middle Ages"

Session 8A: Translations and Reading.

Sunday, March 16. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 1

Chair: Mary Kay Duggan, University of California, Berkeley.

Georgiana Donavin, Westminster College of Salt Lake City. "A Marian Primer for Fourteenth-Century English Poetry"

Judith Haas, Literature Board, University of California, Santa Cruz. "Translatio and Trojan Origins in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*"

Anita Obermeier, English, Arizona State University. "The Manciple's Tale: A Metaphor for Chaucer's Self-Critical Role"

Session 8B: French Literature.

Sunday, March 16. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 2

Chair: Marilyn Schmitt, Art History Information Project, Getty Institute

Thierry Boucquey, Modern Languages, Scripps College. "Of Fools and Bakayaros: Pathelin Meets Taro Kaja"

Carol E. Harding, English, Western Oregon State College. "True Lovers' in Murasaki Shikibu and Christine de Pizan"

Velvet Pearson, University of Southern California. "Christine de Pizan's *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*: Mythology and the Voice of the Author"

Session 8C: Early Medieval Culture.

Sunday, March 16. 11:00-12:30 Ala Moana 3

Chair: Karen Jolly, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa.

Kory Lawson Ching, English, University of California, Irvine.

"The 'Prudent Argument': Bede's Rhetorical Negotiation of Anglo-Saxon Cultural Clash"

Michael J. Curley, The Honors Program, University of Puget Sound. "Animated and Peripatetic Statues—New Evidence and Its Context in the Miracles of Saint David"

Shoichi Sato, History, The University of Nagoya. "The Three-Fields System in the Late Merovingian Accounting Documents from the Abbey Saint-Martin at Tours"

12:30 LUNCH: Ala Moana Dining

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks to Dean Judith Hughes of the College of Arts and Humanities and Dean Cornelia Moore of the College of Languages, Linguistics and Literature for their support; and thanks to the Departments of History, Philosophy, English, and French, as well as the East West Center, for their sponsorship and assistance.

The Local Arrangements Committee

University of Hawai'i at Mānoa

Tamara Albertini, Philosophy

Bill Burgwinkle, French

Kathleen Falvey, English

Karen Jolly, History

Judith Kellogg, English

Kathryn Klingebiel, French

Peter Nicholson, English

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Richard Unger, University of British Columbia

Nancy van Deusen, Claremont Graduate School

MINUTES

Advisory Council and General Business Meeting

THE MEDIEVAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC

14 March 1997

University of Hawaii

The Advisory Council and Officers of MAP met on Friday morning, March 14th, at 8:35 am. Those present were Nancy van Deusen, Glenn Olsen, Cheryl Riggs, Kevin Roddy (Officers); Phyllis Brown (standing in for Richard Osberg), Steve Epstein, Karen Jolly, Dhira B. Mahoney, Marie Anne Mayeski, Sharan Newman and James Otté (Council). Visiting were George Hardin Brown and Luke Wenger

Absent: Patrick Geary, Christina Maria Guardiola, Sián Echard, Hester Gelber, and Seth Leher (Council).

MINUTES of the previous meeting, held at the University of San Diego, March 15th, 1996, were approved as written.

PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The President reserved his report for the announcement of upcoming conferences, below.

VICE PRESIDENT'S REPORT

The Vice-President announced that there were only two applications for the independent scholar's award, and that Catherine Brown Tkacz had been the recipient. Once again, the new name for the award is The John F. Benton Stipend for Travel. See below, under "New Business," for further discussion of this award.

Future applicants for the award must apply by the November 1st deadline to Vice-President Glenn Olsen, History, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, UT 84112.

SECRETARY-TREASURER'S REPORT

As of February, 1997, \$4,335.98 was deposited in the Association account with the Membership Secretary-Treasurer, on an income of \$5,015.00 and an expense of \$7,725.60. This figure does not include the cost of the Spring *Chronica*, which will add another \$2,000, or the Conference Subvention for the University of Hawaii at \$1,000, nor expenses incurred by the officers performing their duties. *Chronica*, at \$4,000 for the two issues, remains the largest cost, but this expense may have finally stabilized.

For the last time, the Council, as it has for the past seven years, thanks the California State University at San Bernardino for its generosity, in supporting her activities as Secretary-Treasurer.

By the last count, there were 512 members in the Association, up from last year's 491. The Secretary/Treasurer has continued to clean those who had not paid their dues in three years. Of this number, 442 are from the United States, 51 from Canada, 18 from Japan, and one from Hong Kong.

The Secretary reported that the Association's effort to achieve official tax-exempt status with the Internal Revenue Service was unfortunately still delayed, though she was in contact with an officer from the Internal Revenue Service, and next year should finally see the long business (dating, for the record, since 1983) concluded. See below, under "New Business."

Finally, in a necessary but nonetheless unhappy announcement, the Secretary/Treasurer declared her intention to resign her office, in light of her promotion to Chair of the History Department at CSU, San Bernardino. She offered, however, to finish the tax business, which takes her office to next year's meeting at Stanford.

CHRONICA

In what has become a 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.

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

The four outgoing members of the nominating committee proposed the following slate for the four new council positions, which would extend to 1999.

Louise Bishop, English, University of Oregon
Phyllis Brown, English, Santa Clara University
James K. Otté, History, University of San Diego
Jennifer Summit, English, Stanford University

The Council unanimously adopted the slate, and it was approved at the General Meeting on Saturday, March 16th.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

1998: The Medieval Academy of America will be meeting at Stanford in this year, and George Brown was pleased to propose a joint conference, to take place March 26-28.

1999: President van Deusen has confirmed that the Claremont Graduate University will host the convention on March 19-21 for that year.

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

NEW BUSINESS

There were three items of new business: 1) Dues: Last increase in dues occurred in 1989, and the increased cost of *Chronica* and postage, as well as the certainty that the Secretary/Treasurer would almost certainly need a subvention, has placed this item in New Business for some years. A motion was made to set at \$25.00 for regular membership, but to leave graduate students at \$5.00. The motion carried, but subsequently it was discovered that cost savings could be realized in *Chronica* (not, the editor assures you, by refusing to publish), and so the higher dues were placed in abeyance.

2) Tax exempt status: As mentioned above, the Secretary/Treasurer has been in contact with the IRS Office in San Diego. There have been throughout delays in establishing MAP's status, and Professor Riggs has been asked to refile: this should occur quickly, as it is no longer necessary to review. It could, in fact, be completed in the next 100 days. The fee has to be paid again; organization is assigned an employee id number; no charity id number is required for non-profit status.

3) Independent scholars' support. Because there were so few applications, there was a motion to abandon the award. There was then a spirited debate, with the majority vote in favor. All agreed to year's decision to extend the competition to other deserving medievalists: all students and others who do

not have access to travel funds. This proposal was approved in principle, with Independent Scholars receiving appropriate consideration. The discussion recommended that the award be used for other conference expenses, beyond travel. But the main problem was perceived as advertising, and to that end faculty are encouraged to remind their students of this resources.

All business concluded, the meeting adjourned out into lush Hawaii by 9:50 am.

At General Session on Saturday, March 15th, the members assembled approved of the business before the council.

Respectfully submitted,

Kevin Padraic Roddy
Chronica Co-Editor, MAP

1997 CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS

Keizo Asaji

Faculty of Letters, Kansai University.

The Household Account of Eleanor de Montfort, the Countess of Leicester, 1265

The Household account of Eleanor de Montfort, 1265, is one of the earliest extant private *compotus* rolls of lay magnates. The rolls have been used in the study of baronial daily life, such as food, clothing, housing, amusements and travel. But set in the historical background of 1265, the rolls can be a rich fountain of the information about the baronial households during a time of political turbulence.

The earliest date in the account is February 19, 1265, when her husband, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, was at the height of his power, having the king as his hostage. The household account tells us that Simon visited his wife at Odiham with some 160 horses with Lord Edward as a hostage, in the middle of March. The roll also tells us that at the end of May, hearing the news that Lord Edward escaped from her husband's control in the west of England, Eleanor immediately moved from Odiham through Porchester to Dover, escorted by her son, Simon junior, considering a future voyage to France.

From a reading of the rolls in the political context with other documents, contemporary chronologies or correspondence for example, information emerges on the baronial household as the core of the power in the society of thirteenth century England. The present paper focuses on the military powers kept in the countess's household, and the meaningful ties that bound local people, merchants, burgesses and ecclesiastical houses to her and her husband, with some reference to the relation between the two households, Simon's and Eleanor's.

Richard Barnes

English, Pomona College

Jacopone from Inside

"When caravans cross the desert, [poetry] is the secret treasure hidden underneath the jewels." To do metrical translation is to enter into a more intimate and continuous relationship with the poems than one would bother with otherwise—because it does take an astonishing amount of time—and the responsible translation itself becomes a commentary in plenary detail.

I should like to present a few of my translations of the *laude* of Jacopone da Todi, together with some observations that challenge the critical and hagiographical traditions associated with his name. He was known as a

“fool of God” because he did exhibit outrageous behavior, in accordance with the ninth beatitude, and like Skelton and Quevedo he became the hero of many a mad tale attracted by his reputation. But I find the poems inwardly grounded in Scripture and in ecstatic experience: “the preaching of the cross that is to them that perish foolishness.” For example, laud 76 “O iubelo del core” is clearly about how it feels to speak in tongues; the story goes that he composed it in the privy where his fellow friars had thrown him for stinking up the dormitory with a pork chop he had nailed to the wall as a prank on the Devil and a mortification of the flesh.

Richard Barton

History, University of California, Santa Barbara

Political Memory and the Foundations of Saint-Pierre de la Couture and Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour

Since the eighteenth century, scholars wishing to study the restoration of monastic life in Maine in the late tenth century have proceeded from a common assumption: that whereas some of the Manceaux abbeys were restored by the bishops of Le Mans, both the abbey of Saint-Pierre de la Couture and the chapel of Saint-Pierre-de-la-Cour were refounded, or restored, by the counts of Maine. Two donations made to La Couture by Count Hugh II before 992 were taken as evidence of the comital role in the refoundation, and the impressive string of comital *acta* given to La Cour at the same time by Counts David and Hugh has been seen as further confirmation of the comital dynasty's active role in the restoration of monastic life. Yet two problems impede acceptance of this hypothesis. First, Dom Oury has shown us that Gauzbert, abbot of Saint-Julien of Tours, played as important a role, if not a more important role, in the refoundation of La Couture as Count Hugh. Second, as long ago as 1910 Latouche demonstrated that most of the comital charters for the late tenth century, including all of those for La Cour and several of those for La Couture, were twelfth-century forgeries and he proved that no Count David of Maine ever existed. Building on this evidence, in the first section of this paper I argue that the counts of Maine were responsible for neither the refoundation of La Couture nor the tenth-century foundation of La Cour. Rather, the comital role in both events was fictive, a product of twelfth-century invention. Yet more important questions remain: why did the forgers of the twelfth century choose the counts as founders, and why did they invent a Count David? In the second part of this paper I explore some of the reasons why the forgers wished to both commemorate and exalt the extinct comital dynasty. I suggest that a combination of fond remembrance of the last native count (Count Helias), pride in a distinct regional identity, especially in their long tradition of independence from both Anjou and Normandy, and calculation of the cultural value, or capital, of possessing a political ancestor named after the biblical King David, impelled the creation of the forgeries alleging Count David's role in the monastic

refoundations. I conclude with some words on the ways that the forgers used communal and individual memories to reshape their communal political past, as well as their individual political and ecclesiastical present.

Martha Bayless

English, University of Oregon

Bearded Women and the Literature of Inversion

Women's conventional lowliness served to limit women's lives in the worldly realm, but in religious terms it sometimes gave women a positional advantage. If, in the kingdom of heaven, the last shall be first, then the very lowliness of women will be the reason for their exaltation. For medieval women, then, inversion was the path of redemption. Because men and women were often considered to be polar opposites, this inversion often took the form of assuming male characteristics. And in keeping with the somatic character of medieval feminine devotion, these characteristics were often physical in nature.

The most notable manifestation of this inversion is the appearance of holy beards on women. The earliest holy bearded woman, Galla, appears in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great; the most popular, Wilgefortis, was widely venerated through northern Europe for centuries. In each case the saint became so holy that her female characteristic were effaced and she grew a beard before her holy death, becoming explicitly male and Christlike. These and other stories of bearded women saints serve as examples of a holy corporeal inversion: from an emphasis on the lower half of the body to the upper, from sexual to sexually pure, from female to male.

Yet not all inversion was holy. Secular literature upends these devotional tales: in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale*, for example, Absolon kisses the inverted Alison and realizes his mistake by finding a beard there. The fabliaux, too, have transposed women's beards to the lower realms. Both religious and secular accounts, however, reflect medieval views of the intersection between the physical and the moral order of the world.

Jane Beal

English, University of California, Davis

The Poetics of Necrophilia in *The Book of the Duchess*

Several critics have pointed out that Chaucer re-writes the story of Alcyone and Ceyx in *The Book of the Duchess*, but none have noticed how Chaucer's version draws attention to the corporeality of death. Whereas in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* Morpheus counterfeits the appearance of Ceyx in Alcyone's dream, Chaucer makes Morpheus possess the drowned body of Ceyx for that visitation. The physical presence of the king's corpse, albeit brief, contrasts with the absence of the Lady White's corpse in the latter half of the poem. However, her “living” body is present after her death through the agency of

the Knight's memory. Because the heart was considered the source of memory in medieval physiology, the "hert-huntyng" motif of the poem is about the recovery of the Knight's heart, memory, and Lady. When the Knight reminisces to the Dreamer, "She was lady of the body; she had the herte, and who hath that may not asterte" (lines 1152-4), his speech suggests his possession of the Lady as a *res memoriae* and her continued possession of his heart after death. More importantly, the Knight's words reveal his desire for the Lady "in her body." That desire forms the center for a poetics of necrophilia in *The Book of the Duchess*.

The relationship between necrophilia and the creation of narrative in Chaucer's poem becomes more evident when *The Book of the Duchess* is viewed as a book of the heart, in the sense that Jager has recently described ["The Book of the Heart," *Speculum* 71 (1996)]. The idea of the heart as a book became a common medieval trope, and this metaphor was occasionally reversed, so that a book could be understood as a heart. The "hert-huntyng" of the poem thus becomes not only an attempt to restore the Lady to the Knight, but the pursuit of an emerging poetics. That the body of the Lady is never found except in memory suggests both the source, and the limitations, of narrative.

Eleonora (Nora) M. Beck
Lewis and Clark College
Justice and Music in Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes

This paper examines the depiction of justice and music in Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes (1303-1306). Accompanying the famous series of scenes dedicated to the story of Joachim and Anna, the life of the Virgin, the life of Christ, the Passion, and the Last Judgement, Giotto painted fourteen personifications of Virtues and Vices in imitation, polished-marble niches below the lowest register of frescoes on the side walls of the Chapel. The pictures of Justice and Injustice are the largest and stand at the middle of the nave placed on thrones. Giotto raised them to a level of complexity never before seen, instilling a new civic sense, placing them on earth and in life.

Under seated Justice, Giotto has composed a relief-like niche in gray tones. Into this niche, Giotto paints a musical scene consisting of three dancing women. One holds a tambourine and sings while the other two strike poses. Under Injustice this idyllic world is destroyed. The same relief-like space contains images of dancers who have been assailed by robbers. The music stops. This paper explores the questions: What is the meaning of music in this fresco? How does the representation of music relate to conceptions of justice in the Trecento?

Louise M. Bishop
Department of English/Honors College, University of Oregon
'Measure is Medicine': The Intersection of Cure and Curae in Piers Plowman

For Langland, medicine is at once a salve and a poison, and his literary metaphors reveal his acquaintance with contemporary homeopathic remedies. But the most important medicine is the "cure" of souls. How does Langland use medical metaphors for his models of the redemption? What do these metaphors reveal about illness as metaphor for the Middle Ages? How does Langland's concern with money fit this medical framework?

Steven Botterill
Italian Studies, University of California at Berkeley
Parodic Deformation of Dante's "Inferno" in Fifteenth-century Florence

The early fifteenth-century satirical poet Stefano Finiguerra, known to his contemporaries under the nickname "il Za", has endured, for several centuries, the same historical oblivion and critical neglect that have affected most authors in the linguistically and thematically transgressive *giocoso* tradition. Antonio Lanza's recent edition of Finiguerra's major writings, however, at last makes it possible for scholars to see this pivotal figure in the tradition's development more clearly, and to recognize him for the subtle and sophisticated literary artist that he is. This paper concentrates on the most concise and most effective of Finiguerra's satirical poemetti, "Lo Studio d'Atene", showing how the text's extraordinarily rich and varied range of allusive deformations of Dante's "Commedia" functions as a parody of the narrative and stylistic ambitions of "high" poetry, while also identifying in Finiguerra's work clear traces of an aspiration to compete with Dante on his own terms—most particularly in his frequent coinage of extended naturalistic similes whose tone and narrative function seems intended to recall—but this time non-parodically—the many similar instances of the device in Dante's work, particularly in "Inferno".

Thierry Boucquoy
Modern Languages, Scripps College
Of Fools and Bakayaros: Pathelin meets Taro Kaja

This paper shall attempt to establish the postulate that the world of medieval French farce's primary characteristic, its fundamental code, its very institution indeed, is folly. Farce plays are generated by a foolish order which substitutes itself for the rational order which governs the world outside the plays. To give itself a voice, foolish discourse creates its own universe, organized by its own code. This reversal of the rational order becomes the very institution which regulates the world of farce.

In a second movement, the paper shall set up a comparison between Medieval French farce and the Muramachi Period Japanese dramatic genre known as Kyoogen. Very oddly, both genres appeared virtually contemporaneously in two geographical locations totally isolated from one another. Both share a link with degenerate popular festivals and a close relationship with liturgy. Both deal with a similar subject matter. But above all, both generate their dramatic production from the principle of foolish reason and reasonable foolishness. This shall be illustrated by a comparative analysis of a farce and a kyoogen play.

Nancy Bowen

The Claremont Graduate School

Chaucer and the "Gay Sautrie" in the *Miller's Tale*

According to the Chaucer concordance, the word "sautrie" or "sawtrie," meaning "psaltery," appears only four times in Chaucer's writings, all in the *Canterbury Tales*, Chaucer's last major work. And two of them occur within a single story, the *Miller's Tale*. Why do half of Chaucer's references to the psaltery appear in this story, and why is this instrument referred to as a "gay sautrie" in the tale? In the Psalms, we are told to praise God with, among several other musical instruments, "the psaltery and the harp," *laudate eum in psalterio et cithara*. But what is the psaltery, and how does it differ from the *cithara*, or the harp?

Medieval psalm commentaries answer this question in a literature pertaining to the *psalterium* (psaltery) and the *cithara*. To prominent Church Fathers, including St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine and Cassiodorus, the psaltery and *cithara* were spiritual allegories, as well as musical instruments. They represented, among other things, the Psalms themselves, the Ten Commandments, Christ's body, stretched out on the Cross, man's salvation as a result of Christ's sacrifice, a Christian joyfully praising God, physical and spiritual strength, the harmony of praiseworthy actions, and good works performed with joy. These spiritual interpretations had a powerful impact on the medieval mind, and resonated throughout medieval texts and illuminations for centuries. By applying the allegorical traditions of medieval theologians and, to some extent, a medieval interpretation of antiquity, to the four situations involving the psaltery in the *Canterbury Tales*, a richer understanding of how the image of the psaltery was employed by Chaucer and an added appreciation of the religious satire in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* can be obtained.

John M. Bowers

English, University of Nevada Las Vegas

The Summoner's Bisexuality and How It Matters

This paper addresses an odd omission in Chaucerian criticism. If the Pardoner is queer—and so many scholarly studies insist he is—then his "fere" the Summoner must be queer too. Yet very little notice has been taken of the Summoner's sexual preferences. My title recalls Monica McAlpine's classic *PMLA* article "The Pardoner's Homosexuality and How It Matters," which greatly clarified the terms for discussing the queer contents of Chaucer's portrait of this pilgrim. My intent is to emphasize that the Summoner cannot be so easily categorized. He may have some sexual relationship with the Pardoner, but he is not exclusively homosexual. Chaucer's portrait of the Summoner states that he had a female concubine as well. Sometimes called "the excluded middle" in current discussions of sexuality, the practice of bisexuality was the more threatening status in medieval understandings of erotic misconduct because it gave graphic illustration to the assumption that all men were potentially subject to sexual slippage—that all men were capable of lapsing into sodomy.

Susan Boynton

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***Artes lectoriae* as Witnesses to the Performance of Chant**

The *artes lectoriae* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were grammatical treatises ostensibly intended to help lectors (*lectores* pronounce liturgical texts, but they also offer new information on the musical performance of chant, particularly the singing of the hymns of the divine office. Two closely-related texts from the later eleventh century, the *Artes lectoriae* of Aimericus and Siguinus, and an anonymous treatise transmitted in a twelfth-century manuscript, all contain numerous citations of hymn texts. A close reading of these treatises offers illuminating insights into the nature of oral transmission and the textual criticism of Gregorian chant. Their detailed commentary on the performance traditions of specific hymns provides a new view of regional differences in the hymns' textual transmission; in brief, the *artes lectoriae* reveal the origins of many textual variants in medieval hymns.

The three *artes lectoriae* I have consulted distinguish between regional variants and errors, taking factors such as local tradition and the exigencies of choral singing into account when proposing emendations. The *artes'* realistic depiction of the confusion among singers' renditions of hymn texts suggests that many variants originated in both regional custom and oral transmission. The *artes lectoriae* offer new evidence for the role of teachers, who were often also librarians, in the correction of liturgical books. These treatises thus supplement the information on liturgical emendation that is contained in monastic customaries.

Phyllis Brown

English, Santa Clara University

Machaut's Curse: Late-Medieval Lyric and the Modern Aesthetic

Despite intriguing parallels to Petrarch's famous sonnet "Benedetto sia 'l giorno e 'l mese et l'anno," Guillaume de Machaut's ballade "Je maudi l'eure et le temps et le jour" has received little attention from 20th-century critics. Striking differences between the reception of Machaut's and Petrarch's lyric output will provide a nexus for discussion of modern devaluation of late medieval lyric as well as for discussion of Medieval-Renaissance continuities. This paper will consider whether "an unbridgeable gulf" exists between "twentieth-century sensibilities and those of the fourteenth and fifteenth," as M. J. Freeman's review of Leonard Johnson's *Poets as Players* suggests may be the case, or whether late-medieval lyric speaks to modern critical sensibilities in ways that contribute to our understanding of canon formation.

Jesse L. Byock

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***Egils Saga* Seen In A New Light**

For the past half century, scholars have studied *Egils saga* principally for its literary inventiveness. In so doing they have defined the text as a highly creative, late-written biography of a rather strange nonconformist and his exaggerated heroic foreign journeys. In this literary guise, the social and historical aspects of the saga have been downplayed and at times have been ignored. In contradistinction to this modern scholarly emphasis, the saga presents a rich portrayal of critical social issues. In particular it explores a central concern of the medieval Icelanders: their cultural self-identity. This paper considers *Egils saga* in light of this concern. More than simply a late, creative biography, the saga exemplifies the social memory of a medieval community, that is, its use of the "historical" past.

Angelica Duran Cassutt

English, Stanford University

The Gift of "pis lif" in the Exeter Book's "The Gifts of God to Humankind"

In the closing of "The Gifts of God to Humankind," the poet glorifies God because "he gives us this life/ and reveals his friendly spirit to men" (112-113). As much as this statement expresses the purpose of the poem, the poem itself forms a didactic model for the discovery of that affirmation by listing personal and societal relationships established and

characterized by God-given gifts. As part of the Old English poems grouped by their theme of the gifts of God to men, "Gifts" has been regarded inferior to such poems as "The Fortunes of Men" because its middle section in particular does not provide an overt sense of order. However, that lack is not a fault but a manifestation of the Pauline inconsistency in ranking gifts. Like Romans, I Corinthians, and Ephesians, the middle section of "Gifts" highlights the purposes and uses of gifts. The belief in an underlying, divine balance is appropriately reflected not in an orderly list but in the poem's poetics, as my analysis of the use of verbs and of *sum* in particular demonstrates. That structural analysis facilitates our understanding of the poem's coalescence of Old Testament material gifts and New Testament spiritual gifts transformed into abilities which reflect an active God and an equally dynamic community. Correlatively, the poem inculcates neither a sense of fear nor an obligation to give or receive, which lack is contrary to assumptions about gift structures by social anthropologists. Finally, what this poem adds to our understanding of Old English formulations of Christianity is that God's ultimate gift is not in death but in a dynamic heavenly, personal, and societal life, "pis lif."

Kory Lawson Ching

English, University of California, Irvine.

The 'Prudent Argument': Bede's Rhetorical Negotiation of Anglo-Saxon Cultural Clash

In Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, we find an account of the Northumbrian King Edwin's conversion to Christianity. Edwin's overtures toward the new religion culminate in the royal council at which his advisors, ostensibly debating the pros and cons of making the switch, put forward two notably dissimilar arguments in favor of conversion. A number of scholars take the first argument of Coifi, the pagan high priest, as an example of pagan naiveté, while they associate the second, anonymous argument (with its famous "sparrow in the hall" motif) with Bede's own authorial voice. On this view, the arguments directly oppose one another, leaving to the reader the easy task of choosing between them.

I argue, however, that Bede imagines this rhetorical moment in order to accomplish much more than the pro-Christian cheerleading we expect of the *Chanson de Roland* ("pagans are wrong, Christians are right"). Bede situates the arguments dialectically, in order to explicate more fully the tensions between the two traditions which his society had inherited—Christianity and Germanic, "heroic" culture. Coifi's argument is more pragmatic than naive, representing in a carefully limited way a pre-Christian pagan perspective, while the second counselor's speech demonstrates the possibility of Christianity to compliment or extend their spiritual yearnings, rather than supplant them. The rhetorical force of the arguments, presented side-by-side as they are, fails to provide a compelling reason to become

Christian, but it does attempt to lessen the gap between two disparate world views. At least in this case, Bede's historical project less about recording facts than constructing a past which his contemporary society could use.

Edward Condren

English, University of California, Los Angeles

Playing Tennis with the Net Up

The image of my title is an adaptation of Robert Frost's comment that writing blank verse is like "playing with the net down." A medieval poem, in contrast, reveals a visual shape and an implicit timing to convey with form the same meaning expressed in its literal words. Cotton Nero A.x is a brilliant case in point.

A little past the midpoint of *Pearl*, which appears first in the manuscript, long after the poem has praised the beauty of the maiden and her array and the excellence of the pearl she wears at her breast, there appears a curious stanza, as surprising for what it says as for when it says it. It is the middle stanza of section XIII, in the aftermath of the Dreamer's challenge to the parable of the vineyard. The maiden has just discussed the distinction between Innocents who have never become defiled and the Righteous who recover their innocence through contrition. The poem then shifts its gaze to heaven, symbolically to the "pearl of price," for which the jeweler sold all his wealth. It is precisely here that the Dreamer suddenly brings his thought back to the maiden herself and to two startling comparisons.

Perhaps the most significant detail in the stanza is the Dreamer's comment, "Your beauty came ver from nature" (749). Then, after a denial that the skills of Pygmalion and Aristotle could rise to the Maiden's perfection, an interesting textual crux may provide the guidance which leads us to understand the poet's strategy here. On folio 49 recto, the second to last line ends with a word usually printed as "offys" (office); on the contrary, the text indicates "ostriys" (oyster). Finally, the line 749 is the precise point in this poem of 121 lines which mathematicians would call the Golden Section, known in the middle ages as the "Divine Proportion," the ratio of which has been called *phi*. In short, an oyster, Aristotle, Pygmalion, and the Divine Section are not proverbial presences casually inserted in a random stanza in *Pearl*. They provide authorial direction to the organizing principle of Cotton Nero A.x.

One of the forms made accessible by the Divine Proportion is the fifth Platonic Solid, the dodecahedron whose twelve sides are regular pentagons which cannot be constructed without recourse to *phi*. More important, a pentagon implies a pentangle, the most prominent symbol in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*; and the pentagon and the dodecahedron are geometric representations of *Pearl*. The presence of Divine Proportion in the first half of the manuscript, and not in the second, suggests that only *Pearl* among the four poems is located in Paradise. A second pair of ratios points

to the importance of *Patience* to the manuscript, showing that *Patience* is to each poem set in the medieval era, as the opposite medieval poem is to the whole manuscript. Thus *Patience* : *Gawain* = *Pearl* : MS and *Patience* : *Pearl* = *Gawain* : MS. The most important ratio, however, says in its mathematical way what the entire manuscript says thematically. The two medial poems are in Divine Proportion with the two set in the middle ages. Since the relationship is continuous, it further implies that the two medieval poems stand in the same relationship to the whole manuscript. Both thematically and mathematically, therefore, Cotton Nero describes a circular path back to the heaven from which it began. This combination of mathematical progression and thematic circularity creates an historical evolution beginning with the Old Testament, passing through the medieval era identified with the New Testament both historically and in the parable of the vineyard in *Pearl*, and leaving us with a sense of the whole as a completely unified construct based on neo-Platonic, Chartrian lines.

Robert L. Cooper

History, University of California, Davis

The Chill Winds of Lyons in the Marches: Disciplining the Early Silvestrines

From a small group of hermits nestled in a rugged canyon in the March of Ancona, the Silvestrine Congregation of Benedictines had expanded to roughly 120 monks in 12 monasteries by the death of its founder, Silvester Guzzolini, in 1267. Emphasizing the simplicity of their eremitic roots and adopting a lifestyle of mendicant poverty, the Silvestrines were one of many emerging religious orders for whom the March of Ancona proved fertile ground. Thriving communities of Franciscans, Augustinian friars, and assorted hermits and recluses also found the Marches hospitable to those who embraced religious poverty. The success of these movements collided with efforts of the ecclesiastical hierarchy to control the proliferation of new orders and channel their observance, as articulated by the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and Second Council of Lyons (1274).

This study examines the defining role played by these councils in shaping the history of the early Silvestrines, employing archival materials from the mother-house of Montefano to illuminate the hagiographical record. The major works of Silvestrine hagiography must be seen as deliberate efforts to define an order conforming with conciliar decrees. This is apparent in portrayals of the most striking characteristics of Silvestrine practice—the adoption of the Benedictine Rule and the embrace (and abandonment) of mendicancy. Taken as a whole, the documentary record reveals strong doubts about the actual date and degree of Silvester's commitment to the Rule.

John D. Cotts

History, University of California at Berkeley

Charters, Performativity and the Development of Literacy in Early Medieval England

The rise of literacy in the Middle Ages has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention in recent years. Such scholarship has tended to center on the high and later Middle Ages, focusing on the rise of written forms of administration (Clanchy 1979) or the "making of textual culture" (Stock 1983) in the eleventh century and later. Yet before these developments could take place in the previously illiterate lay society of England, some sort of cultural consensus on the value of the written word had to be attained. My paper will therefore consider earlier evidence and provide a theoretical framework for considering the problems of meaning associated with the rise of literacy in medieval England.

Walter Ong has described writing as a technology, a tool that is used to accomplish specialized purposes, and one that restructures a society's ways of thinking. English charters written in Latin in the seventh and eighth centuries were introduced by ecclesiastics in order to preserve grants of land made to churches by secular authorities. What meaning could such a written document have had to an Anglo-Saxon king who was himself illiterate and was not familiar with the value such a document? The process by which the kings and other laymen came to realize the value of writing represents a major shift in cultural noetics. Furthermore, without that realization there could be no administrative revolution of the type discussed by M. T. Clanchy in *From Memory to Written Record*. That is, government through the written word could not have come about without an understanding of what the written word meant and what it could *do*.

The paper I would like to present will try to answer the questions surrounding the charters' meaning and significance by exploring the extent to which the charter may be considered a performative utterance, and the conditions necessary to make that utterance felicitous. The charter is an ideal document for this study, because we can track it from its origins in an ecclesiastical linguistic context to a lay one, and because of the unique governmental and linguistic features of medieval England which affected the development of written modes. English charters offer us an example of a particular type of document's odyssey into a new linguistic context. Originally the charter was a strictly ecclesiastical document, but by the tenth century it was used for lay transactions as well (at which time boundary clauses began to appear in the vernacular)—a new segment of society eventually thus began to appreciate the technology of writing. The circumstances under which a charter can operate as a performative utterance had expanded. My sources are several Latin charters ranging from the late seventh through early ninth centuries whose authenticity has been established through a consensus of scholars. I will also pay some attention to the development of other written

forms such as wills, and take advantage of other scholars' work on those documents. The core of my argument is that in seventh century England there is little chance that the charter served as a performative utterance, but gradually acquired performative force.

Michael J. Curley

The Honors Program, University of Puget Sound.

Animated and Peripatetic Statues: New Evidence and Its Context in the Miracles of Saint David

The topos of the animated or peripatetic image is well known to scholars of the ancient and medieval world. According to Virgil, the Palladium (the statue of Pallas Athena), having been secretly taken from its shrine in Troy to the Greek camp by Diomedes and Ulysses, showed its indignation by raising its eyes in anger, leaping into the air three times and shaking its spear. More amenable to a change of scenery was the statue of Juno at Veii, which nodded assent when asked by Roman conquerors if it desired to be relocated in a new shrine in Rome. During the Middle Ages it was widely believed that Constantine had the statue of Fortuna placed in chains in order to prevent it from taking flight during the construction of New Rome, his city on the Bosphorus. My paper will discuss a previously unknown version of this ancient theme as it appears in a manuscript collection of accounts of miracles of Saint David, the patron saint of Wales. The story concerns the return of a statue of Saint David to its shrine in the cathedral of Saint David after the statue had twice been stolen by Irish pilgrims and transported to Ireland. The narrative of this miracle will be examined as a rather peculiar variation on the topos of the peripatetic statue. The account will also be set against the tense political atmosphere in Wales during the Glyn Dwr rebellion, the period in which the miracle collection was originally written. The paper will also attempt to link this miracle story with concurrent efforts by the bishops of Saint David's cathedral to promulgate the cultus of Saint David.

Mark Damien Delp, Ph.D.

Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology

The *De sex rerum principiis*: An Astrological Theology of the Early Twelfth Century

The Neoplatonic conception of creation as an emanation of an immaterial divine principle into more and more limited material forms was given Christian expression by Pseudo-Dionysius, and was eventually integrated into the theological tradition of medieval Europe. Another late-antique tradition, drawing upon themes in astrology, Stoic philosophy, and the commentary tradition on Plato's *Timaeus*, described the influx of divinity into creation in much more corporeal terms, but was never integrated into medieval theology. This paper will examine the underlying principles of an early twelfth-century

cosmology, the *De sex rerum principiis*, which drew heavily from the lesser-known tradition of astrological cosmology and theology. As the first Hermetic text undoubtedly authored in the Latin West, the text is unique; however, our primary aim will be to show how, in contrast to the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition of the emanation of divine light through the mediation of intelligible beings, Pseud-Hermes develops an astrological theology wherein the corporeal principles, *ratio* and *natura*, transmit divine powers through the mediation of the stars and planets. The result of this divine influx is a universe of diverse and dynamic *qualitates* which, as the immediate manifestations of the divine *vis*, form a hierarchy of elemental subtlety and power moving from heaven to earth through the *machina mundi* of the stars and planets. Since the pseudonymous author of the *De sex rerum principiis* was clearly influenced by contemporary authors such as William of Conches and Bernard Silvestris, we will give examples of how these other authors conceived of the divine immanence in physical terms and with astrological motifs. Our conclusion, however, will show that Ps. Hermes achieves a systematic consistency and novelty in his cosmological speculations not present in the writings of his sources.

Maria Dobozy
University of Utah.

Reflexivity and Performance in *Diu Crone* by Heinrich von dem Türlin

The *Crone* (Crown) is a lengthy, convoluted Arthurian romanace (c. 1215-25). the narrative frequently inserts typical motifs and scenes from several Arthurian romances familiar to audiences of the time. The result of this importation of Arthurian elements is fascinating. First, once the boundary of the narrative is broken, not even willful suspension of disbelief is possible for the audience. Secondly, the same is true for the characters within the narrative. They recognize these typical elements and become conscious of their role-playing and consequently, of an identity that extends beyond the limits of the *Crone* narrative. This means that in these citations, they consciously play themselves, sometimes caricaturing the citation, or even their own immediate situation. It is my purpose to delineate where these performances occur and the way in which the text makes evident the self-reflexivity of the characters. I make the assumption that the instances in which role-playing drives the scene indicate some of the ways in which a performance could have been conceived.

Georgiana Donavin
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A Marian Primer for Fourteenth-Century English Poetry

In the rose windows of Chartres, the Virgin Mary is positioned at the center of the Seven Liberal Arts. This paper explains how the Virgin provides a center for fourteenth-century poetic production in England.

Employing three examples from this great period of English literature, I will demonstrate that Mary is a sign of and catalyst for effective language use. Beginning with Chaucer's "An ABC," I will show that Mary's name is synonymous for "propaedeutic in linguistics." The Virgin is not only the impetus for language, but also the embodiment and bearer of it. According to "An ABC," Mary is the only one who can "tel [God]" about the narrator's intentions (57). Similarly, in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Mary intercedes to realize the hero's desire for harborage and mass when his own prayer degenerates into sighs and lamentations. The Christmas Eve scene in the woods during which Sir Gawain meditates upon the Virgin's image and summons her as a guide compares to the many medieval invocations of Mary as muse in which poets summon her for guidance in their invention. Famous examples of such invocations include those of Chaucer's Prioress and Second Nun; since these are well-treated in criticism, this paper will employ Gower's *Speculum Meditantis* as a model. For Gower, the Virgin Mary is the prime mover of this major poem, which, although in French, is of English provenance and concern. Contemplation of the Virgin makes the text possible.

Referring, then, to Chaucer's "An ABC," to *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, and to Gower's *Speculum*, this paper will illuminate how the Virgin Mary incorporates for important fourteenth-century English poets the principles of poetic creation.

Mary Kay Duggan
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The Sequence in the 15th Century: Print Technology and the Canon

One of the characteristics of print technology is a standardization of texts for widely distribution. Another is centralization of production. The liturgy of the Catholic Church moved from tens of thousands of manuscript books tailored to local practices to a single Roman rite printed under monopoly by the middle of the sixteenth century. This paper uses early printed books to document the conflicts that arose between different factions of liturgical reform movements both within nations and on opposite sides of the Alps. The sequence, a relatively late addition to the Mass primarily written at the monastery of St. Gall, becomes a key to the struggle between north and south. Early attempts to impose a Roman rite throughout Europe met with various solutions to the problem of orthodoxy—editions issued in two

versions, one with sequences, one without; apparently clandestine editions issued without the name of a printer and without approval by an authority; manuscript leaves of sequences added to Roman missals and graduals. Rome was temporarily persuaded to accept the compromise of books approved by bishops for local dioceses in Germany, France, England and Spain. Nevertheless the inexorable march toward standardization and centralization in a single Roman liturgy would replace the feasts of Oswald, Kunigunda, Gall, and Emperor Henry with others more acceptable to Rome. Is it surprising that many of the disappointed northerners had left the flock?

Steven A. Epstein

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A Late Medieval Lawyer Confronts Slavery: The Cases of Bartolomeo De Bosco

In the mid-fifteenth century, when Genoa's population perhaps reached 60,000, there were at least 2,100 slaves in the city. Hence the Genoese knew more about slavery than almost any other people in Europe, a fact not lost on the young Christopher Columbus. Bartolomeo De Bosco was one of the most famous lawyers in early fifteenth-century Genoa, and in the seventeenth century some lawyers published a collection of his consilia, more than 500 legal opinions on a variety of subjects, including the ten cases that touched upon slavery. De Bosco struggled with some difficult slave cases, and in some instances local laws had over-ruled Roman practice. So, for example, the law did not allow Genoese to free their slaves by will, lest the slaves hasten their freedom by procuring the death of their masters. Since the overwhelming majority of slaves were women, many court cases concerned what to do about their children, almost invariably fathered by the owners or other free men. Free Genoese women faced the female slaves as domestic enemies, as Petrarch long ago observed, but there are also signs of female solidarity in the face of male hegemony and the rigors of the law. De Bosco eventually abandoned his legal career and turned his law offices into a hospice for the sick, and for elderly ex-slaves. Perhaps his experience with the realities of slavery, and the hypocrisies of the law, instigated this retirement.

Christina M. Fitzgerald

English, University of California, Los Angeles

"Ubbe dubbete him to knith": The Scansion of *Havelok* and Middle English -es, -eth, and -ed(e)

The pronunciation of the ME inflectional endings -es, -eth, and -ed(e) is still a dark and dusty corner of historical linguistics: when did syncopation of the -e- before the consonants begin? Following Smithers' 1983 study of scansion and ME -en and -e in *Havelok* (ca. 1301-1310), I used scansion of the

same poem to elicit information about -es, -eth, and -ed(e). I found that the pronunciation of these endings is usually determined by their metrical environments, not by their "natural" or linguistic status. After categorizing the inflectional endings according to their metrical environments—disregarding indeterminate line-final instances—I found that in nearly 40% of the regular and unambiguous cases (approximately 3% of the total are irregular and 14% are ambiguous) syncopations of the -e- in these unstressed inflectional endings was required to have a regular, alternating-stress, four-beat line. Of that group, statistically even numbers of instances occur before vowels and before consonants. Consider the following examples:

x / x / (x) x / x /
l. 152 He wrungen hondes and wepen sore

x / x / x / (x) x /
l. 2004 Of pat Ich was þus greped tonith.

The symbol (x) designates the endings that require syncopation of the -e- in order for the line to be regular. There are 172 other lines ending in -es, -eth, and -ed(e) in *Havelok* that behave like ll. 152 and 2004; the analysis suggests that these endings were no longer pronounced in the spoken East Midlands ME dialect of the poet, and that they can serve as diagnostics for determining the time(s) and place(s) of this phonological change.

Robin Fleming

History, Boston College

Cooking the Books at Christ Church Canterbury

After the Norman Conquest, religious communities across England felt the urgent need to assemble cartularies. Abingdon, Ely, London, Peterborough, Rochester and Worcester all struggled in the hundred years after the Conquest to gather together their ancient muniments and to organize them into single, coherent collections. Occasionally Anglo-Norman compilers found late tenth or early eleventh-century libelli of title deeds, leases or descriptions of lawsuits, which they then incorporated into their works; but more typically the men creating cartularies in the aftermath of the Norman settlement did so from scratch, sorting as best they could through ill-organized collections of single-sheet documents and gospel book notations preserved in their community's archives and in odd corners of their liturgical books. Hemming's Cartulary and the Textus Roffensis are generally held to be the earliest cartularies produced in Anglo-Norman England. But Christ Church, Canterbury also created a cartulary during these years, one that I would argue was completed a full generation before the Worcester cartulary, and a half a century before the Textus. Christ Church's cartulary, which I believe was written sometime between 1073 and 1083, is a precocious, quirky and

interesting text. I have produced an edition of the cartulary, and a careful examination of it is revealing. Because the original pre-Conquest charters (many of which are still extant) have been systematically and programmatically rewritten, a study of the late eleventh-century reinterpretation exposes the obsessions and anxieties of the community at the moment in which the cartulary was compiled. These worries can also be used to date the text. A study of the willful cooking of Christ Church's landbooks in the generation after the Conquest also suggests that the desire to create new and more organized sets of administrative documents, one of the hallmarks of twelfth-century political culture, was guided by some strange and surprising impulses, driven as much by liturgy and religious observance as the desire to produce coherent and utilitarian collections of legal documentation.

John M. Fyler

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The Power of Exemplarity in *Troilus and Criseyde*

This paper discusses a notable paradox in *Troilus and Criseyde*: that the poem both pushes us toward reducing its central characters to exemplary status, and shows the impossibility of our doing so. Chaucer is concerned, that is, with showing the irresistible power of exemplarity, but also its impossible weight. In a poem so concerned with history and the lessons of history, we are continually reminded of the relevance of the Theban past to the Trojan present, and of the Trojan past to us. We are, on the other hand, told by the narrator that no one is ever made aware by another's example; and by Troilus that Pandarus should let his old examples be, because they're of no interest or relevance to Troilus' situation. As the poem nears its end, the proper names of its three main characters verge on generic descriptiveness, as if Chaucer were preparing for the proverbial wisdom of "true as Troilus," "false as Cressida," and Pandarus' name reduced to "pander." But while the first of these is an accurate summation of Troilus' fixity, the calcifications of mediation or changeability in exemplary proverb belie their own descriptive insufficiency. The case of Criseyde, most of all, offers a provocative meditation on the complexities of naming and signification: the impulse to make her stand for all women, or for the transient goods of the world, or for the world itself, set against the reductiveness of that impulse and its inevitably masculinist bias.

John Ganim

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Chaucer, Boccaccio, Confession and Subjectivity

Chaucer's narrators in *The Canterbury Tales* and Boccaccian characters in *The Decameron* recall a personal past. However, what seems to be a modernizing self-presentation on the part of the most fully developed characters of both writers turns out to be a deeply enigmatic construction. At the moment in the history of European culture when the very conception of the modern individual seems to be articulating itself, Chaucer and Boccaccio can be seen to be demonstrating, sometimes consciously and sometimes on the level of cultural response, the degree to which this apparent modernity is implicated in the discourses of the past. This paper will explore this paradox using a few key characters, and will connect this self-invention to certain developments in late medieval culture, especially confessional reform.

James Given

History, University of California, Irvine

Violent Opposition to the Inquisitors of Languedoc, 1230s-1320s: An Essay on Popular, Collective Political Action in Medieval Europe

This paper is a contribution to the effort to describe the nature of collective, popular political activity in medieval Europe. These political practices are difficult to recover today, since the ruling elites of medieval Europe were uninterested in describing them, and because those who engaged in them often wished to keep their activities hidden. The records of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century inquisition of heretical depravity in Languedoc, however, allow us to study in unusual detail patterns of collective resistance to the inquisitors.

In this paper I analyze the 44 cases of known collective, violent resistance to the inquisitors from medieval Languedoc. I discuss the temporal distribution of these acts from the 1230s through the 1320s, which reveals a definite bimodal distribution, with spikes in the early 1230s-40s and the first two decades of the fourteenth century. These spikes can be related to patterns of inquisitorial activity. I also discuss how the opponents of the inquisitors used the structures of pre-existing social groups to organize their acts of resistance. Among other things, I show that the most successful resisters were those who were able to build their opposition around the political and social institutions of the local towns. Finally, I demonstrate that as time passed, direct attacks against the inquisitors and their agents declined; instead, as the heretical sects became underground, hunted groups, increasingly afflicted with paranoia, they embarked on a self-defeating pattern of using violence against their own members who it was feared had or might become informants.

Marie Louise Göllner

Music and Poetry or Poetry and Music?: The Medieval Motet

Many 13th century motets have been transmitted both with text (as motet) and without (as clausula), and the older view that the latter must have come first, has recently been challenged. Granted that these works are based on a liturgical melody as the bottom voice, the large number of older motets with secular French text in the duplum or upper voice cannot be ignored. Many questions arise. Why, for example, are the clausulae concentrated in one of the main sources (Florence), a manuscript which contains only Latin motets, many of them obvious contrafacts of earlier French texts?

The present paper attempts to introduce a new aspect, namely the matter of rhythm, both as a rhythmic mode in the upper voice and as rhythmic pattern in the lower or tenor voice. Theorists of the 13th century simply presented the rhythmic modes without bothering to explain their origin, and they did not mention adaptation of these modes into patterns in the lower voice at all. What, then, were the possibilities of fitting the two voices together, i.e. the texted phrases of the upper voice with a rigidly repeated pattern in the untexted lower voice? Did these units coincide or did they overlap? And did this have anything at all to do with the poetry of the upper voice? For now we will limit our investigation to the two-voice French motets found in the 6th fascicle of the main source, the Montpellier manuscript. Several things about this collection of some 75 works may strike us as remarkable:

Concordances, when present, are uniformly to the older Notre Dame manuscripts or the chansonniers, not to sources contemporary with or later than Montpellier.

There are no two-voice Latin motets in the manuscript.

Of the entire collection only two motets appear with added triplum in any of the motet sources.

Several, but not many, have concordant clausulae or Latin contrafact texts in the Notre Dame manuscripts.

Quite a few have absolutely regular poetic lines, and most of these have a constant phrase relationship with the repeating patterns of the tenor.

These last are the cases on which we will concentrate, showing both the simplest relationship between the two voices and some of the possibilities of achieving variety within this scheme. Hopefully these can be illustrated in performance.

Sarah Gordon

European Literature, Oxford University

Translation and Adaptation: the Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic* and the Middle English *Guy of Warwick*

This paper offers a comparative study of the thirteenth-century Anglo-Norman romance of *Gui de Warewic* and the fourteenth-century Middle English translation, in light of the contemporary vogue of Middle English translations of Old French romances. The translator of *Guy* does not merely copy his source text; he systematically and persistently intervenes. This paper argues that the various restructurings, interpolations and narratorial interventions represent the translator's reception and re-creation of the Anglo-Norman original. The English adaptor repeatedly attempts to clarify narrative events, while he develops the didactic message of his source text. The translator adds to the romance an enhanced moral tone and a central preoccupation with the idea of charity. The two romances represent essentially the same sequence of narrative events, but the striking consistency of the Middle English poet's adaptations reveals an explicit response to his source text.

Kate Greenspan

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Dead On Their Feet: Folklore and Theology in the Story of the Curséd Carolers

In "Handlyng Synne" (c. 1303), Robert Mannyng's Middle English adaptation of the late 13th century Anglo-French "Manuel des Pechiez," religious and philosophical doctrines, traditional beliefs, superstitious terrors, and ordinary observation shape exempla intended for lay instruction. Usually straightforward, humorous, even bawdy, the stories in "Handlyng Synne" do not always offer the laity the simplest or most obvious lesson. The tale of a priest who curses a group of rowdy carolers, for example, sets forth a remarkably sophisticated web of ideas, which Mannyng expected his audience to comprehend in all its intellectual and affective complexity. The story tells of a priest annoyed while trying to perform his religious duties by the sound of young dancers; without looking to see who they are, he calls down a curse upon them, condemning them to dance for a year and a day. When he realizes that his own daughter is among the carolers, he sends his son to fetch her back. The young man grabs his sister by the arm, but alas! She dances off with her companions, leaving the arm behind in her brother's hands. At the end of the period, the carolers fall down dead, to rise again (with the exception of the priest's daughter) after three days.

While Mannyng never tells us directly that the priest's curse renders the carolers dead, implications that they have undergone physical death (rather than the expected spiritual one) dominate the piece (for example, they grow rosier, like rotting corpses, as their clothes grow more ragged,

they are impervious to extremes of weather and unresponsive to the pokes and prods of onlookers—they are, in effect, dead on their feet). But their death is problematic, for they do not repose decorously beneath the ground. Rather, they haunt the community, intruding upon the living in profoundly disturbing ways. They cannot be contained by grave or sepulcher; even the daughter's arm refuses to rest, but continually rises up out of its burial place to rebuke the father's curse. The story, then, begins by asserting the priest's authority and ends by undercutting it, calling upon popular beliefs about bodily dissolution to interrogate and finally to transform the concepts of sin and redemption that set up the exemplum's moral.

The central image of the dancing dead whose presence among the living reveals the priest's sin—he is at least as guilty of *ira* (and possibly of *voluptas*) as the carolers are of lightmindedness—condemns the abuse of his power as Christ's surrogate during Mass. But the exemplum casts its net wider, addressing the vexing question of human fallibility in interpreting God's will. By bringing to bear popular and learned ideas about death and its processes upon this sensitive issue, Mannyng causes us, as lay recipients of the exemplum, to draw unexpected conclusions about our relationship to the clergy and to God.

Joan Grenier-Winther

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Electronic Editions of Uncanonized Texts: The Case of *La Belle dame qui eut mercy*

The popularity during the late Middle Ages of Alain Chartier's *La Belle dame sans mercy* can be attested by the great number of manuscripts (44) in which it is preserved, as well as by the lively debates, often referred to as the *querelle des femmes*, which is generated at the court of Charles VII.

What is less known is that there exists a sizeable corpus of poems, some of which may pre-date Chartier's, all written on one or the other side of the dual theme of the lady with and without mercy toward a suitor's demands for her love. One of these poems, the so-called *Belle dame qui eut mercy* or the *Belle dame a mercy* has been attributed to Chartier, as well as to the fourteenth century Savoyard poet, Oton de Granson. While questions relating to dating and the style of the poem problematize a definitive attribution of authorship, the poem is nevertheless a fascinating counterpoint to Chartier's poem and deserving of much more attention than it has received up to now. I have, therefore, undertaken the project to edit this poem electronically, for distribution either on the World Wide Web and/or in a static format (CD-ROM or emerging DVD-ROM standard). In this edition, I will make available complete diplomatic editions of each of the sixteen manuscript witnesses to the poem, along with editorial comments and suggestions on which manuscripts are felt to be the most complete, least defective, etc. Each version will be linked to others, in that a reader can access and compare a

certain stanza of the poem as it appears in any number of versions. Scanned images of the manuscript folios will also be accessible, so that the reader has a level of access to the original work previously only available to the editor. The electronic edition will contain other features—search engines, audio clips, scanned images of manuscript decoration and marginalia, etc.—too numerous to mention here. An overview of these features, as well as the reasons for my choice of an electronic, rather than print, format for this edition, will be the focus of my paper. In the process, I will discuss many of the issues the decision to “go electronic” raises, including the changes that will be forced on the canon by the availability of works previously considered by the print media to be unmarketable; the changes in the role of the editor from purveyor of the definitive version of a text to more of an archivist, providing full and accurate access to all manuscript witnesses to a text; the changes in the role of the reader from passive recipient of a so-called definitive version to a kind of para-editor with full access to a text; not to mention the negative, visceral reaction of many to the idea of a cold, hard machine replacing the smell and feel of a book.

Michaela Paasche Grudin

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Ciappelletto and Griselda: The Diagnostics of Satire

While Boccaccio's introductory description of the plague portrays a society under siege to its physical health and its social structures, the first and last stories of the *Decameron* diagnose a siege that is even more dangerous to the commonwealth. The two stories are similar in that they both concern a radical distortion of social values. The two protagonists seemingly run the gamut, respectively, of the vices and the virtues. Furthermore, in both stories Boccaccio exaggerates the reversal of social justice. In I.1, bad is taken for good and in X.10 good is taken for bad. The irony of reversal is powerfully and satirically underlined by the treatment of the protagonists' speech. While Ciappelletto's speech in the first story is flamboyant and deceptive, Griselda's in the last is restrained and truthful. A final social irony is that Ciappelletto's speech is empowered, Griselda's disempowered: whether Ciappelletto is rising or Griselda is being put down, the dominant power structure is maintained. The common theme marked out by the two tales taken together, and amplified by many of the other tales that they embrace, is the crisis in the social interpretation of speech. The misuse and misvaluing of speech, Boccaccio seems to insist, is one of the besetting ills of the society he is describing.

Curtis Gruenler

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Augustine's Hermeneutics of Enigma and Historical Criticism of Medieval Literature

The attention given to *Augustine the Reader* in Brian Stock's recent book of that title provides an opportunity to reopen the question of how the Augustinian model of reading can inform our reading of medieval literature.

Attempts at historically grounded criticism of medieval literature have been overshadowed by the work of D. W. Robertson, Jr., whose simplified model of exegetical reading, derived largely from Augustine, resists modern literary theories. I argue that Augustine's use of the term enigma provides a key to a much more powerful concept of reading that anticipates modern expectations of literature. His synthesis in *De Trinitate* of enigma's definition in ancient rhetoric as a difficult allegory with its use in Bible, especially 1 Corinthians 13:12, "Videmus nunc per speculum in aenigmate," gave the term its standard medieval gloss. An important term throughout his writings, it captures his emphasis on the spiritual benefit of reading difficult texts. Thus, I contend, enigma provides a more appropriate model for the kind of reading we call literary than the sign theory and exegetical rules explained in *De doctrina christiana*, which are meant to serve Augustine's hermeneutic spirituality. Above all in the *Confessions*, Augustine explores the potential of the enigmatic in scripture to anticipate an eschatological fullness of meaning, induce an affective response to the text, and add to its authority—uses of enigma that Augustine exploits in his own text and that later authors would cultivate as well. Through consideration of passages from all three of these works, and with reference to the hermeneutics of Paul Ricoeur, I outline a general model of enigma applicable to a wide range of medieval texts.

Judith Haas

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Translatio and Trojan Origins in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

The legend of Troy is featured prominently in the literature of the emerging European vernacular languages, preoccupying the first Old French romances of the twelfth century and turning up again in Middle English verse in the fourteenth century. The fourteenth century marks, not coincidentally, both the official beginning of English as a language of literature, law, and the royal court, and the ending phase of England and France's four hundred-year, intertwined history. Incorporating the story of Aeneas's flight from Troy into their own local legends, both English and French authors made for their countries exclusive claims to Trojan origins, which offered a legitimating, classical paternity while circumventing the possible political liabilities of being indebted to a Rome that, while no longer wielding imperial power, remained influential in the politics of medieval Christian Europe. In these

romance retellings of the Troy story, the medieval notions of *translatio studii et imperii* provide the metaphor for historical and cultural difference. A discourse about power and history, *translatio* enters vernacular writings about Troy as a common literary topos.

In this paper I look at *translatio* and Trojan origins in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*. Framing the Arthurian narrative of Sir Gawain is a genealogy of medieval England that begins with the fall of Troy and ends with the exploits of King Arthur. Here the concept of *translatio studii*, as constructed by the twelfth-century French romancers, is refigured: first in terms of England's relationship to France and second in terms of England's own split identity. Gawain's confrontation with his larger-than-life reputation from French romance works as a process of differentiating a pious English Gawain from the licentious Gawain of the French tradition. The poem's reaffirmation of the tradition that links Troy with Arthurian Britain is significant in the context of the French-English conflict being played out militarily in the Hundred Years War and linguistically in the supercession of English over French as the language of culture and the law in England. Edward III's invocations of a "return" to an Arthurian-style chivalry as an ideological support for the war in France comes at a time when both Arthurian literature and the chivalric military practices that it idealizes are most unmistakably obsolete. The poem's grafting of the obsolete Arthurian material onto the Trojan material, in the peripheral dialect of northern England, destabilizes the national and literary genealogy that it presents.

Suzanne Hagedorn

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Chaucer's "Ovide": *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Heroides*

As *Troilus and Criseyde* ends, the narrator bids his poem farewell, instructing his "litel bok" to subject itself "to alle poesye;/and kis the steppes where as thou seest pace/ Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan, and Stace." As critics including John Fleming and Winthrop Wetherbee have argued, for all of its narrator's urging that his Trojan romance humble itself before the *auctores* of the classical past, Chaucer's dealings with the poets in the *Troilus* manifest playful subversiveness and ideological disagreement as well as profound respect. This paper examines an aspect of Chaucer's reception of classical antiquity that has not been treated in isolation before: namely, the way the *Troilus* recasts, rewrites, and finally inverts Ovid's *Heroides*.

Besides being punctuated with allusions to Ovid's lamenting heroines, Chaucer's poem pays homage to the form of the *Heroides* by highlighting amorous epistles and the process of composing them. Yet Chaucer's debt to Ovid's text runs deeper than a positivistic census of allusions or love letters would indicate: the poem is profoundly influenced by Ovid's rhetorical strategy, for its concentration on private emotional experience at the expense of political realities reinscribes Ovid's generic

transformatio of epic *materia* into erotic elegy. Nevertheless, Chaucer's narrative upsets the gendered pattern of abandonment that the *Heroides* establishes. Troilus, the poem's jilted hero, becomes systematically identified with Ovid's abandoned women—even Briseis, whose literary genealogy links her with Criseyde. At the same time, Criseyde identifies herself with Ovid's false Paris. Chaucer's figurative cross-dressing of Ovid's characters along with Pandarus's strategic misreading of *Heroides* V in Book I emphasize that Chaucer's relationship to Ovid in the Troilus is more subversive than the narrator's self-deprecating farewell address implies.

Carol E. Harding

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"True Lovers" in Murasaki Shikibu and Christine de Pizan

The courts of Heian Japan and 15th-century France are distant both in place and time, but they share a high regard for refinement in the arts. Thematically and structurally, the ideals of refinement are illustrated in Lady Murasaki's *Tale of Genji* and Christine's *Le livre du duc des vrais amants*. Both texts intermingle narrative and lyric and reflect the value the courts placed on these forms. The thematic treatment of love as the pastime of refined people is equally evident.

Refinement as a virtue comes through in the interactions between the lover and beloved. Even when the love affair is not exclusive, as with Prince Genji often, the expectations of behavior on both sides clearly develop the courtly virtues. Secrecy is a given, and loyalty is rewarded. The attitudes of both men and women towards their lovers reflect the social restrictions they labor within.

As authors, both Lady Murasaki and Christine confine their overt portrayal of the love situations in their texts to the accepted social conventions while working in the sub-text to question those same conventions. With refinement as an ideal, the authors in one sense give their audiences what they expect and desire; in another sense, they manipulate the admired virtues to issue ambiguous signals about accepted values.

Ineke Hardy

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Sounds of Meaning, Meaning of Sounds: An Analysis of Phonetic Patterns in a Song by Bernart de Ventadorn and Two of its Contrafacta

The courtly love song "Tan ai mon cor ple de joya" by the 12th-century troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn seems to have inspired two metrical contrafacta: "Falsedatz e desmezura" by Peire Cardenal, and "Lo bels terminis m'agenssa" by Peire Bremon Ricas Novas. Not only do the three songs share a unique rhyme and metrical scheme, they also feature semantic, phonetic and stylistic links typical of the phenomenon known as

contrafactum (the type seen here has been defined by C. Phan as an imitative poetico-musical technique involving the re-use of the metrics and rhyme scheme of an existing poem, which also allows the borrowing of the model's melody). What makes the analysis of the three songs of particular interest, apart from the fact that it has not been previously undertaken, is the presence of phonetic echos of key words throughout Bernart's song, a technique that seems to have been imitated by Peire Cardenal. While the concept of anagrams / paragrams / hypograms (the terminology, first used by Ferdinand de Saussure, is imprecise) is considered debatable by some, the two songs appear to offer evidence of its validity, given the fact that Bernart's use of sound effects to reinforce key words reappears in Peire Cardenal's imitative adaptation. Previous studies of this technique in troubadour poetry (Zumthor, Meylakh) have been tentative, since the question of its intentional nature is difficult to prove. The parallel analysis of the phenomenon in two related songs should therefore prove useful in better describing this insufficiently studied aspect of troubadour style.

Hubert Heinen

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Being (Mis)Guided by the Inscribed Audience in Minnesongs

German and Occitan poet/performers of the 12th and early 13th century commonly inscribe their audience. The troubadours and the minnesingers, in the role of singer, turn to their auditors, addressing them directly, questioning them, or drawing them into their fictive space through asides. Later singers do so more sparingly; most of the minnesingers of the 13th century eschew an explicit inscription of the audience or give one only in formulaic phrases. Songs become, as they are from the beginning in most contemporary Latin, northern French, and Italian songs, literary, i.e., more nearly poems set to music.

Dara Hellman

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Evidence for Life on Mars, or Gaston Paris was Right

No one doubts the prowess of a Gaston Paris when it comes to philology of Old French and we all acknowledge that he was proficient at performing those terribly old fashioned (and far from New) Historicist close readings of a text. We even go so far as to accept as the definitive versions of texts those editions overseen by him and his ilk. However, no amount of evidence to the contrary would convince us that a reading of anything done in 1891 is in any way superior to any "postmodern" reading (although medievalists do tend the other way). I will not say that we are not reading carefully now, or as carefully as Gaston Paris (ok, I will say that). Nor will I say that articles written in the other nineties did not have their flaws (they did).

Nevertheless, it appears that lately, the project of reading has gone the way of the Radio Flyer. We reject out of hand the (accurate, and alone in this) interpretations and judgments of those "authorities," as unenlightened naiveté.

Return with us now to the thrilling days of yesteryear. In a review article (of the Foerster edition) published in 1891, Gaston Paris unlocks for us the Chinese finger prison that the tale of *Erec et Enide* has become (or even HAD become, by 1891). He suggests that the narrative comes to us from the Breton storytellers alluded to by Chrétien de Troyes. Paris tells us that Chrétien has done violence to a text with which he is uncomfortable (also fully acknowledged by Chrétien in the prologue to *Erec et Enide*), by "attenuating the marvelous," which we find to be an important aspect of the extant Welsh version of the narrative. I would posit this "marvelous" as an essential element and (at my very least adventurous) suggestive of the now-lost (oral-only?) Breton (dare I say it, Ur) version(s) of the tale.

Apparently, however, no one noticed that Paris described this phenomenon, for critics have continued to this day to worry at the various textual gaps and to debate the provenance of *Erec et Enide*. What is the problem here? It seems clear enough to me, that the generally-acknowledged authority on the subject, whose edition we take to be definitive, has put his finger squarely on a problem (or a nexus of problems) that arises due to the aforementioned attenuation. Leaving aside the problem of the relative ages of the extant manuscripts (which proves nothing in itself), the Breton-origin theory seems quite likely. However, we must leave this aside as well, as an avenue of inquiry, for whatever we may care to imagine, there is no way to prove any (or either) theory regarding the "origins" of this tale.

So then, what do we study, among these "dead ends"? I would suggest that we examine the aforementioned gaps (for example, what is Erec or Gereint's motivation for going on the quest, what is the contextual meaning of the Joie de la Cort and/or the Hedge of Mist episode). Doing so, we discover that this is a story like unto that of Pwyll in the Four Branches of the Mabinogi. It is a Celtic native tale, and we use the word Celtic with malice aforethought, for one is wary to attempt to decide between Breton provenance without a Breton manuscript and Welsh (although the Gereint is clearly written in Middle Welsh), for Chrétien de Troyes only mentions the Bretons and not the Welsh. This tale offers us the familiar narrative (familiar at least in the Four Branches, as well as in Irish material) of the establishment, perfection and/or correction of the *riġ damnae* (the stuff of kings) by a journey to the Otherworld. Enide/Enyt is the marker of sovereignty that the prince must literally espouse in order to (further) cement his position as king and his relationship to his land (for as he is told, his job as sovereign is to mark his borders).

If we posit this tale not as a "romantic" interloper among native Welsh tales, in a manuscript such as the White Book of Rhydderch, but as a

pretender to the tradition established by the Four Branches, it is clear that while we may not be able to prove that there are Martians among us, there are certainly Otherworldly creatures, and the proof is in the nature of the versions of this tale that we have before us and in the review by Gaston Paris which illuminated this issue in 1891.

This paper has a dual agenda. I feel it necessary to admonish my colleagues for their collective and individual efforts to avoid reading. We seem to have gone the Derridistes one better (while I would not be so foolish as to implicate M. Derrida soi-même). We have apparently decided that on the rare occasion we read, we tend to disread, while at all other times we appear to "know" enough about a text, so as not to need to refer to any codex at all. If any reading is as good as any other reading, then it follows that any version of a narrative is as good as any other version, including that which is created in one's head, without textual referent.

Ikko Higashibaba
The Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley.
Popular Christianity in Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Japan

The talk will begin by describing the rich collection of medieval texts and manuscripts at the University in Tenri (near Kyoto). It is important to indicate that Christianity was not the first world religion introduced to Japan—Buddhism entered in the sixth century. The syncretism between Shinto and Buddhism had already produced in the popular mind a pattern of events when the Portuguese landed in 1500's. Christian religious expressions followed a well trodden-path of Japanese popular religion, in which new and old religious elements were integrated. What was formed on the popular level was a Japanese Christianity that incorporated traits of non-Christian popular religious culture of Japan. This religious flexibility made the rapid spread of Christianity possible. Christianity was accepted in a way that corresponded to the people's religious and other needs, and became a powerful tool, enabling them to cope with the difficult reality of life in the early modern period.

James D. Johnson
English, Humboldt State University
The Family Drama in *The Tale of Gamelyn*

The late fourteenth-century romance known as *The Tale of Gamelyn* survives in twenty-five manuscripts of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, where it is a scribal addition to the unfinished "Cook's Tale." In the sixteenth century Thomas Lodge used this poem as the source for Rosalind, which in turn served as the source for Shakespeare's *As You Like It*. Although *The Tale of Gamelyn* has gained recognition through these connections, it also seems to have suffered critical neglect because of them. Studies of the poem have

focused on concerns such as the poem's style and meter, and the legal system and social conditions presented in the poem, while all but ignoring its characters and themes. One critical approach which can be used to focus attention on these topics in *The Tale of Gamelyn* is found in Derek Brewer's book, *The Family Drama in English Literature*, first published in 1980 and reissued in 1988. Drawing upon findings in the fields of folklore, anthropology, psychology, and literature, Brewer postulates that traditional narratives in English literature are primarily concerned with the process of growing up. He describes the basic pattern of this family drama as follows: "The emerging adult successfully casts off childhood, frees himself or herself from parents, proves his capacity to stand on his own feet, finds his wife, or she her husband, and is then reconciled with parents; in other words, is fully integrated into adult society" (p. 11). While a few critics have acknowledged in passing that *The Tale of Gamelyn* is concerned with growing up, there has been no close examination of this central aspect of the poem. The present paper applies Brewer's concept of the family drama to *The Tale of Gamelyn* to show how the poem follows the pattern described above, but with some acceptable variations. The paper focuses attention on the character of Gamelyn as he grows into maturity rather than on the background material in the poem. In so doing, it restores the rightful emphasis of the poem as recognized by those medieval scribes who referred to the poem not simply as *The Tale of Gamelyn* but as *The Tale of Yong Gamelyn*. There may be a clue here, too, as to why the tale was chosen as a sort of replacement for, or perhaps supplement to, the "Cook's Tale" of Perkyn Revelour, a young man who, in contrast to Gamelyn, was not making a successful transition into adult society.

Atsushi Kawahara

History, Tokyo Metropolitan University.

Confraternal Charity in Florence and Ghent during the Late Middle Ages: A Comparative Sketch

Confraternal charity in late medieval cities has drawn many scholars' attention in recent years. Italian confraternities and their assistance to the poor has been especially discussed widely by social historians. This paper deals with the comparative aspects of the assistance to the poor in the Italian city Florence and in the Flemish city Ghent during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. First I will examine what kind of ritual and material assistance was given in both cities, which were highly populated urban centers.

Secondly, I will discuss the categories of the poor to whom assistance was applied, by focusing on some confraternal and parish-based organizations (*Compagnia di Orsanmichele* and *Buonomini di San Martino* in Florence; *The Holy Ghost Table* in Saint Nikolaas parish in Ghent).

In addition, I will describe the charitable provision by such poor relief organizations in both cities in comparative aspects, considering the

wider context in each urban social and economic situation.

Henry Ansgar Kelly

English, University of California, Los Angeles

Malory as Rapist, or Rescuer of Matron in Distress?

Thomas Malory has generally received a bad rap as a notorious criminal, simply for having been charged with crimes that were never proved. He has had some defenders, who point out that the main judge who presided over the inquest that brought the charges in 1451 was none other than the duke of Buckingham, whom Malory was accused of attempting to assassinate. But even his defenders have misunderstood the nature of the "rape" charges brought against him.

He was indicted at Nuneaton as follows: on 23 May 1450, he feloniously broke the close of Hugh Smith at Monks Kirby (near Malory's Newbold estate) and feloniously ravished Smith's wife Joan and lay with her carnally ("felonice rapuit et cum ea carnaliter concubuit"); and on 6 August 1450, he feloniously ravished Joan, wife of Hugh Smith, at Coventry and lay with her carnally and feloniously stole, took, and abducted her along with #40 worth of Smith's goods and chattels, taking them to Barwell in the county of Leicester, against the peace, crown, and dignity of the king.

No one seems to have noticed that Malory allegedly abducted Mrs. Smith along with Mr. Smith's goods, or understood the implications of the fact that six weeks later the supposedly wronged husband brought an appeal of rape and breach of the peace against Malory and two others, invoking the statute of 6 Richard II, *Contra malefactores et raptos dominarum et filiarum nobilium aliarumque mulierum*. The citation of this 1382 statute confirms that the appealed raptus refers to the wife's alleged abduction, since the law applied only in cases in which the ravished woman consented to the ravishment afterwards. And since on neither occasion, according to the indictment, was the carnal lying said to be against the will of Mrs. Smith, perhaps we are to see the consent as coming very early.

Other parts of the 1382 statute, which were designed to prevent the abductor and his retroactively compliant victim from enjoying her property, would hardly be relevant, since both Mrs. Smith and Malory were already married. Most likely, then, Malory and his companions had simply assisted her to leave her husband, for one or other of the reasons that surface in other cases of alleged wife abduction when the defendants get a chance to tell their side of the story. Almost always it is a matter of the wife leaving the husband voluntarily, and often the accused rapist did not even escort the wife away from her husband's home. In some cases the wives in question had already received a formal annulment from a church court, and the ex-husband was seeking some monetary compensation from deep-pocketed male relatives or counselors of the woman.

The effect of an appeal after the presentment of an indictment was to remove the case to the King's Bench, and, sure enough, a writ of Certiorari was issued at the same time as the appeal, advoking the Nuneaton indictments to the King's Bench, where Malory pleaded not guilty (to the indictments) the next Hilary term (27 January 1452). Another effect of such an appeal was to keep the defendant imprisoned during the new process. This may have contributed to Malory's long stay in prison, but no further action in the appeal is recorded, and the charge of rape is not singled out in any of the later records concerning the indictments; there are only general references to "the divers felonies, trespasses, insurrections, extortions, and oppressions of which he stands indicted." His trial was constantly postponed, for lack of a jury, until he finally obtained a pardon in 1460.

Malory's is the first case so far discovered to invoke the 1382 statute. A second case has been found in the 1490s, in which the indictments resemble the charges against Malory to some extent, but the accused rapist in this case is not a knight but a laborer, or yeoman, named William Smith, and the supposedly ravished woman is a widow, Matilda Mourton, whose husband had been a gentleman. The ravishment was said to have been against Matilda's will—an allegation not specifically made in the Malory case—but afterwards she supposedly consented, thus making her liable to the statute. The statute, however, was designed to be enforced by the woman's husband or next of kin. We should doubtless conclude that the alleged rape never occurred, and that this jury's action and that of another, which indicted the same couple of having previously poisoned Matilda's husband, are expressions of public outrage against an unfaithful wife and her low-class lover.

All this goes to show that such charges are not to be taken at face value without confirming evidence. It holds true not only for criminal accusations but also civil actions brought under the writ *De uxore rapta*. The complaint of "ravishing a man's wife and taking her away, along with the husband's goods, and still detaining them" was almost always mere boilerplate masking other domestic problems.

Takeshi Kido

School of Humanities and Social Sciences, Nagoya City University
The Reign of Henry IV of England: A Century of Historical Research and Writing

What is the special feature of Henry IV's reign which arouses one's interest in this period? At the first glance it appears no more and no less than the entanglements of men and families that shaped English history of the fifteenth century which Henry IV's reign ushered in. This quality of fifteenth-century history of England makes it singularly obscure and difficult to understand. Historians try to sort it out by finding a few common features or key notes in it and to explain the whole process with them. In current historical writing a common denominator for English history of the later middle

ages seems to be the importance of private initiative of magnates and common features or key notes, patronage, affinity and arbitration. These categories are particularly apt for explaining and understanding political processes of Richard II's and Henry VI's reigns. Politics of the reign of Henry IV, however, may not be tractable with these categories even though the king was the lord of by far the greatest affinity in the country and throughout the later middle ages. Thus obscurity of fifteenth-century history remains. It is this obscurity, the lack of distinctiveness and yet a hint of fresh start which arouses expectation that something new might be in store that induces one to the study of this period.

Sharon Kinoshita

Literature, University of California, Santa Cruz
Unruly Speech: Female Discourse and the Construction of Alterity in Old French Epic

The Old French epic, critics almost inevitably note, is a masculine genre in which women play a strikingly small role. In her book *The Chanson de Geste in the Age of Romance*, Sarah Kay challenges this critical commonplace by calling attention to the exceptionalism of the text on which it is based, the Oxford *Roland*. Central to the subgenre of narratives of the Saracen princess, women are important in other poems as well, for example in enunciating what Kay calls "counternarratives."

In this paper I return to *Roland* to argue for the significance of its female characters. The contrast between Aude's silence and Bramimonde's vociferous dissent are crucial to the text's mediation of alterity. In the *Voyage de Charlemagne*, the *Roland*'s parodic "prequel," the contrast between Charlemagne's dissenting queen and Hugh the Strong's acquiescent daughter inverts and sexualizes this gendered Frank/foreigner distinction, an indication of the ideological disruption occasioned by Latin Christendom's problematic encounter with their Byzantine co-religionists.

Carol Knicely

Fine Arts, University of British Columbia
Exploring Rhetorics of Violence in the Visual Imagery of the Romanesque Era

If in the Early Christian and Early Medieval era decorative borders and backgrounds in the sacred spaces of the church and on religious objects were filled with luscious scrolling plants, birds and animals indicative of the abundance, peace and pleasures of Paradise, in the Romanesque era there is a dramatic reversal in tone to one of struggle and violence: the animals become aggressive and attack, humans are caught in claustrophobic and threatening vines, hunters chase and soldiers fight. The simple equation between sacred space as means and locus for salvation freely available to all those included

within its confines has often become in Romanesque ecclesiastical art an issue that is fought over; salvation can be denied entirely (note the general increase in imagery of the torments of Hell) or only won with enormous struggle. My talk will explore a range of these representations of violence and will address some of the complex social and historical reasons for this general change in rhetoric. However, I will stress that this is not just a simple rise in "Fire and Brimstone" rhetoric that is all too easily pasted onto this era of the Middle Ages. The uses of violence and the representations of violence serve a wide variety of functions and work in diverse ways. Monastic discourses of spiritual threat in the negative sense competed with other long standing discourses of violence as a positive expression of valor so important in the masculine ethos of feudal knights and an integral part of western culture since the migration of Germanic tribes. Medieval representations of violence, in fact, draw on a very diverse range of sources, including as well, ancient Roman and Eastern traditions of triumphal imagery and imperial pomp. The complexity of the formulations and strategies of representations of violence will be highlighted in the analysis of four very different works: the Last Judgment tympanum at Conques, the Throne at Bari, the Gloucester Candlestick and the devouring beast pillars at Souillac.

Leonard Michael Koff

**Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
University of California, Los Angeles**

**Literary Reception and the Values That Make It Possible, or Impossible:
The Case of Boccaccio's *Decameron***

It is fair both to history and to Boccaccio himself to say that because only incomplete or bowdlerized versions of the *Decameron* circulated in late medieval England, the work never received there the kind of reception Boccaccio may have wished, and intended, for it. We can only speculate what that intention might be, though judging from Boccaccio's own remarks in the *Decameron*, I suggest he meant the work to be a radical critique of the values of a world whose only surety was plague and play. Moreover, that intention, I think, was not understood by those most taken by Boccaccio as a writer. Late medieval values of a traditional, perhaps panicky kind--values that the *Decameron* seems to put in question--shaped the reception of the text as reflected in translations of it. Furthermore, because Boccaccio as the author of forthrightly serious works, like the *Genealogie*, expressed some of the same reservations about the *Decameron* as those who read it, and trimmed it, he himself may have contributed to its misreading. In this context, we will examine the first evidence in early fifteenth-century England of the reception of *Decameron* 4.1, the tale of Guiscardo and Ghismonda. Gilbert Banester's translation reveals a literary tradition already shaped by Chaucer as Lancastrian poet laureate whose translation at the end of the fourteenth century of *Decameron* 10.10 became the *Clerk's Tale*. As read by his

fifteenth-century admirers, which is to say narrowly, Chaucer showed others how to read Boccaccio, and thus both Boccaccio and Chaucer were reshaped morally by those who most honoured them. What Banester's translation illustrates is that, from the early fifteenth century, the *Decameron* had to be redeemed in order to find its proper place in a literary history that Banester himself, as a reader of Chaucer, was creating. Though Boccaccio's direct influence on the *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Knight's Tale* is never doubted, the reluctance of Chaucerians today to give the *Decameron* its status as a source for some of the *Canterbury Tales* is evidence of the intellectual difficulties created by a fifteenth-century literary history in whose shadow Chaucerians today still work.

Heike Lammers

University of Munich

"Homo quo vigeas vide" (*Carmen Buranum* 22)—From Liturgy to Song-book

One of the most fascinating aspects of medieval music derives from the close but nevertheless open relationship between liturgical music and motets. The compositional process defines itself as an artistic creation of "works in progress," combining the three basic components in various patterns, even within the tradition of a single piece of music. As the most expressive representative of this phenomenon, the motet reveals, more than any other musical genre, the complex connections between pure musico-rhythmic structure and metrified text. The texted motets imitate rhythmic features of the *clausulae*, thus bringing forth a new style of sung lyric.

How the offspring motet is indebted to source *clausulae* will be shown by the example of the monotextual motet, "Homo quo vigeas vide," based on the liturgical chant of the "Alleluia. Non vos reliquam," it expresses best the fundamental compositional changes from non-measured gregorian chant to the untexted, but measured *clausula* and finally the texted and measured motet.

Moreover, the appearance of "Homo quo vigeas vide" in the famous songbook of the *Carmina Burana* (without any hint of the basic tenor) implies the separation of the intrinsic "mots" from their liturgical background. Thus the examination of "Homo quo vigeas vide" has to focus particularly on the *Carmen Buranum* and the ways in which it indicates an alteration of the two- or three-voice motet setting into a monophonic song.

Since this is the only motet to be found in the "Carmina Burana," a detailed analysis of the "song" in question may also help to explain why texted dupla (or tripla) in general remained part of multi-voiced settings.

Glenn Peter Luft
Creative Communication Services
University of California, Davis
Kevin Roddy
Medieval Studies Program
University of California, Davis
Reconstructing Hadrian's Wall: A Web-Based 3-D Multimedia Project

This instructional resource has been designed in three specific stages, with the ultimate object a fully interactive repository of information on the wall, a 117-kilometer fortification stretching from Newcastle upon Tyne to Carlisle and beyond, first planned in 117 and modified sporadically until 383, when the Roman legions were first withdrawn from Britain. This will be a cooperative project, utilizing the talents of Glenn Peter Luft, of UCD's Creative Communication Services, Information Technology's Instructional Resources, the Medieval Studies Program, and the Teaching Resources Center.

In the first stage, a digital topographic map of the relevant sections of Northumbria and Cumberland will be rendered so as to allow a "fly-over" of the terrain. Insofar as it is possible, the vegetation and soil conditions of the time will be recreated at this juncture. In the second stage, already well underway, typical milecastles and turrets will be generated. To this will be added facsimiles of two of the most important forts along the wall, Vindolanda (Chesterholm) and Vercovicium (Housesteads). Both forts have been extensively excavated, and provide a detailed view of Roman army life on the frontier. The third stage, a natural extension of the first two, will offer students an interactive investigative tool on the order of the the Wichamstow site currently available at

<http://www.ftech.net/~regia/village.htm>

At present, moreover, it is possible to provide a number of variables to the students (food supply, relative field strength of the legions in charge of the wall, the size of Pictish raiding parties) so as to engage them in exploring the dimensions of this great enterprise.

By March, 1997, short quick-time films will be available on the topographic and military aspects of the wall. This can be demonstrated in slides, or displayed with the use of an ordinary computer projector.

Dhira B. Mahoney
English, Arizona State University
'A short epilogue excusatorie of the translatours rudenesse'; Liminal Rhetoric of Late Medieval Translators

As Ernst Curtius first noted, medieval prologues employ the conventional prefatory topoi of affected modesty and submission: the author apologises for his inadequacy, his rude style, his lack of flowers of rhetoric, claims that it is only at the request of a patron or a superior that he has dared to undertake his task, and so on. The topoi appear equally often in epilogues, providing a framing discourse to the work. However, medieval translators both are and are not authors. Though they employ the general prefatory topoi, they also need to employ topoi specific to their activity. Translation from Latin to the vernacular requires explanation and justification, specially if the text is a sacred text. This paper, therefore, will examine the rhetorical tropes and linguistic strategies particular to the liminal discourse of late medieval English translators such as John Trevisa and Osborn Bokenham—though some tropes are of sufficient antiquity to go back to Alfred's Old English.

Translators may have an uneasy relationship with their original texts, and with the concept of authorship itself. As A. J. Minnis has shown, they frequently designate themselves as compilers rather than translators. Yet they are at the same time scrupulous about identifying and distinguishing their original text—Higden and Nicholas Love both designate their own additions with initials. Similarly, translators who provide their own prefaces also scrupulously preserve the prefaces of their originals, translating them into the vernacular along with the text itself. The original authorial prefaces are treated as part of the textual tradition. In illustrated manuscripts this sometimes leads to a double miniatures, with the translator presenting his work to his patron in a miniature followed by his own preface, followed then by a miniature of the author heading his own preface—creating a double layer of prefatory discourse.

Also of interest is the attitude of late medieval translators to language. Translators reveal their ambivalent attitude to their activity, uneasy about the presumption involved in translating sacred texts. Similarly secular translators can simultaneously apologize for their crude and barbarous vernacular in comparison to the elegance of Latin rhetoric and assert that Latin is excessively ornate and that their simple plain language has more direct access to the truth. Their prefaces reveal many of the issues of debate current in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England about Latin and the attempt of the Latinate community to control textual power. In an entirely original use of the trope of the genesis narrative, Trevisa dramatizes the issue in his *Dialogue of the Knight and the Clerk*.

William Mahrt

Music, Stanford University

Musical and Poetic Voice in Three Virelais of Guillaume de Machaut

While the lyrics of Machaut use conventionalized poetic forms and topics, it is only when this use is placed in context, studying one piece in comparison with others based upon the same conventions that the uniqueness of each work becomes evident, that the convention is the very means of establishing fine differences between the works.

Three monophonic virelais are the subject of the present paper. Their convention base is clear from their very similar titles: "He! dame de vaillance," "Ay mi! dame de valour," and "He! dame de valour." The apparent similarity is only a point of departure, however, for each poem projects the persona of a very different speaker.

Machaut's music aids this projection: melodic contour, chromatic alterations (relating notions of softness and hardness in the text to the soft and hard hexachords of musical theory), variety of ambitus, and rhythmic style, all serve to highlight the differences between these three personae.

The musical usages will be illustrated by sung examples; since the pieces are monophonic, the musical discussion will be accessible to non-musicians.

John Hilary Martin

Dominican School of Philosophy and Theology.

Emerging Cultural and Regional Identity: The Formation of Provinces within the Mendicant Orders in Europe of the 13th Century

The Dominicans and Franciscans, the major mendicant order both began as pan-European institutions. Because of their phenomenal success and huge numbers, they quickly grouped their many houses into large, regional subdivisions called provinces, which were given names such as, "Francia, Italia, Hispania, Germania, Terra Sancta, Anglia." By the mid-thirteenth century such provinces were institutionally organized under an elected Provincial and a local Chapter, and were sending off a set number of deputies as elected representatives to the international Chapters that governed the Orders. Simple convenience is reason enough for subdivision, but why were "these" divisions decided on in the first place? What was the cultural composition of these provinces and the rationale behind it? To think of them in terms of modern national-states is surely anachronistic, even if they do happen to bear the same names. (The life of northern Italia towns, for examples, would not be an easy mix with the life of southern Italy with its Grecian flavor. Many houses in the province called Francia lived under English lords and an English king.) Contiguous geography and the formation of a language commonly spoken and "heard" over a broad area, something which medieval preaching tended to promote, suggests itself as the "raison d'être" of

province formation, and is a witness to the cultural similarities of those reasons.

Christine McCann

History, University of California, Santa Barbara

Spiritual Mentoring in Early Medieval Ireland

Spiritual mentoring is a relationship formed between two persons who wish to grow in spiritual maturity. One person is recognized as having progressed farther toward that goal and guides the other in his spiritual journey. These relationships were important in early medieval Ireland, especially in the ceili de reform movement of the eighth and ninth centuries.

The *anmcharae* or "soul-friends" are the best known examples of spiritual mentors in early medieval Ireland, but abbots, abbesses and bishops also provided spiritual guidance to disciples. I argue that these relationships were often strongly affective in nature. This is contrary to established scholarly opinion that an emphasis on affective relationships did not develop until the twelfth century. I use a variety of sources, including monastic rules, penitentials and saints lives to demonstrate the importance of affective spiritual mentoring in pre-twelfth century Ireland.

Jennifer McKnight

History, University of Washington

A Question of Feud

Different Historians have used the term "feud" to describe a variety of events amongst a number of different Medieval cultures. Often these authors have relied upon definitions of the term derived to a large extent from the work of anthropologists. This paper will begin to consider the general applicability of the term, and the problems surrounding its use. In addition, there will be a discussion of the difference between the term and the concept. Finally, a brief "case study" of the use and application of the concept shall be made by considering the place and importance of "feud" in early Medieval Ireland. (This last is, to my knowledge, an area as yet unexplored.)

Joseph Falaky Nagy

Folklore and Mythology, University of California, Los Angeles.

Trace and Text in the Legend of Tristan and Isolde and in its Celtic Analogues

In Gottfried von Strassburg's *Tristan*, Isolde deciphers the significance of Tristan's pseudonym "Tantris" by visualizing it and spelling it out. This is not the only instance in medieval tellings of the legend of Tristan and Isolde in which writing and/or the 'visualization' of the spoken figure prominently.

Heretofore unnoticed by scholars is a similar preoccupation with the process of translating the verbal into the visual and *vice versa* in medieval Irish and Welsh analogues to the legend. Clearly the theme of communicating in esoteric registers, including writing or 'arche-writing,' is part of the Tristanian package already in its Celtic context.

In this paper I consider the significance of the alternation between the aural/oral and visual codes in the medieval legend of Tristan and Isolt—as treated by Béroul, Gottfried, and others—and in the Celtic (Irish and Welsh) analogues to/sources of this story. At the heart of the argument is Kenneth Jackson's proposed etymology for -Esyllt- (the Welsh name from which -Isolt- derives) as -*adsiltia- 'one to be seen'.

Sharan Newman

History,

University of California, Santa Barbara.

The Light-fingered Bishop: Philippe d'Harcourt and the Stolen Arm

One of the most curious *furta sacra* of the twelfth century was the theft of a relic from Salisbury during the war between Stephen and Matilda. Before becoming bishop of Bayeux in 1142, Philippe d'Harcourt was King Stephen's nominee for the bishopric of Salisbury. When it became clear that Philippe would not be accepted by the canons of Salisbury or by the papal legate, he took several items from the Salisbury Cathedral treasury. One of these items was the relic of a saint, "an arm, gold-plated, and ornamented with precious stones." According to the *Livre Noir* of Bayeux, Philippe eventually returned the arm, along with some church plate and a recompense of ten shillings. This was done through the intercession of Archbishop Hugh of Rouen. However, there are a number of questions remaining about this event. Whose arm was it? Why didn't the canons make a public outcry about the theft? When was Philippe persuaded to return it and what happened to it afterwards? It has been speculated that the arm was that of St. Aldhelm, known to be one of the Salisbury relics, but there are problems with the assumption, the first being that the description of the reliquary taken by Philippe doesn't match that of St. Aldhelm's. This paper will explore the known facts of the matter and suggest a possible explanation of the circumstances involving the theft and return of the relic.

Anita Obermeier

English, Arizona State University

The Manciple's Tale: A Metaphor for Chaucer's Self-Critical Roles

Although a myriad of criticism exists evaluating Chaucer's authorial personae, a comprehensive assessment of his metapoetical discourse with himself, his texts, and his readers in the framework of the medieval topos of auctorial self-criticism does not. Medieval auctorial self-criticism is an effort

on the authors' part to circumvent certain literary taboos and to practice authorial license. Chaucer was aware of the apology tradition's two premier manifestations, apologies to God or the religious establishment and to women, as he makes ample use of their conventions to shirk literary responsibility. I would, therefore, like to argue that Chaucer's metapoetical dialogue, his tactic of portraying himself in a humble light, often deprecating his poetic skills, is part of his masterful manipulation of the concept of the medieval translator, the scholastic compiler, and the sinful author in the Christian cosmos. Chaucer's humbly bowing to ancient authorities, to contemporary reality, and eventually to Christ, the Master Author, are self-critical elements in *Troilus and Criseyde*, the *Legend of Good Women*, the *Astrolabe*, and the *Canterbury Tales*, elements with which Chaucer weaves an intertextual and intra-auctorial tapestry in order to achieve his literary ends and exercise his poetic license. Against this background, I will examine how *The Manciple's Tale*, often neglected and considered negligible, can be read as a veiled and encompassing metaphor for the fate of the sinful author in the Christian cosmos, unless he employs apology strategies.

James K. Otté

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The Atom Versus Genesis: The Church Fathers and the Atomic Theory

In a previous paper entitled, "The Rebirth of the Atomic Theory: An Unsung Component of the Twelfth Century Renaissance" [MAP, Berkeley, CA, March 1994], I demonstrated how the reintroduction of Aristotle (384-22) in the twelfth century helped stimulate discussions of the ancient atomic theory. Ironically, this was the opposite of Aristotle's design, since he had rejected the atomic theory of Leucippus (5th. C. B.C.) and Democritus (c. 460-c. 370 B.C.). In my subsequent review of Bernhard Pabst's *Atomtheorien des lateinischen Mittelalters*, I learned that "in the years between 1100 and 1380 not fewer than eighteen scholars taught the corpuscular structure of bodies; indeed, that in the twelfth century the atomic theory enjoyed greater popularity than at any time in antiquity" [Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft: Darmstadt, 1994]. Moreover, Pabst traced the sources of these medieval scholars to their ancient authors and demonstrated how ingeniously and independently the writers of the twelfth century built their own theories upon them. His study is a convincing testimony to the position that a far greater amount of Greco-Latin learning was available throughout the Middle Ages than is generally accepted. But, according to Pabst, it was not until the twelfth century that the Latin scholars acquired the necessary degree of sophistication to understand and appreciate their intellectual inheritance regarding the atomic theory. During the interval the Church Fathers had read and discarded the theory of the ancient atomists. Their rejection condemned the atomic theory to oblivion until the twelfth century and damned its advocates to eternity. So, when the schoolmen of that century rediscovered the

atomic theory, it was not through the Church Fathers, but through the ancient authors. Many of them had also rejected the atomic theory, but in an ironic twist of fate, they had thereby also vouchsafed its very survival.

After a short review of the most prominent pre-Christian authors' reaction to the atomic theory, I will turn to the Church Fathers and present their arguments against the atomic theory. Their condemnations of the atomic theory and their damnation of its advocates, so it seems, guaranteed their own exclusion as a source of the atomic theory for the scholars of the twelfth century. Most certainly, later Christian thinkers could not quote from the Church Fathers what they themselves had condemned and damned. Fortunately, such a stigma was not attached to the pre-Christian writers whether they endorsed or rejected the atomic theory. Thus, the writings of Pagan authors provided the substance for the atomic speculations of twelfth century scholars.

Velvet Pearson

English, University of Southern California

Christine de Pizan's *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie*: Mythology and the Voice of the Author

Christine de Pizan and her work have become a site of contention among feminist critics who tend to view her either as a proto-feminist role model for political action today or, as Sheila Delany so deftly puts it, as the Phyllis Schlafly of the Middle Ages. Some of these extreme views stem from the fact that much of her work remains relatively unexplored in comparison with some of her more well-known contemporaries like Chaucer and Jean de Meung. Scholarly work remains unevenly focused on only a few of her works. Analogies between Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus* and her *La cité des dames* are abundant, as are her supposed feminist revision of the mythographic tradition, especially in *La cité des dames* and *L'epistre d'Othea*. Her contribution to the quarrel of the rose and the current debate over her status in feminist criticism have also been closely scrutinized. Many of these readings obviously have been informed by a feminist political agenda, i.e. whether Christine's work in general is worthy of belonging to a feminist canon of inspiration for modern women. This tendency, while it has led to many interesting speculations about her life and work, has more often revealed a lack of attention to the text itself, which should be used to strengthen and support such political agenda—agendas which may not be able to stand up on their own merits alone.

These concerns and the lack of a critical edition of *Le livre des fais d'armes et de chevalerie* have led to its appearance in criticism only in summary or brief reference. Yet Diane Bornstein has called this text one of the forerunners of modern international laws of warfare. The most interesting and original part of the text, the prologue and its invocation to Minerva, have not been included in most discussions of her revisionist mythography, nor

has this text been positioned in studies of the progress of Christine's changing authorial voice. The purpose of this paper will be to place this prologue in the mythographical context of her oeuvre and to consider any insights offered by a medieval woman's view of warfare.

Meg Roland

English, Portland State University

The Naming of Malory's Text: It isn't just the "Morte" anymore

Since the discovery of the Winchester Manuscript, critics have wrestled with how to distinctly refer to the two textual authorities for what was once simply *Le Morte Darthur*. Indeed, critics have tried to wrench authority from one version or the other via the name they applied to each text. The struggle to "name" a five hundred year old text reveals much about the approach to textual criticism which underlies such choices. Some critics have sought to ascribe a "once-removed" status to Caxton's version by referring to it as "The Caxton" and to the Winchester manuscript as "The Malory." Labels for the manuscript and editions based on it include "The Malory Manuscript," "The Winchester Malory," Vinaver's famed "Works," and, more recently, "The Winchester version" or "Vinaver's edition." Malory's text—based on the Caxton incunabula—is available as *Le Morte Darthur* and—based on the Winchester manuscript—as *Malory: Works*. How do these monikers reflect the textual theories of the critics naming and shaping these editions and the trend of textual criticism for medieval works? The issue of naming the two exemplars of Malory's text provides a fascinating insight into textual theory and how critical biases drive the practice of editing.

Marylou Ruud

History, University of West Florida.

Miracles and Community in 12th-Century England

Many pre-twelfth-century miracle collections provide modern historians with unique and compelling views of how monastic saints and their miracles worked to protect monastic holding from secular encroachments. Saints, such as Cuthbert, may have healed, preserved, and inspired, but their main activities involved safeguarding property, monastic exemptions, and judicial privileges. In this vein, they also passed judgement on perpetrators, often bringing about physical harm as means of retribution. In contrast to these earlier anthologies, however, stand a number twelfth-century English collections that portray, almost consistently, more sedate miracles of posthumous healing. Indeed, simple cures and visions were common to the miracles attributed to the recently dead or newly translated holy men of this period, such as Erkenwald, Wulfstan of Worcester, and Gilbert of Sempringham. These were not men of vengeance who protected against territorial enemies,

or even, for the most part, famine and plague. Theirs were miracles turned instead to glorifying the saint and his shrine as part of the process of canonization.

For some historians, then, these collections offer little more than inventories of deeds recorded to ensure sainthood. It has also been suggested that some of the lists are so focused on the individual saint that they even fail to provide insight into the community itself or to establish what might be considered proper monastic propaganda. But while it is true that canonization was the focus of these records, it does not follow that the miracles tell us little or nothing about the saint's relationship to his community or how the community viewed his role in the ongoing life of the monastery.

A study of Gilbert of Sempringham's works provides much more than a list of cures for fevers, gout, and paralysis. It indicates that, after his death, his nuns and canons saw him as continuing his very special presence with them. In fact, the miracle collection itself appears as a crafted work in which Gilbert plays out the role not only of healer, but also of recruiter, corrector, and link to important patrons. Underlying the collection is a distinct message: Gilbert was a saint much involved in the life of the community, if not its real estate. The nuns and canons would comprehend in the miracles the sense that Gilbert seemed to favor them and their patrons in the way he effected their cures. They would respond to the miracles that distinctly pointed out their failings and shortcomings. It appears that in both life and death Gilbert was quick to chastise improper monastic behavior. But most importantly, Gilbert's posthumous activities served to maintain a tie to the order's patrons. His relics and visions singled them out for cures at rates much higher than for regular visitors to the shrine, and he provided an especially close connection with the de Lacy family, holders of the castle next to Sempringham. The nuances and subtexts of this particular twelfth-century collection, then, show it to be much more than a random compilation of miracles parceled out to undifferentiated pilgrims. Rather, it reflects how the recorders of Gilbert's posthumous actions produced a collection that reflected the reality of the Gilbertine order and its ongoing needs.

Shoichi Sato

History, The University of Nagoya.

The Three-Fields System in the Late Merovingian Accounting Documents from the Abbey Saint-Martin at Tours

About twenty years ago, two French paleographers, P. Gasnault and J. Vezin, published the text of twenty-six documents extremely fragmented and written in Merovingian cursive letters, with their photographs. They bear, more or less, a large number of anthroponyms, and the name of several kinds of grains and figures which indicate, without doubt, the quantity of grains that should have paid in kind the bearer of the anthroponym--man or woman--registered on the same line, to St.-Martin. They are the documents, or, more

exactly, parts of documents which have been used by the personnel of the abbey, on the occasions of their collecting the tribute called *agrarium* that the peasants owed to that house of God.

Every historian of agrarian systems or agricultural techniques knows that the regular rotation with two kinds of crops as well as the three-field system began to spread for the first time from eighth-century in western Europe. Whether this technical innovation considerably contributed to the growth of agricultural production in the early middle ages as has been accepted until now, or not, as have insisted some specialists most recently, establishing the fact that the peasants in the Loire Valley knew and had practiced at later Merovingian times that sort of field system must be important in itself, all the more since the documents have been nearly unexplored.

Ursula Schaefer

Insitut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik

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Textualizing Prose: Considerations on Translating as a Forgotten Contribution to the Transition from Orality to Literacy in England

Outlining the history of English prose has—up to recently—mainly been an endeavour to defend the 'quality' of vernacular medieval prose. In my paper I want to outline the positive contribution of translations from Latin into the vernacular with regard to the history of the English language and its use in writing.

My starting point will be the difficulties Anglo-Saxon translators have in rendering Latin texts (such as Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*) into English. I will argue that these difficulties only secondarily arise from the different grammatical structures of the two respective languages. The main problem the translators have to cope with is the fact that by the time of those translations English has not yet developed a 'written standard.' Hence the translation activities work as an interface between both extensively launching English as a *Schriftsprache* and at the same time intensively furthering the 'elocutional force' (Austin) of English in the medium of writing.

The symptom of Aelfric's attempts to give his 'expository prose' an acceptable (i.e. 'traditional') shape by using what has become known as 'rhythmical prose' indicates that by the 10th century the cultural relevance of such a prose has by no means yet been firmly established.

My central argument will be that findings from the cognitive sciences may contribute to our basic understanding of gaining access to such complicated processes as getting a vernacular on its way of becoming a *textualized* variety of a language that previously only availed itself of an 'elaborate' form of language in some kind of versification as an (orally based) indication for social relevance.

Brenda Deen Schildgen
Comparative Literature, University of California, Davis
Islam in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Boccaccio's *Decameron*

There are five dimensions to the Islamic impact on European cultural development. First, there is the sometimes vitriolic and narrow-minded prejudice which exhibits little knowledge of Islam and pillories the Islamic religion and its people found in many medieval chansons de geste. Second, beginning in the middle of the twelfth century, medieval intellectuals, led by Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, developed an intense interest in the Moslem religion which led not only to a translation of the Koran into Latin by the Cluniac order under Peter the Venerable's patronage, but to the eventual translation of Averroes, Avicenna, and Aristotle. Islam was the road to Greek philosophy, science, medicine, etc. and the learned in the West embraced this opportunity for intellectual dialogue and profitable learning from Islam. Third, trade was not only an essential feature of the relationship between Christian Europe and Islam, but the marketing relationships between the two were often equitable. Fourth, Islam was perceived by those in power as a political-ideological threat because it appeared to be a movement in which religion and political aspirations were combined. Finally, there is the issue of what Maxime Rodinson refers to as "les musulmans fictifs," the hermeneutic of exoticism and difference conferred on the Moslems.

In this paper, showing the workings of these aspects of medieval-Islamic relationships, I propose to compare and contrast the treatment of Islam in Chaucer's "Man of Law's Tale" and several of Boccaccio's tales in the *Decameron*. Particularly in 1:3 and 10:9, Boccaccio shows a broad-minded and tolerant attitude towards religious conviction and cultural exchange in contrast to Chaucer's exposure of Islam as a dangerous and perfidious opposition to the Christian west. However, this does not lead Chaucer to promote crusade politics; on the contrary, he draws a sharp line between the unconverted (both western pagans and eastern Moslems), pointing to the west as the site for evangelism and political reform. Though both Chaucer and Boccaccio show respect for Islam as a source of learning, and both reflect the established trading relationships between the two worlds, Chaucer's tale vehemently condemns fraternizing with Islam, while Boccaccio, in contrast, argues for the confraternity of the three Middle-Eastern religions. This highlights a central ideological contrast between the two writers, suggesting not just a deviation in temperament and conviction, but more importantly a difference in aesthetic purpose, at least in the tales which deal with the non-Christian world. Furthermore, the contrast dramatizes the diversity of western Christian literary attitudes towards Islam in the fourteenth century.

Alan M. Smith
Honors College
The Role of the *Consilia* in the Development of Medieval Scientific Methodology

The history of science demonstrates that changes in problem solving and explanatory structures are the consequence of a major shift in scientific methodology. The work of Crombie on R. Grosseteste and J. Randall Jr. on the School of Padua have shown that the rise of the experimental method in science can be traced back to the 13th to the 15th century in the Latin West. The development of the scientific method in this period can be in part attributed to developments in the history of medicine. The writings of Constantine the African at the Salerno School of medicine made Galen's ideas known to medieval physicians on the need to combine the empirical with the theoretical in medicine. Later at the School of Padua there developed a refinement of the method of *resolutio* and *compositio* in science in general and in medicine in particular. In medicine the emphasis was on an inductive study of the effects or signs of a disease leading to an understanding of its cause and finally to a rational treatment of the disease. By the 14th century the *consilia* of many famous medieval physicians were collected. These works are written reports of case studies of individual patients providing insight into the actual methods of practice. In my paper I will present an analysis of several of these *consilia* which supports my thesis that developments in medieval medicine made an important contribution to the development of the new scientific methodology.

Timothy M. Sullivan
History, University of Hawaii at Manoa
There and Back Again: Colonialism, Travel, and Medieval Europe, 1100-1300

In recent years, post-colonial scholars and intellectuals have engaged the issue of travel, both as act and as metaphor. Edward Said and James Clifford have both addressed the ways that travel in its various guises allows one to discuss the postmodern condition in especially meaningful ways. In *Imperial Eyes* Mary Louise Pratt focuses on Europe's construction of the world through travel and travel writing in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Mary Helms's *Ulysses' Sail* takes an anthropological approach, considering the ways long-distance marks and transforms the traveler. Nicholas Thomas has suggested in *Colonialism's Culture* that anthropology, governmentality, and travel are three hallmarks of modernity and have shaped the way we see the world. With few exceptions, those who theorize travel, have been hesitant to address the issue in "pre-modern" times, preferring instead to focus on periods of European hegemony.

Medieval history, however, has not been devoid of discussion of

travel or colonialism in its different aspects. Medievalists have addressed especially pilgrimage, both within Europe and to points outside. Recently, in *The Making of Europe* Robert Bartlett applies loosely the idea of colonialism to Europe's history. Mary Campbell has examined travel writing from the fifth to the sixteenth century.

In the majority of work done on medieval travel, especially on that of extra-European character, theoretical considerations are largely absent. Scholars who have considered European travel in the age of "mendicants, merchants, missionaries" have ignored the role travel plays in the formation of Europe and its views of the Other. I hope to address this lacuna by applying the post-colonial theory mentioned above to medieval travel beyond the borders of Christendom in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. While post-colonial theory may not be directly applicable to the middle ages, the issues raised by focusing on the problem of travel are much the same; such theory can provide valuable insight and perspective.

The paper I am proposing addresses first the range and complexities of post-colonial literature on travel. Second, it discusses the applicability of these theories and, more importantly, the issues they raise regarding a twelfth- and thirteenth-century Europe engaged in regular cross-cultural contact with the rest of the Afro-Eurasian ecumene. Some of the most pertinent issues involved are the role of travel in the formation of medieval European identity, the creation of the Other—beyond the grotesque manifestations normally identified—and the evolution of a distinct medieval "governmentality." These explorations, I think, will prove most fruitful.

Paul Szarmach
The Medieval Institute.
Æðelflæd, mise en page

Fred C. Robinson's classic article on "Old English Literature in Its Most Immediate Context" argues for the incorporation of information regarding the physical context of the manuscript to help establish "the main course of a poem's thought" and to help determine "the most relevant meanings of individual words within the text" [Robinson, 11; in *The Editing* . . . 3; in ed. O' Brien, O'Keeffe, 3]. In this paper I would like to extend the discussion of meaningful, physical, manuscript characteristics to an important prose piece, the account of *Æðelflæd* in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, along the lines cited from Robinson above. While it may be that to apply to prose ideas that were originally applied to poetry seems an artless or simple homage to say the least, I hope to sound some themes common *post theoriae aduentum*, particularly those involving the reality and representation of women and the idea of "erasure." The discerning reader will note the quiet move herein to consider the Chronicle as a literary text. After an introduction to *Æðelflæd* and her story in the Chronicle, or as it is more commonly known, the Mercian Register, I consider the layout and design of the B, C,

and D Chronicle versions and the beginning of the attempt to "erase" *Æðelflæd*. The reception of the story of *Æðelflæd*, particularly in William of Malmesbury, will play an important role in her post-Saxon *nachleben*. This small "text" of great significance makes it possible to show how a methodology, traditionalist in its roots, can assist this major theme of feminist analysis. This emphasis on the "old time philology" and its scholarly modes effective for that feminist analysis has an echo in later literary historiography. For the story of *Æðelflæd*, the analysis begins, as it must, on those first manuscript pages that display an immediate context telling much and celebrating the lady of the Mercians.

Hiroshi Takayama
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Amiratus in the Norman Kingdom of Sicily—A Leading Office of Arabic Origin in the Royal Administration

The administration of the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, a major crossroads of Greek, Arabic and Latin cultures in the twelfth century, has been considered to be the most advanced in contemporary Europe. However, there have been great confusion and uncertainties about how it actually functioned. This paper focuses on one of the most influential office in the kingdom, *amiratus* (admiral), which has been thought to be in charge of the financial administration, the organization of the navy and the command of the forces. I shall examine how this office of Arabic origin was introduced into Sicily and how it changed its character according to the political situation. This study illustrates the process in which an office of culturally different origin came to be integrated into the Norman administrative system.

David F. Tinsley
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Gendered Transcendence in the vitae of Suso and Stagel

In the prologue to *The Exemplar*, the spiritual biography of Henry Suso, the audience is told that it will learn "how one shall attain the pure truth of a blessed and perfect life." As many commentators have noted, this "one" is in fact two. The *vita* of Elsbeth Stagel achieves a kind of spiritual symbiosis with that of her confessor. Her desire for God brings her to Suso. Tales of his suffering bring her to God. When she records his tales, she inscribes their *vitae* on the heart of the Christian world. *The Exemplar* affords us, then, a perfect laboratory in which to test two views that have shaped the last ten years of scholarly debate surrounding women's devotional literature of the later Middle Ages.

On the one hand, the categories that define Suso's and Stagel's paths to divine wisdom seem to support the view, articulated by Carolyn Bynum, that women's spirituality transcends the anachronistic imposition of

gender dichotomies. Indeed, the *via triplica*, the three-step hierarchy omnipresent in medieval contemplative writing, most clearly articulated in Pseudo-Dionysius, Augustine, and Bonaventure, and adapted for Dominican spiritual practice by Meister Eckhart, shapes the spiritual journeys of both Suso and Stigel (Ruh, *Mystik*, 53-71; 104-113; Langer, 156-174). On the other hand, the gendered division of Suso's *vita* implies that God created separate paths for Dominican men and women, thereby supporting the notion, as scholars like Biddick, Partner, and Petroff have argued, that the literature of affective spirituality is born in the struggle to overcome the Church Fathers' legacy of misogyny and oppression.

It cannot be denied that transcendence is gendered in *The Exemplar*. Suso's and Stigel's experiences differ drastically in matters of conversion, revelation, suffering, and discernment. First, Suso must experience temptation and rapture before he undertakes his successful "courtship" of divine wisdom, whereas Stigel's conversion is not mentioned at all. Second, Stigel is denied direct experience of revelation. Whereas Suso is constantly reassured in moments of rapture and revelation that he is on the right path, Stigel must seek reassurance in Suso's reports of these experiences. Third, suffering for Stigel is also mediated by Suso. Suso forbids her to emulate him in self-imposed, external suffering "in the severe manner of the desert fathers." God intervenes instead by inflicting Stigel with illness, which the Suso immediately identifies as her supreme test of patience. For this reason Stigel does not have to endure the much more awful internal suffering of treachery. In its place she hears yet more tales of what Suso had to endure. Finally, Stigel is not taken into the circle of universal sufferers on earth, but rather is delivered directly into heaven. Instead of receiving permission to meditate on the higher mysteries outside the spiritual refuge of the *cura monialium* (Tobin, 132-4), which was Stigel's initial sin, she receives instruction by Suso in such matters.

These attempts to make revelation less immediate, suffering less extreme, and meditation less autonomous do not only document the fear and trembling of Dominican confessors at the revelatory power of their charges, they also must be understood as measures designed to contain Dominican nuns' spiritual practices within the friendly confines of the *cura monialium*. Yet the totality of spiritual experience demanded by such a text does not permit the complete repression of exemplary experience as reported by Dominican nuns. If we consider the above evidence as well as the fact that Suso's *vita* was read in Dominican convents along with the lives of the desert fathers and mothers, the exemplary *vitae* of Dominican brothers and sisters, and perhaps even revelations born in the radical spirituality of suffering as recounted by the Dominican mystic Elsbeth von Oye, we conclude that gendered transcendence in *The Exemplar* acquires a complexity of presentation which resists descriptive platitudes of patriarchy. Further study is needed, but at this time the answer seems to lie closer to Bynum than it does to

Biddick.

Jens Ulf-Møller

History, University of Oregon

Commercial Arithmetic and Duodecimal Counting Practices in British and Scandinavian Account Books and Texts.

Literacy and numeracy is fundamental knowledge that characterize the level of culture of a society. The peoples of Northern Europe (Scandinavians, Germans, English, Scots, Celts) mastered an indigenous numerical culture, popularly called the "long hundred" calculation, which differed substantially from the Roman as well as the Arab numerical system, which are generally considered to be the only arithmetic used in medieval and Early modern Northern Europe.

As an arithmetic system, 'long hundred' calculation is peculiar by using both 'ten' and 'twelve' as bases. The higher base, 'hundred' or the Roman numeral 'C' had a double numerical interpretation both as '120' and '100' often in the same calculation (but not 144). The word 'thousand' or 'M' meant both '1,200' and '1,000' (not 1,440). The examples from medieval texts demonstrate how the system was used. Two methods of calculation reveal when hundred meant a 'long hundred': adding values lower than hundred that become more than hundred or thousand, or solving Diophantine equations ($X \times Y = Z$, in which the unknown values are integers).

'Long hundreds' are linguistically well documented in Old Norse and Old English, where the numbers 100, 110, and 120 are represented by specific linguistic expressions. To the Economic historian 'long hundreds' added an extra dimension of uncertainty and complication to the interpretation of medieval accounting, especially in England and Scotland, but it did not lead them to study the causes for the arithmetical anomaly. The use of 'long hundred' calculation changed with the location over time, because it was gradually supplanted by the numerical practices connected with Roman numerals which came from the South. I will therefore first present examples from Norway, and Iceland, and then proceed to the Scotland and England, where most examples can be found. The sixteenth century Norwegian account books show no signs of use of 'long hundred' arithmetic, but only when counting by the piece, for example fish and iron, or products imported from Shetland or Iceland.

The major stock of examples come from Scotland. I have found 200 examples in the accounts of the Treasurer of Scotland, dating from 1500 to 1570, and more examples has been found in earlier and later materials, as documented by professor Julian Goodare in the *Transactions of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries* (Edinburgh, 1993). I have found English tally sticks where 'long hundred' calculation was used.

'Long hundred' calculation is difficult to document in medieval sources, but it can be found in the *Gesta Danorum* by Saxo, in Bede's *History of the English Church and People*, and in Icelandic sagas.

The possession of an elaborate indigenous arithmetic reveals that Northern Europe had advanced civilized societies. The numerical system was very advanced for its time; the introduction of Arab numerals, which revolutionized the numerical concept, wiped out the general knowledge of 'long hundred' calculation, but the traditional methods of counting in 'long hundreds', which persisted in the countryside until the last century.

Richard W. Unger

History, University of British Columbia

Exploration, Sea Power and Governments at the End of the Middle Ages

When Christopher Columbus set sail in 1492 to get to Asia by sailing west his little flotilla of three ships was financed by the Queen of Castile. After visiting a number of crowned heads in western Europe he had finally found support for his voyage of exploration. His efforts were not unique nor was the advance received from Isabella. Kings in France, England, and Portugal had entertained or even gone ahead with projects of deep sea exploration before 1492. After the success of Columbus and Vasco da Gama in 1498 the so-called new monarchs typically made exploration part of royal policy. The new direction was a result of improvements in the technology of travel at sea and of changes in the character of government.

It would be all too easy to see the first tentative trips to the New World and around the Cape of Good Hope as the start of an effort to dominate the seas, as the beginning of the struggle among competing European powers for command of the oceans of the World. The actions and avowed motives of the participants along with the character of the newly emerging technology suggest that there was still a great deal that was consistent with older medieval thinking and practice in the exploration and little comprehension of the idea of influence sea power could have on the political position of kingdoms in Europe. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries governments talked of controlling the seas. In the seventeenth and eighteenth they talked about using exploration and long distance trade to expand knowledge and create wealth for the nation. But around 1500 the kings and queens of western Europe worried about the geography of religious politics, potential sources of tax revenue and windfall profits they might be able to pocket from a very few successful voyages. Over time it would take changes in ships and in governments, those changes influenced by the success of exploration, that would create the drive for control of the seas as a legitimate and desirable action of all governments.

Elizabeth Walsh

English, University of San Diego

Exit Criseyde: "Gilteles I yow leve"

The heroine of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* has long been considered to be a weak and faithless woman who transferred her affections to a new lover when circumstances made this expedient. In recent decades a number of excellent studies of the *Troilus* have appeared in many of which the conventional view of the heroine has been revised. Some feminist scholars have made significant contributions to our understanding of Criseyde's position and behavior. Some have defended her actions, some have criticized her for lacking character and substance. Other scholars have deepened our understanding of the society in which she lived and the effect of social constraints on her life and action. Another has turned to the question of human volition and has shown that her choices lack clarity and present only the illusion of freedom.

Building upon these new perspectives, this paper adds another dimension to our understanding of the faithless Criseyde. The paper comprises two parts: the first is a careful comparison of the poem with its primary source, Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. Chaucer transformed and recreated the character of Boccaccio's Criseida, especially through his emphasis on her fearfulness.

The second part of the paper discusses Criseyde's behavior in the light of the psychological model of Learned Helplessness developed by Martin Seligman and other psychologists during the last three decades. Seen in the light of this theory, Criseyde was rendered powerless by the circumstances of her life, and so she was unable to initiate or carry through a plan of escape.

The title of the paper, "Gilteles I yow leve" is taken from Criseyde's last speech, spoken in the manner of a reverie, to the absent Troilus (V: 1084). This is the last time the reader sees Criseyde in action, although a final letter from her does appear in lines 1590 to 1631.

In order to observe the time constraints, I will summarize the first part of the paper and present the second half, that concerning her helplessness.

Gordon A. Wilson

Theology, Xavier University of Louisiana

Henry of Ghent and Duns Scotus on Good Fortune: An Additional Problem With the Aristotelian Notion of An Eternal World

John Duns Scotus in his *Quodlibet* I, q. 21, treats the following question: *Utrum ponens mundi aeternitatem possit sustinere aliquem esse universaliter bene fortunatum*. In this question Scotus relates the problem of the eternity of the world and the issue of good fortune, and he attacks a certain

"aliquis"—unidentified to date—who maintained that the principles in Aristotle's tract "De bona fortuna" (a work separately circulated during the Middle Ages consisting of sections from Book II, chapter 8 of Aristotle's "Magna Moralia" and from Book VII, chapter 14 of his "Ethica Eudemia") contradict those in Book VII of the "Physics." The purpose of my paper is to identify the "aliquis" as Henry of Ghent, show that Henry's thought evolved to this claim of contradiction, and to indicate that although Scotus criticized Henry on maintaining such a contradiction, Scotus picks up from and agrees with Henry's contention that Aristotle's notion of good fortune neglects God's special providence and human will. Scotus's treatment of this issue confirms the following pattern and relationship between these two thinkers: while frequently critical of specific tenets in Henry of Ghent, Scotus is also heavily indebted to many of Henry's beliefs.

Meriel Wisotsky

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The Adversary: The Devil and Morgan le Fay

Morgan le Fay is one of the most complex characters in Medieval Literature. In modern treatments of the Arthurian mythos, she is vilified and demonized as the enemy of King Arthur and his company. In early works, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia*, she is all benevolence, a wise astrologer and healer. In intermediary works such as those of Sir Thomas Malory, her character combines both positive and negative traits. But is Morgan as evil as she seems, even in Malory's treatment of her character? Is there a purpose which furthers the cause of Good in her seemingly wicked acts? Why is her character one of such ambivalence?

In this paper I intend to show that in many of the stories which seem to cast her in an evil light, she is really fulfilling a vital function similar to that of the Adversary, Ha Satan, in the book of Job. Job, like Arthur and his court, seems to be all proper virtue, but, asks the Adversary, would they behave as well if they were truly tested? God grants the Adversary leave to test his faithful servant and Job proves that he is true to his beliefs. A proper adversary provides the means to try God's creatures and see if their morals and beliefs are superficial or are part of their true, inner character. In Malory's work and in *Gawain and the Green Knight*, Morgan le Fay becomes the adversary (as is Ha Satan in the book of Job) of Arthur and his handiwork: the fellowship of the Round Table. Again and again she seeks to challenge their faithfulness and expose the hypocrisy of the king's court. Morgan provides the tests which show the difference between chivalry as it is idealized and chivalry as it is practised. She is the one who so often points out the sins which lie at the heart of Camelot.

Morgan's trials offer Arthur's company the chance to test their ideals. Being human, most of the court are not able to live up to the high standards which they espouse. Morgan tests men as no ogre or dragon

could—her tests reach to the heart of the conflicting forces within the tales. Any knight who passes her tests, as does Gawain in *Gawain and the Green Knight*, really deserves his position as Knight of the Round table.

Morgan is the Adversary, testing the creation of King Arthur. She forces men to confront their inner natures. Knights like Gawain find they are more like Job and others find they are merely flawed human beings like the rest of us.

Max Withers

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Against Theory: The Problem of Unbelief in the Middle Ages

The problem of historical difference, especially at the level of what is now called *mentalité*, is particularly difficult for historians of the Middle Ages, so far removed in time, and habits of thought, from the present. Medieval historians have, since Bloch and Febvre, formulated this problem in terms of anachronism and its dangers. Even if the imperative to avoid anachronism did not prevent Bloch from concluding that belief in the royal touch, and indeed, the "whole psychology of the miraculous" itself was nothing but the "result of a collective error," it has inspired a valiant effort to recover past *mentalités*, understood most broadly, as Febvre said, as the limits of the possible. The recovering of the past in these terms requires a sort of suspension of disbelief, in which it no longer matters that a story is "true" or not, but rather, in the words of Caroline Bynum, "that such a story interested medieval people enough for them to record it and that it expressed a way of finding value and giving meaning that [members of society] all shared."

Attempting to understand these medieval "ways of giving meaning," historians have turned, again since the founders of *Annales*, to anthropological and sociological theory. Febvre and Bloch began with Durkheim and his students, notably Lévy-Bruhl, but the methods have grown more sophisticated over the years, and have recently, following academic trends, become post-modern. In the last twenty years there has of course been a reaction to these historiographical trends, with some critics calling for the use of more sophisticated theory (e.g., Biddick, Spiegel), and others questioning the assumptions behind the category of *mentalité* itself (e.g., Murray, Reynolds).

After outlining the vicissitudes of historical *mentalité* and its critics, I turn to a few examples (a failed ritual, a moment of doubt) from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which, I argue, expose the coherence imposed by theory as a sham. I demonstrate the failure of relatively sophisticated theory both anthropological (Turner, Bourdieu) and "philosophical" (Derrida, Butler) to explain these moments in a satisfying or meaningful way. I do not argue that theory is useless, or somehow "wrong," but stress, rather, its purely heuristic, and necessarily insufficient nature. In the current corrosive and counterproductive climate, not only of the so-called culture

wars, but also of a kind of fear and trepidation within the academic community, it is important to stress the limits of theory, as well its harmless, but limited, usefulness.

Constance S. Wright
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The Soul and Gender in Men's Mysticism

In the medieval, patriarchal world order to be male is to be correct, strong and the norm, both the initiator of the moral order, and the one for whom the moral order is initiated. To be female is to be incorrect, weak, passive, and a divergence from the moral norm.

Medieval mysticism for men has philosophical antecedents in classical antiquity. In Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy the lover is identified as Psyche, the affective part of the human soul. When the psyche is separated from the world of ideas, she mourns, sorrows, and sighs for that world. Both a Neoplatonic philosopher and a Biblical exegete, Origen introduced the fully developed myth of Eros and Psyche into exegesis of the Song of Songs, where Eros is identified with Christ, the Bridegroom, and Psyche with the human soul, the bride.

The soul journey, as it appears in exegesis of the Song of Songs and related documents, and the cluster of affective symptoms which arise when the soul is separated from Christ become major themes in the mysticism of medieval men. In men's mystical writings, e.g. those of Bernard of Clairvaux, the male mystic becomes the *anima* or bride of Christ. The gender role reversal is seen both as a sign of weakness in St. Bernard's monks and as a sign of ennoblement, since to suffer spiritually is the highest possible good. It frequently comes about that St. Bernard illogically describes his monks positively in feminine terms, which he deprecates in other contexts. At the same time, Bernard preaches against homosexuality in terms which demonstrate both homophobia and misogyny. The confusion of gendered roles leads to an immense confusion in the spiritual life.

Margarita Yanson
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Beaflor's Mantle and Emare's Cloak: The Message of the Heroine's Attire

I would like to present a paper on the significance of the heroine's attire in the little known late thirteenth-century German romance of *Mai und Beaflor*. This romance belongs to the so-called Constance cycle and describes the adventures of the emperor's daughter who is forced to flee the kingdom of her father due to his attempts at incest. *Mai und Beaflor* varies from its English analogues in that the author presents his heroine as an active agent in contrast with her less fortunate English counterparts Emare and Florence.

Before Beaflor boards the ship and sets on her journey to Greece, her well-intentioned foster parents dress the reluctant maiden in one of the most sumptuous costumes that we find in medieval romances. In his description of Beaflor's dress, elaborated over eighty-one lines, the author supplies his readers with details of the origin, the history and the geography of the numerous precious stones, noble metals, fabrics, and furs that decorate this striking garment.

In my paper I examine the following questions regarding the heroine's attire: (a) the reasons for Beaflor's original refusal to wear the garment; (b) the motivation behind the foster parents' insisting on Beaflor's proper signification of her royal status through her attire; (c) the importance of the deceased queen's treasure for the signification of Beaflor's dress. I hope that the discussion of these important aspects will allow me to demonstrate how the meaning of the heroine's attire corresponds to the author's notion of his heroine's proper identity.

Linda Marie Zaerr
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The Prehensile Tail and the Powerful Princess: Relics of Performance in *Sir Bevis*

Variations among the manuscripts of *Sir Bevis of Hampton* reveal successive editing away from a boisterous popular performance and toward a conservative literary aesthetic. Both the meter change evident in the early manuscripts and the narrative nodes exhibiting variation reveal something of the original performance tradition.

The early manuscripts of *Sir Bevis* begin in tail-rhyme stanzas, but make a transition early in the romance to couplets. The change has not been adequately explained in terms of the textual tradition, but the loss of the tail lines can be explained in terms of a shift from performance, where tail lines are very useful in grasping the content and swinging from one couplet to the next, to text, where the couplets are firmly grounded and can therefore be more efficient.

A related transition appears in the instability of the circumstances surrounding the Princess Josian. In particular, later accounts of the story tend to remove the princess from an active role in solving the dilemmas that face her. From a doughty Saracen princess, thoroughly trained in the arts of medicine and music and able to outwit giants and kings, she becomes the object of rescue operations, unable even to prepare herself to meet her husband.

Thus the meter change and the emasculation of Josian in the *Bevis* manuscripts can provide valuable insight into the freedom and vitality of the performance tradition.

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1999 ANNUAL MEETING: The Claremont Graduate University

The 1999 Annual Conference of the Medieval Association of the Pacific will be held March 11-13, at the Claremont Graduate University, Claremont, California. Panel applications and abstracts must be sent before November 1, 1998, to the Conference Chair,

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