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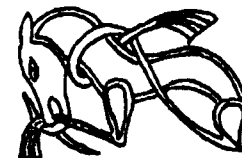Debora Schwartz, English, Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo (2004)

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A letter from the Editor

Dear Members of MAP,

I am delighted to announce that we are publishing in this issue of *Chronica* for the first time one of the essays that has been awarded a MAP Founders' Prize. Asa Mittman, studying art history at Stanford University, presented "'Light Words,' Weighty Pictures" at the 2000 annual MAP meeting hosted by the University of Victoria, British Columbia. His analysis of the close relationship between illustrations and text in the British Library Cotton Claudius B.iv Anglo-Saxon Hexateuch is the lead article in this issue of Chronica, preceding information about the 2002 annual MAP meeting.

Spring 2003 we will publish an essay that was awarded a Founders' prize this year: "One-Way Streets: Urban Geography and Anti-Semitism in 'The Prioress's Tale," which Glenn Keyser (English, UC Davis) presented at the 2001 meeting in Tempe, Arizona. Thanks to rapid work by this year's committee evaluating submissions from the 2002 meeting, I will announce our newest winners along with our winners from the 2001 meeting in this issue.

At our 2002 annual meeting in San Diego last March, MAP members present elected Siân Echard (English, UBC) to be our new Vice President and Leslie Arnovic (English, UBC), Roger Dahood (English, University of Arizona), Mathew Kuefler (History, CSUSD), and Karen Mathews (Art History, visiting at UCSC) to be new members of the MAP Council.

Outgoing President Dhira Mahoney announced that Fr. Barnabas Hughes' term as Treasurer and my term as Secretary/Editor of *Chronica* both end in March 2003. Therefore, we are looking for MAP members interested in assuming these positions. If you are interested in serving or can nominate a colleague you think would be interested , please let President Jim Otté, Vice President Siân Echard, Fr. Barnabas Hughes, or me know. Barney and I both attest to the gratification of serving an organization like MAP, and we will do all we can to make the transition as smooth and easy as possible.

Also at the 2002 annual meeting Council member Bill Bonds provided a handout listing current MAP membership organized by state and, within states, by university or college and proposed that the Council use the list to identify MAP members who can be asked to serve as liaisons to particular institutions with the purpose of increasing membership in MAP. Several members volunteered to help Bonds and me with this initiative; we will be delighted to hear from more volunteers interested in extending membership in MAP to more medievalists on the Pacific Rim.

I will close by wishing all of you safe, renewing, and productive summers. I hope to see many of you at our next MAP meeting, at Portland State University March 28-29, 2003.

Phyllis Brown
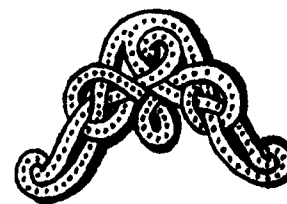
"Light Words," Weighty Pictures

Asa Mittman
Stanford University

Among surviving Anglo-Saxon texts, the monumentally scaled 11th century *Hexateuch* British Library Cotton Claudius B.iv is unique on account of its prodigious number of illustrations – 394 images on 156 folios. Although five other 11th century manuscripts contain full or partial texts of the Old English prose translation of the first six books of the Old Testament prefaced with a letter by Ælfric, no other is illustrated. Benjamin Withers has recently opened this codex to fresh interpretation, by linking the texts and images of the opening folios.[1] In this paper I build on Withers' analysis to argue that the images in Cotton Claudius B.iv have an exegetical function; they help readers of the translation see and understand the prefiguration of orthodox Christian doctrine in the details of Old Testament narrative. I will argue that, in order to convey this message to a broad audience, the designer of the *Hexateuch* turned to familiar and effective rhetorical devices common in Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The designer of this manuscript clearly has concentrated a great deal of energy on planning the illustrations, which are so copious that they dominate the text. To determine why he has done this, we must seek his audience. This was the first large-scale vernacular translation of the Old Testament. That it is in English indicates a broad audience. In a letter to Sigeweard, Ælfric stressed the educational aspect of his translation of Kings and Maccabees: "I translated them into English and you may read them if you wish for your benefit."[2] The translation was not intended to be read exclusively by the learned alderman Æðelweard, to whom the *Hexateuch*'s Preface is addressed, but also by others to whom Latin scripture was inaccessible. Withers points out such an audience would have been likely to include "a layman or a novice monk," rather than advanced members of the clergy.[3] Indeed, since reading was often aural and communal, a vernacular text could even be understood by the illiterate.

This audience, perhaps only barely literate, would not merely have lacked the ability to read Latin but also would not have had much, if any, instruction in exegesis, the proper means of interpreting scripture. Because the majority of biblical glosses were composed in Latin, they would have been of little use to these readers. As a result, in Ælfric's words, translation ought to make use of "simple, idiomatic vernacular," which avoids the "garrulous verbosity and strange expressions . . . of *artificiosus sermo* (artificial discourse)," often found in Latin prose.[4] Ælfric believed that translation ought to produce "the pure and open words of the language of this people,"[5] and the language of the Old English translation suggests the other translators at work here agreed.

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[1] Benjamin Withers, "A 'Secret and Feverish Genesis': The Prefaces of the Old English Hexateuch," *Art Bulletin* 81.1 (March 1999): 53-71. Withers also wrote his dissertation on the *Hexateuch: Present Patterns, Past Tense: Structuring History, Law and Society in London, British Library Cotton Claudius B.vi*, 2 vols. (University of Chicago, 1994).

[2] My translation of "Ic awende hig on Englisc and rædon gif wyllað eow sylfum to ræde," Jonathan Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces* (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994), p. 97.

[3] Withers, *Present Patterns* abstract.

[4] Wilcox, from Ælfric's Latin preface to the second series of *Catholic Homilies*, p. 121.

[5] Wilcox, p. 88.

Even with "simple, idiomatic vernacular," however, in order for orthodoxy to be maintained, the Old Testament required explanation. This less educated audience would need some kind of textual apparatus comparable to the glossed Latin bibles to produce a doctrinally sound interpretation. The designer of Cotton Claudius B.iv has used Images—illustrations of narrative detail—as interpretive glosses. In Withers' words, through a carefully constructed program, "Claudius B.iv works to organize, structure and thereby control how the Old Testament should be read in Anglo-Saxon England."[6] In doing so, the images function as a complete visual gloss, teaching their audience how to perceive the mysteries of Christianity in Old Testament narrative.

The designer introduced the Old English *Hexateuch* with a letter Ælfric had written as a preface to his translation of sections of Genesis. Although Ælfric's letter may have been included simply because it came along with the exemplar text, the illustrations suggest the designer shared the concerns Ælfric articulated in his letter. In his preface, Ælfric specifies that he was hesitant to translate the Old Testament from Latin into Anglo-Saxon, and only did so at the insistent request of alderman Æðelwærd. He writes: "it seemed burdensome to me to grant this" because it must be known "how great a difference there is between the old law and the new."[7] Ælfric seems to have been aware that his work would likely be copied and read by those with less education than Æðelwærd, who was capable of doing his own translations;[8] the fact that this manuscript and the other copies were produced at all demonstrates that he was correct. More specifically, Ælfric was concerned that translation could lead to literal understanding of the Old Testament, which could result, inadvertently, in sinful beliefs and behavior. He believed doctrinally sound readings required contextualization by accepted exegetical writings on scripture. Because those exegetical writings were in Latin, they would not have been readily available to the new lay audience targeted by the vernacular translation. Ælfric worried "if some ignorant man reads this book or hears it read, that he will think that he may live now in the new law, just as the patriarchs lived then in their time." Therefore, it was essential for his readers to "know to understand the old law spiritually."[9] For example, Ælfric says of Genesis:

> It begins thus: *In principio creavit Deus celum & terram*: That is, in English, 'In the beginning God shaped the heaven and earth.' But, nonetheless, according to the spiritual meaning, that beginning is Christ, just as he himself said to the Jews, 'I am the beginning, who speaks to you.'[10]

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[6] Withers, *Present Patterns* abstract.

[7] My translation of "ða þuhte me hefigtime þe to tiþienne þæs," line 3, and "hu micel todal ys betweohx þære ealden æ ꝗ þære niwan," lines 16-17, "Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*," *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch: Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis*, ed. S. J. Crawford (London: Early English Text Society, 1922), p. 76.

[8] Æðelwærd seems to have been far more educated than the average layman, and is known to have translated the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle into Latin. See Alistair Campbell, *Chronicon Æðelwærdi* (Nelson: New York, 1962).

[9] My translation of "gif sum dysig man þas boc ræt oððe rædan gehyrþ, þæt he wille wenan, þæt he mote lybban nu on þære niwan æ, swa swa þa ealdan fæderas leofdon þa on þære tide, ær þan þe seo ealde æ gesett wære, oððe swa swa men leofodon under Moyses æ." Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, lines 6-12; "cuþon þa ealden æ gastlice understandan." Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, line 38.

[10] My translation of "Heo onginð þus: *In principio creauit Dues celam & terram*; þæt ys on Englisc, 'On anniginne gesceop God

Aware of the gap between the apparent simplicity of the "naked narrative" and the complexity resulting from "how deep this book is in spiritual meaning, though it is written with light words,"[11] Ælfric worried that translation into the vernacular would render the Old Testament accessible to those who might misinterpret it by failing to understand the nature and designs of God. He viewed his preface, then, as an indispensable guide to the correct method of reading the Old Testament. Indeed, he may have seen it as a means of clothing this 'naked narrative,' which, as Jonathan Wilcox notes, "is biblical translation unclothed with commentary . . . [that] could be misunderstood."[12] To a far greater degree, the designer used his 394 images to flesh out and clothe the actions and characters of this seemingly simple text with visual cues of their Christian significance.

The first image in the manuscript is a particularly good example of such a spiritual reading. Facing the last page of Ælfric's Preface, framed by the most clearly decorative and elaborate border in the manuscript, is a remarkable rendition of the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (Illus. 1). Its border, location, and style, as Withers convincingly argues, set it apart as a frontispiece, a visual preface to balance Ælfric's verbal one and filling a gap Ælfric notes in his preface:[13]

heofenan ꞇ eorþan . . . Ac swa þeah æfter gastlicum andigite þæt anginn ys Crist, swa swa he sylf cwæþ to þam Iudeiscum: "Ic eom angin, þe to eow sprece.""" Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, lines 47-53.

[11] My translation of "nacedan gerecednisse," "hu deop seo boc is on gastlicum andgyte, ðeah ðe heo mid leohtum wordum awiten sy." Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, lines 43 and 73-74.

[12] Wilcox, pp. 37-8.
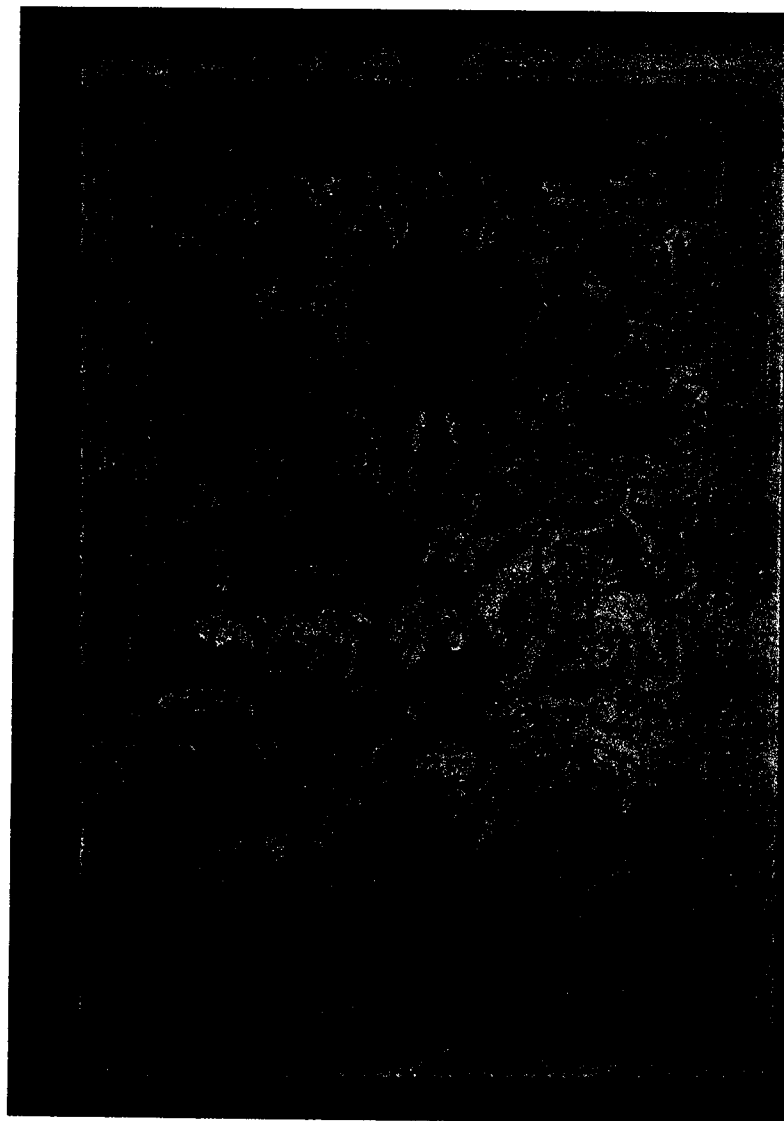
[13] Withers *Present Patterns*, p. 40.

Illustration 1: *Hexateuch*, Folio 2r, The Fall of the Rebel Angels. By permission of the British Library.

The book is called Genesis, that is 'The Book of Origin,' because it is the first of the books and speaks about each generation, but it does not speak ever about the creation of the angels.[14]

The Fall of the Rebel Angels has customarily been interpreted as a typological illustration for Genesis 1:4, which reads "God saw that it was good, and he divided the light from the darkness."[15] As early as the 4th century, Augustine had connected this passage to the fall of the rebel angels (hence darkness), which prefigured the Fall of man. In this comparison, Augustine writes that "one dwells in the heaven of heavens, the other cast down from thence, lives amidst riot and disorder in this lowest heaven of ours."[16] This interpretation was well known to Ælfric, who summarizes Augustine's text in his *De vetero testamento et novo* and again in his *Exameron Anglice*.[17] In book four of his *De Trinitate*, Augustine again deals with the chronology of the first days, stating, "the first days are computed from the light to darkness on account of man's coming fall."[18] Significantly Augustine also links the creation of light and darkness to the fall of man, which is essentially the result of the fall of Lucifer, depicted here at the outset of the *Hexateuch*. Indeed, the fall of the rebel angels provides the necessary explanation for

the Fall of man, which is the primary focus of the text at hand. It seems reasonable to conjecture that the manuscript designer was familiar with the exegetical tradition, perhaps through Ælfric's other works, and therefore knew that this illustration was comparable to a Latin gloss. With Ælfric's preface functioning as a sort of "exegetical primer," and the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* confirming a typological, and even eschatological reading, the designer of the *Hexateuch* has created a highly effective diptych with which to introduce the text.[19]

While it is true that these images serve to aid in a reading of the text, they ought not be viewed as subordinate to it, and were not considered secondary by the designer. The unfinished state of the manuscript enables us to determine the working process of the illuminator and scribes; examination reveals that the images were done before the text, suggesting their primacy in the overall conception of the work. The images were sketched before the text was copied; then the painting of the images was completed, after which the frames were added.[20] These frames seem to be designed to be easily breached, to conform to the existing text and image. In the exuberant battle scene from Genesis 14, we can see this displayed (Illus. 2). In the upper left hand corner, one of the kings of Sodom or Gomorrah holds a huge sword aloft, breaking through the frame and striking through the text, which then deftly evades the thrust. In the upper right hand corner, the situation is much the same with a spear-bearer, whose head and arm overlap the frame, and whose slender spear divides a few words above. For this to be the case, the text and frames must have been inserted after the images. By placing the so-called frontispiece (Illus. 1) on folio 2r, opposite the end of

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[14] My translation of "Seo boc ys gehaten *Genesis*, þæt ys 'gecyndboc,' for þam þe heo ys firmest boca ⁊ spricþ be ælcum gecinde, ac heo ne spricþ na be þæra engla gesceapenisse." Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, lines 45-47.

[15] My translation of "God geseah ða ðæt hit god wæs, ⁊ he todælde þæt leoht from ðam ðystrum." Hexateuch, f. 1v.

[16] Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, vol 3, trans. David Wiesen (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 563.

[17] Withers, "Secret and Feverish Genesis," 57.

[18] Augustine, *De Trinitate*, trans. Stephen McKenna (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1962), p. 143.

[19] Withers, "Secret and Feverish Genesis," p. 64.

[20] For a more precise breakdown of the process, see C. R. Dodwell and Peter Clemoes, *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1974), pp. 62-3.
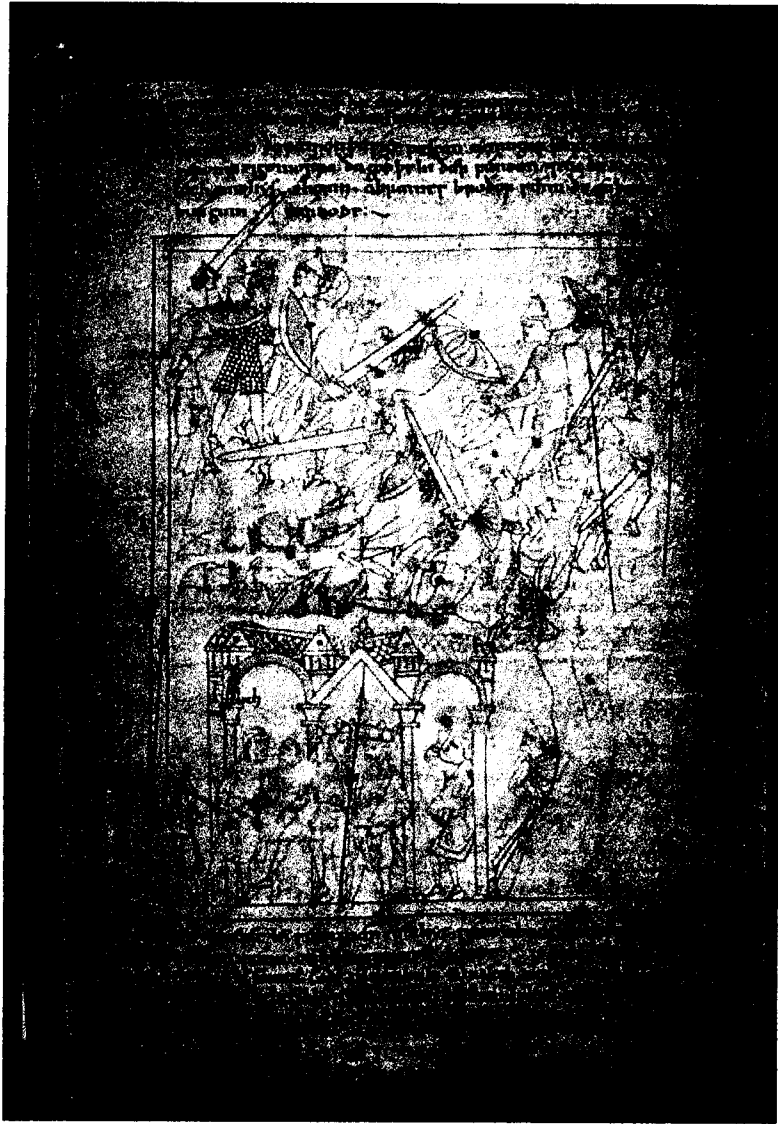
Illustration 2: *Hexateuch*, Folio 24v, The Battle of Sodom and Gomorrah. By permission of the British Library.

the Preface rather than before its beginning, the designer of this book has established a context in which text and image combine to form a single interpretive field.

A careful and meditative *ruminatio*, or mental chewing of the preface and the image of the *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, prepares readers to see in the next series of illustrations one of the most vital themes of the manuscript. Folios 2v and 3r contain three scenes from creation: the *Separation of the Waters*; the *Creation of the Plants*; and the *Creation of the Sun and Moon*, which took place on the fourth day of creation (Illus. 3 and 4). The texts which accompany these illuminations are fairly literal translations of the Vulgate. As with folios 1v and 2r, these facing pages can be seen as a single unit in the exegetical process. On its own, each illustration, like the text, is straightforward; however, when the three images of God are viewed together, they reveal themselves to be a single representation of the Trinity. On folio 2v, the image of God separating the waters is youthful, with a cross-nimbed halo, indicating that he is Christ, the Son. At the top of the facing page, the God who creates the plants is older, with the unadorned halo of God the Father. Below him, at the bottom of the page, is a third representation of God, dressed in gentle, pale pink robes, with pale hair and a pale beard. This third figure is almost transparent, a charming and inventive means of representing the Holy Ghost as Creator, rather than as transmitter. Placing God the Father between images of God the Son and God the Holy Spirit functions to remind readers that the Old Testament creator God prefigures and coexists with the New Testament trinity. Not only does the youthful God the Son image appear first in this manuscript diptich; it appears again on folio3v (Illus. 5) and is the most frequent representation of God throughout the manuscript.

In her study of an Anglo-Saxon pontifical, Jane Rosenthal analyzes a similar set of three illuminations, noting that three images of God
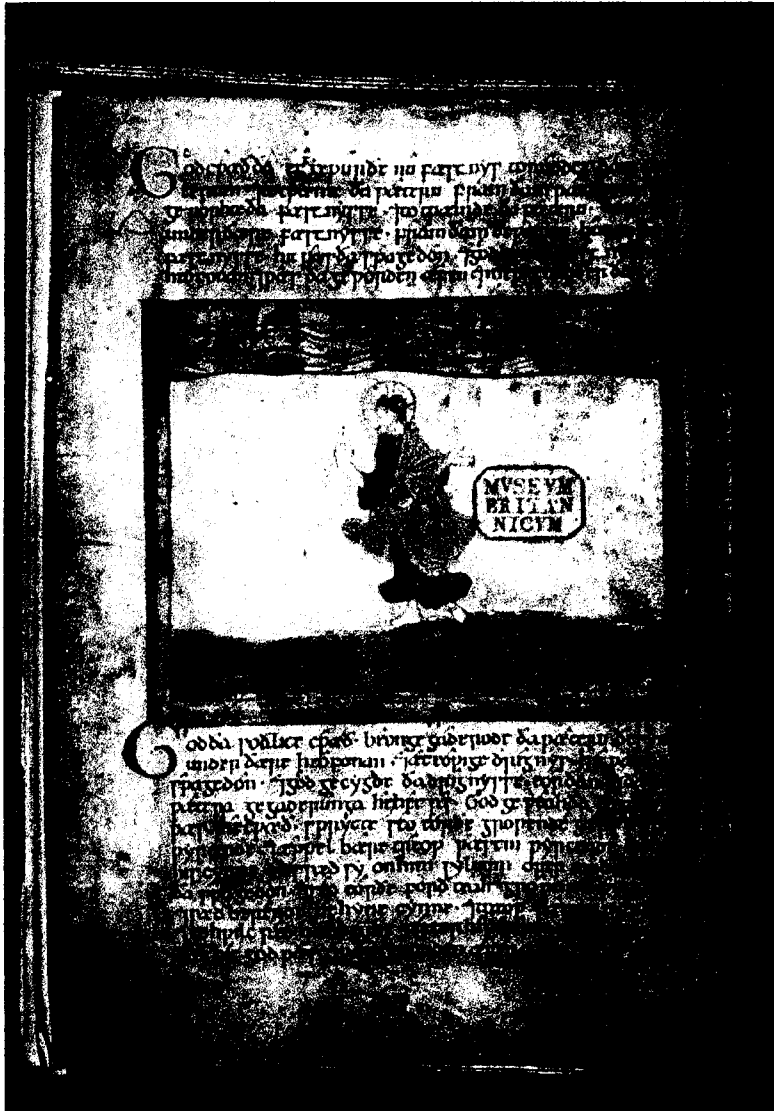
Illustration 3: *Hexateuch*, Folio 2v, God Separating the Waters.
By permission of the British Library.
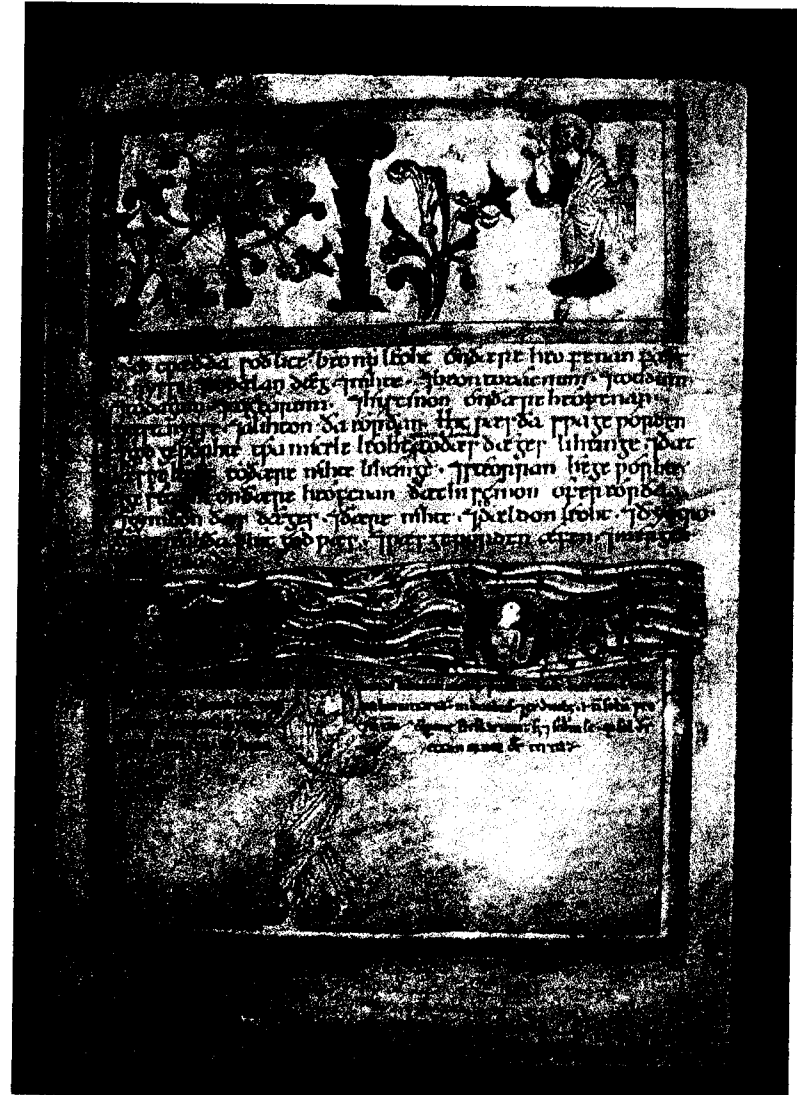
Illustration 4: *Hexateuch*, Folio 3r, God as Christ with the Crown of Thorns, Creating the Tree of Life. By permission of the British Library.

Illustration 5: *Hexateuch*, Folio 3v, God the Creator in the guise of Christ. By permission of the British Library.

in anthropomorphic form can carry more meaning than has previously been recognized. She writes, "The similar human form of the three Persons suggests their consubstantiality, their uniform size implies their co-equality, and the symmetrical grouping indicates their unity."[21] Therefore, when taken together these three illustrations in the *Hexateuch* form an image of God the Creator as triune, reminding readers to understand the details of the Old Testament for their spiritual meaning by illustrating the Old Testament narrative with images associated with the Trinity, a central and complex theme from the New Testament.

Having established this clear and powerful evocation of the Trinity, the designer was free to use any of the three guises in the remaining Creation images. Indeed, on the following folios, God appears to have more than three forms, as he is slightly different in each of the many images. He changes his robes several times, and bears various sorts of halos, staffs and codices. This use of differing attributes is particularly noteworthy in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript, since such works typically rely on identifying attributes as a means of distinguishing figures from one another.[22] In this illustrated Hexateuch, the attributes have a powerful exegetical function. For example, the image of God shown in the scene of the *Creation of the Tree of Life* wears on his head the Crown of Thorns (Illus. 6). Just as the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* implies the full spectrum of Christian history by displaying in the Creation cycle an image of Christ in the guise of the Final Judge, so too does this image recall the notion of *geendbyrdness*, covering Biblical history from Creation through the Fall of Man to the Passion of Christ. Here, Christ's own act of Creation presents man with the means to fall,

[21] Jane Rosenthal, "Three Drawings in an Anglo-Saxon Pontifical: Anthropomorphic Trinity or Threefold Christ?" *The Art Bulletin* 63: (1981): 547-548.

[22] Richard Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 139
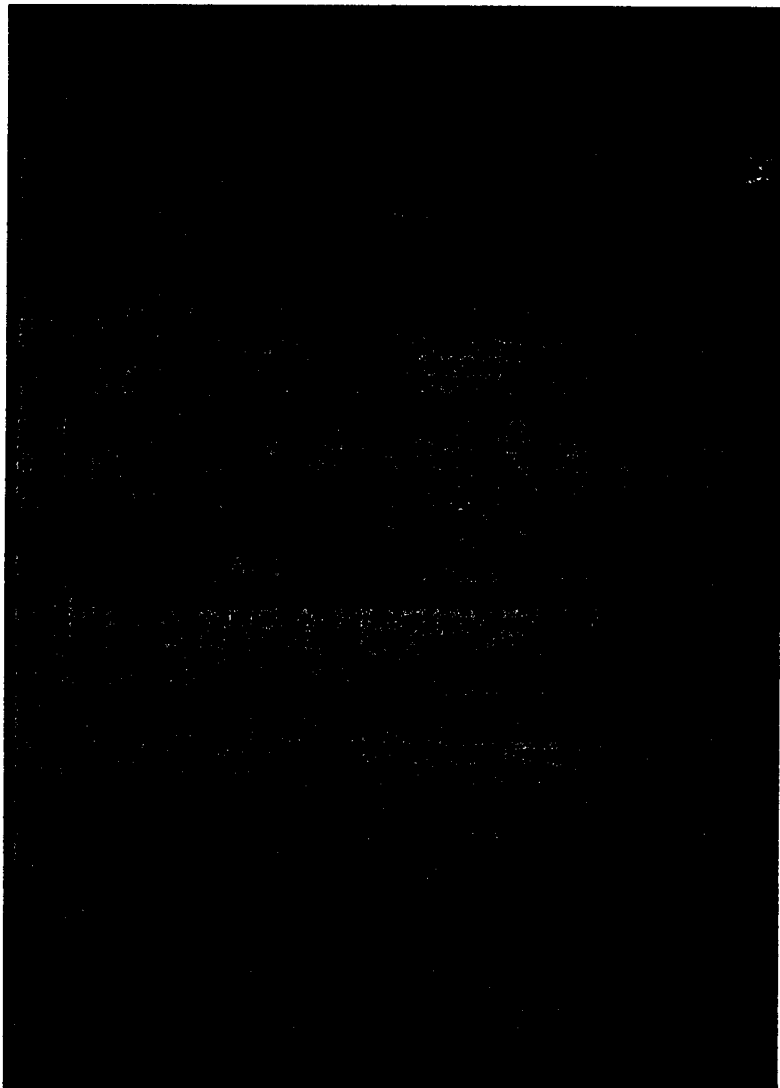
Illustration 6: *Hexateuch*, Folio 5r, God as Christ with the Crown of Thorns, Creating the Tree of Life. By permission of the British Library.

and so he, not the Father, takes this burden onto himself. This *byrd* (birth) implies the necessary *ende* (end or death) as a means of salvation.

Later on in the manuscript, other illustrations emphasize the traditional exegetical reading of the visit of the Three Guests to Abraham in Genesis 18 as a prefiguration of the Trinity. In Augustine's classic formulation, Abraham saw three men, but worshiped only one.[23] For Ælfric, the grammar of the text is an essential aid to understanding the mystery of the Trinity. He notes that Abraham addresses the three men, whom he considers to be angels, in the singular, writing in the Preface, "Afterwards came three angels to Abraham, and he spoke to them all three just as to one."[24] As angels have frequently been viewed as personifications or manifestations of God, this substitution is not surprising. The illuminator presents us with clusters of three guests/angels four times on as many folio sides, ensuring that we do not pass over his crucial reinforcement of this concept, which was stressed at the outset of the text (Illus. 7-10). In each of these images, the three figures appear in slightly different forms, with varying robes and halos. The leading figure, for example, appears with no halo, with a cross but no disk, and also with

[23] Augustine, 117: "Et ipse Abraham tres vidit, unum adoravit."

[24] My translation of "Eft comon ðry englas to Abrahame, ⁊ he spræc to him eallum ðrym swa swa to anum." Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis*, lines 69-70. This section of the Preface is based on Genesis 18, which says, among other similar passages, "⁊ cwæð: Min Drihten, gyf ðu me æniges þinges tiðian wylle, ne far þu fram ðinum þeowan, ær þan ðe ic fecce wæter ⁊ eower fet aðwea, ⁊ gerestað eow under ðissum treowe. (And [Abraham] said: My Lord, if you (sing.) wish to grant to me anything, do not go far from your (sing.) servant, before I fetch for you (sing.) water, and wash your (pl.) feet, and you (pl.) rest under this tree). This transition from singular to plural within one sentence follows the Vulgate exactly: "Et dixit: Domine, si inveni gratiam in oculis tuis, ne transeas servum tuum; sed afferam pauxillum aquæ, et lavate pedes verstos, et requiescite sub arbore." (Genesis 18:3-4).

Illustration 7: *Hexateuch*, Folio 29v, The Three Guests of Abraham as the Trinity. By permission of the British Li brary.


Illustration 8: *Hexateuch*, Folio 30r, Abraham feeds the Guests. By permission of the British Library.
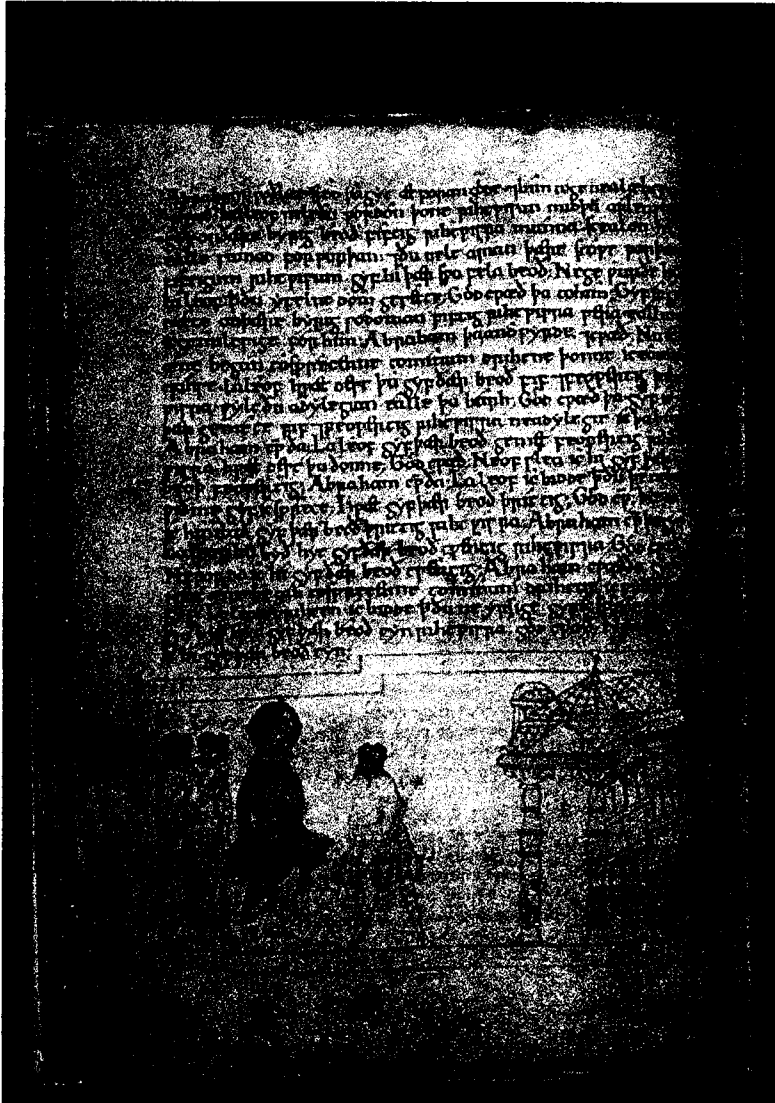
Illustration 9: *Hexateuch*, Folio 30v, Abraham and the Guests Approach Sodom. By permission of the British Library.
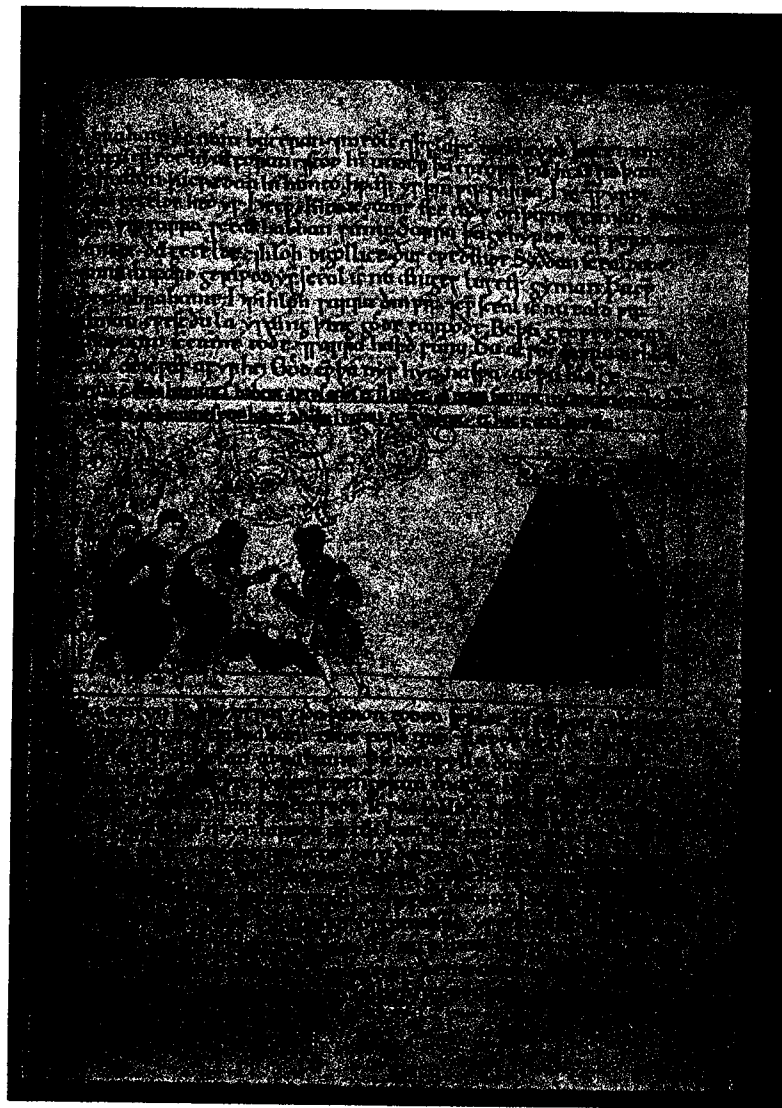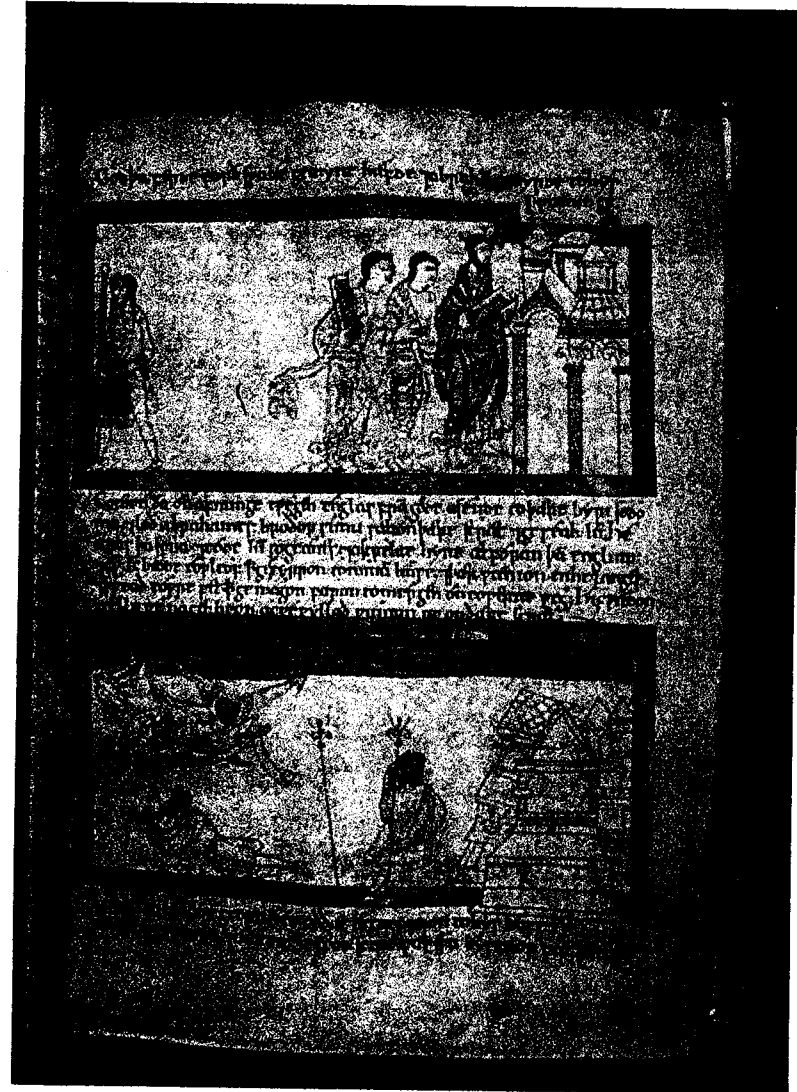

Illustration 10: *Hexateuch*, Folio 31r, Abraham Separates from the Guests. By permission of the British Library.

a full cruciform halo. He therefore appears as human, as divine, and as a divine human. While a single image would suffice to connect the three guests with the Trinity, the variation within the repetition of these figures adds depth to this exegetical reading.

The composite image of God presented over the course of the first several folios is multifaceted: God is not only the Creator and Trinity; he is also Spirit, Judge, Teacher, and Sufferer. In order to explain this difficult theological concept to his new audience, I believe the designer of the images adopted a distinctive and recognizable strategy from an Anglo-Saxon verse style: incremental or elegant variation, in which a mixture of repetition and variation is used to establish an important idea or theme. By illustrating the multiple manifestations of God's oneness, the designer may be drawing on this familiar quality which had been used in the earliest Anglo-Saxon Christian religious poetry extant. Cædmon's *Hymn*, for example, which is provided to us by Bede and also has as its subject *frumsceaft*, or Creation, contains a number of variants for God. Within nine lines, Cædmon's Creator is the Guardian of Heaven, the Creator, the Father of Glory, Eternal Lord, Holy Creator, Guardian of Mankind, and Lord Almighty.[25] With each phrase of his poem, Cædmon brings out another of God's roles, so that his readers or listeners may gain a more complete understanding of his multifaceted nature. A very similar treatment of the complex figure of God occurs in *The Dream of the Rood*. In its 156 lines, there are 23 different appellations for Christ, replicating many of those in the *Hymn*, and adding others. He is Savior, Ruler of Mankind, and Almighty Sovereign as well as the young hero,

[25] "heofonrices Weard," "Meotod," "Wuldorfæder," "ece Drihten," "Scyppend," "monncynnes Weard" and "Frea ælmihtig." *Bede's Account of the Poet Cædmon*, based on the transcription in Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson, *A Guide to Old English* (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1986), lines 36-44.

Prince, God of the Troops, and simply 'that man.'[26] These titles flow in succession, establishing God as an individual with a great number of personas, suiting orthodox Christian notions, but also playing on the Anglo-Saxon poetic tradition.

The designer of the *Hexateuch* has sought to produce a visual counterpart to this popular rhetorical style, gradually building up a mental concept of God with images, as the poets have done with words. Several of these images may be considered to represent what Rosenthal refers to as "Christ in different aspects." For example, as Rothenthal notes in regard to an Anglo-Saxon pontifical, when God bears a cross-staff he is *Christus victor*, and when he wears a crown he is *Christus rex*. When he has both these attributes, he is then *Rex gloriae*.[27] These subtle variants can be seen to align themselves with the plethora of terms employed by Cædmon and other Anglo-Saxon authors. In the images that Rosenthal discusses, "the similar bodily form and posture of the figures serve to indicate that it is the same person in the same act that we see each time, while the changes in costume, attributes, and setting characterize the different aspects in which Christ appears simultaneously."[28] The designer of the Hexateuch seems to be employing a similar visual rhetoric in a number of his images.[29]

There is little question that the illustrations in the *Hexateuch* were produced specifically for this text and as an integral portion of the

[26] "Hælend," "Frean mancynnes," "Anwealda ælmihtig," "geong hæleð," "Æðelinge," "weruda God" and "þæs guman." based on the transcription in Mitchell and Robinson, 258-263.

[27] Rosenthal, 548; 551-552.

[28] Rosenthal, 557.

[29] For such images in the *Hexateuch*, see among others folios 2r, 2v, 3v, 4v, 7v, 11v, 26v, 27r, 29r, 43v, and 51v. The profusion of images, no two identical, suggests that the designer had very much in mind this notion of representing multiple aspects of Christ, as inspired by the poetic tropes.

complete work. Ælfric's letter functions, much like Jerome's prefaces to the various books of the Vulgate, to provide a doctrinal context for the details in the narratives and to establish a method of interpretive reading which is extended and reinforced by the illustrations. Without extra verbiage or textual glossing, the manuscript contains sufficient exegesis and commentary to protect a layman or novice monk from unorthodox readings. The many layers of meaning, which become increasingly visible with careful, repeated viewings, would even provide much food for the *ruminatio* of a more advanced reader. Through these means, the designer of the *Hexateuch* has created a single interpretive field, in which the preface and images complete the translations. By carefully following the exhortations of Ælfric, he has augmented the supposedly 'light words' of the Old Testament with a remarkable series of rather weighty images.

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Advisory Council and General Business Meeting
THE MEDIEVAL ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC
21-23 March 2002
University of San Diego, San Diego, California

The Advisory Council and Officers of the Medieval Association of the Pacific met on Thursday, March 21, from 6-7:30 at the Hacienda Hotel.

Officers present: Dhira Mahoney, James Otté, Barnabas Hughes, and Phyllis Brown
Councilors present: William Bonds, Piotr Gorecki, Gina Greco, Virginia Jansen, Kathleen Maxwell, Brenda Schildgen, Debora Schwartz
Councilors absent: Martha Bayless, Maria Dobozy, Sharon Kinoshita, David Lopez, Stephen Partridge
Guest: John Ott, organizer for the 2003 meeting at Portland State University

Dhira Mahoney called the meeting to order at 6:15, distributed the agenda, and invited those present to introduce themselves.

Those present approved the minutes from the Advisory Council and General Business meetings in Tempe, March 2001 (as published in *Chronica*).

Vice-President's Report: James Otté reported that he had received two strong applications for the Benton travel award and funded both of them. Recipients are Asa Mittman, Art History at Stanford University, and Jane Beal, English at University of California, Davis.

Secretary-Editor's Report: Phyllis Brown reported that the new publishing schedule for Chronica—once yearly in the spring—is working well. The spring 2002 issue will include Asa Mittman's essay, which won a Founders' Prize last year, and a map of the MAP web site. The MAP data base and web site are in good order, thanks to the good work of Tom Garvey, the Canterbury Intern who assists with MAP work. Comments and suggestions about the web site are always welcome. Phyllis also acknowledged support from Santa Clara University, especially the English Department and the Medieval & Renaissance Studies Program, that makes her work for MAP possible.

Treasurer's Report (Membership and Finances as of 3/15/02):

MAP Membership:		
	Regular Members	210
	Student Members	43
	Libararies & Centers	6

Income:		
	Balance	$3,812.74
	Dues	5,737.24
	Gifts	760.00
	Conference (Victoria)	510.00
	Total	$10,819.98

Expenses:		
	Conference Planning	< 608 >
	Benton Award	< 800 >
	Postage/Chronica	< 1581 >
	Miscellaneous	< 350 >
	USD Program	< 240 >
	Transfer to CD	< 2000>

Balance:		
	Checking	5,074.08
	Certificate	12,991.73
	Total	$18,065.81

New Officers:

Dhira Mahoney explained that the outgoing MAP President places the name of a MAP member in nomination for the position of Vice President. Siân Echard, English, University of British Columbia, agreed to have her name placed in nomination.

Report and Recommendations of the Nominating Committee

Dhira Mahoney reported for Stephen Partridge, who was not able to attend the meeting.

The four Advisory Council members in their final year of service constitute the nominating committee. This year Stephen Partridge (chair), Virginia Jansen, Sharon Kinoshita, and David Lopez placed the names of the following MAP members in nomination for three-year terms (2002-2005) on the Advisory Council:

Leslie Arnovick, English, University of British Columbia
Roger Dahood, English, University of Arizona
Mathew Kuefler, History, California State University, San Diego,
Karen Mathews, Art History, UC Santa Cruz.

The officers and members of the Advisory Council unanimously approved the slate of nominations to be presented to the members at the Business Meeting.

Dhira reported that the five-year terms both Barnabas Hughes and Phyllis Brown have as MAP officers will end at the 2003 annual meeting. Therefore, it will be necessary to find MAP members willing to serve as officers in both those positions.

Dhira thanked the nominating committee for their work. Next year's nominating committee consists of Martha Bayless, Bill Bonds (chair), Maria Dobozy, and Kathleen Maxwell.

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Report of the Founders' Prize Selection Committee

Dhira Mahoney reported for Sharon Kinoshita

First Prize: Glenn Keyser, UC Davis.
"One Way Streets: Urban Geography and Anti-Semitism in Chaucer's Prioress's Tale."

Runner-up Prize: Christina Fitzgerald, UCLA.
"Of Magi and Men: Christ's Nativity and Masculinity in the Chester Drama Cycle."

Runner-up Prize: Ronald Ganze, U of Oregon.
"Leaving the Bed-Chamber Behind: Chaucer's Announcement in the *Book of the Duchess*."

The 2000-01 committee recommended that this year's deadline for submissions be May 15; the committee will inform the President of their decision in September. (In fact, they informed the officers of their decision in June. Results are announced in this issue.) Dhira Mahoney agreed to write to this year's prize winners, informing those who won of the option to publish in *Chronica*.

Kathleen Maxwell (kmaxwell@scu.edu) agreed to chair the Founders' Prize committee for 2002-03.

Plans for Future Conferences

John Ott and Gina Greco reported on plans to host the 2003 meeting of MAP at Portland State University March 28-29, 2003.

The 2004 meeting will be at the University of Washington, with the Medieval Academy of America (contact to be Miceál Vaughan).

Both San Francisco State University and UCLA have expressed interest in hosting the meeting in 2005.

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Report on plans to increase membership in MAP.

Bill Bonds provided a handout listing current MAP membership organized by state and, within states, by university or college and proposed that the Council use the list to identify MAP members who can be asked to serve as liaisons to particular institutions with the purpose of increasing membership in MAP. In particular, he recommended a three-step process:

1. Contact one or two MAP members on each campus and ask them to provide names (and contact information) of other faculty on that campus who might be interested in joining MAP.

2. Send those faculty a letter inviting them to join MAP. The letter would include a short history of the organization and a summary of the benefits of membership.

3. In some cases ask the MAP members at the campuses to follow up on the letter with a phone call, email message, or a visit.

After discussion of the merits of his proposal, Bill agreed to make a similar presentation at the Business meeting.

New Business

Jim Otte introduced the idea of meeting jointly with RMMRA some time in the future. He also suggested that the conference registration form be revised in light of some difficulties he encountered this year—particularly with multiple registrations on a single form.

Dhira Mahoney thanked the outgoing Council members for their support of MAP, and the officers and members of the Advisory Council thanked Dhira for her four years of service to MAP, as Vice President and President. The meeting was adjourned at 7:30.

At the Business Meeting, the members present approved the business put to them from the Council Meeting. A member suggested that the secretary create and use stationery with a MAP logo/heading. Another suggested that the MAP web site include links to medieval sites at UCLA and UC Berkeley.

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

22 March 2002—Friday

10:30-12:00   5 concurrent sessions

The Venerable Bede
Chair: Gernot Wieland, University of British Columbia

Æðeldreda in the Old English Bede
Paul Szarmach, The Medieval Institute

Bede's Families, Virginal and Otherwise
Carol Braun Pasternack, UC Santa Barbara

Bede on the Wounds of Christ
George Brown, Stanford University

Christ, Time, and the Eternal
Chair: Michael Wagner, University of San Diego

Temporal Confusion: *Christ I* as Medieval Lyric
Liam Ethan Felsen, University of Oregon

The Intersection of the Timeless with Time:
Images of the Dormition of the Virgin
Elizabeth Walsh, University of San Diego

The Shifting Paradise in *Cleanness*
Christina M. Francis, Arizona State University

Boccaccio and Chaucer
Chair: Brenda Schildgen, UC Davis

The Role of Music in Day VII, story 1, of the *Decameron*
Eleonora M. Beck, Lewis and Clark College

Griselda Quilts: a metaphor for collaborative texts
Mark Marino, Loyola Marymount University

Noblesse Oblique: Chaucer's Clerk Reveals Faith
in Hereditary *Gentillesse*
William Gahan, Loyola Marymount University

Frontiers of Exclusion: Warfare, Nationalism, and Heresy
Chair: Piotr Gorecki, UC Riverside

Piers Plowman, Philippe de Mézières, and the Context of War
Michael Hanly, Washington State University

Ingeld's Awakening in Grundtvig's *Beowulf*
Mark B. Busbee, UC Davis

Guibert of Nogent on Relics, Heresy and the Eucharist,
a Previously Undocumented Intellectual Disaster
Jay Rubenstein, University of New Mexico

Drama
Chair: Mathew Kuefler, San Diego State University

Skeptical Bodies: Wives, Midwives, and Alewives
in the Chester Cycle
Laurel Amtower, San Diego State University

Fürwitz and the Passion for Fashion
Samuel Dean, University of Utah

12:00-1:30   lunch

1:30-3:00   5 concurrent sessions

Franciscan Women Impact *Duecento* Thought, Word, and Deed
Chair: Frances Gussenhoven, RSHM, Loyola Marymount Univ.

Rose of Viterbo and the Model of Female Mendicancy
Darleen Pryds, Franciscan School of Theology, GTU

Gender and the Debate over Learning
in the Medieval Franciscan Order
Lezlie Knox, California State University, Long Beach

Margaret of Cortona and a New Feminine Penitential Authority
Janette Catron, University of New Mexico

Captives, Crusaders, and Contemplative Imagery:
Muslim-Christian Conflict and Contact
in the Medieval Mediterranean World
Chair: William Bonds, San Francisco State University

Merchants and the Ransoming of Captives in Medieval Spain
Jarbel Rodriguez, San Francisco State University

Middle Eastern Sources: A Key to Understanding the Crusades
Paul E. Chevedden, UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies

A Gardening Handbook for the Soul: Contemplative Imagery
at the Convent of Clarisas, Tordesillas, Spain [s. XIV]
Cynthia Robinson, University of New Mexico

Papacy
Chair: John Ott, Portland State University

Sibert of Beek on Marsilius of Padua
Thomas Turley, Santa Clara University

The Concordat of Worms: A New Interpretation
Mary Stroll, Visiting Scholar, UCSD

Honorius III and the development of inquisitions
Peter D. Diehl, Western Washington University

Border Crossings in Art: East and West
Chair: Elizabeth Teviotdale, J. Paul Getty Museum

Images on the Border: Approaches to Art Produced
between Byzantium and the West
Justine Andrews, UCLA

Paris, Bibl. Natl., Cod. Gr. 54 and Mt. Athos, Iviron, Iviron, Cod. 5:
An Art Historican's Venture into New Testament Textual Criticism
Kathleen Maxwell, Santa Clara University

Sacred and Secular Images of the Family
Chair : Sharon Farmer, UC Santa Barbara

Familial Similitudes in Gertrud's *Herald of God's Loving-Kindness*
Jenny Rebecca Rytting, Arizona State University

A Marian *Yerd*: Homelife as *Hortus Conclusus*
in "The Prioress's Tale"
Georgiana Donavin, Westminster College

3:30-5:00   **Glenn Olsen, University of Utah**
            Sex and the Romanesque in Occitania-Provence

6:00 reception
7:00 banquet

23 March 2002—Saturday

9:00-10:30 5 concurrent sessions

Performance
Chair: Phyllis Brown, Santa Clara University

Performing the Animals in *William and the Werewolf*
Linda Marie Zaerr, Boise State University

The Use of the Title "Imperator"
in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*
Liam Moore, University of Utah

The Performing Body and Twelfth Century Morality
Maria Dobozy, University of Utah

Interpretive Strategies
Chair: Paul Szarmach, The Medieval Institute

Pagan Treasure, Providential Gold: Revising Economies of Interpretation in Augustine's *de doctrina Christiana*
Alexandra K. Cook, UC Santa Barbara

A Treatise Against the Authenticity of the *Communia Naturalium*
Sean Nittner, UC Davis

Allegory, Time, and Space in the *Mi'raj*
and its Commentary Tradition
Brenda Schildgen, UC Davis

Saints and Society
Chair: Patrick Geary, UCLA

The "Maubeuge Cycle" Saints: Powerful Civic Protectors
Aline Hornaday, UCSD

Male Infertility in the St. Anne's Legend
Anita Obermeier, University of New Mexico

A Marriage Made for Heaven: the *Vies Occitanes* of Elzear
of Sabran and Delphine of Puimichel
Rosalynn Voaden, Arizona State University

Beowulf
Chair: Marijane Osborn, UC Davis

"I told a story": Meta-Narrative in *The Raven Waits*
Maura Grady, UC Davis

Beowulf's *gumcyste*: Listening to and Imitating Story
Candace Hull Taylor, UC Davis

Synn and Sin in *Beowulf*
Karen Wilson, UC Davis

Lay and Ecclesiastical Archives
Chair: Cheryl Riggs, CSU San Bernadino

The Maintenance of Ecclesiastical Order in the Parish of Hartlebury, 1401-1597
Frederick J. Poling, Catholic University of America

"Lay Archives in Late Antique Gaul and the Carolingian World"
Warren Brown, California Institute of Technology

Craft Guilds' Archives in the North in the late Middle Ages
Richard Unger, University of British Columbia

11:00-12:30   **Stanley Chodorow, UC San Diego**
                The Survival of the Medieval University

12:30-2:00   lunch
2:00-3:00   business meeting

3:30-5:00   5 concurrent sessions

Session in Honor of Professor Richard C. Dales
Chair: Nancy Van Deusen, Claremont Graduate University

What are the Two Other Dragons at the Slaying of Fafnir?
Gunar Freibergs, LA Valley College

12th Century English Sermons on the Immaculate Conception
Mariko Takahashi, University of Southern California

Jacobus Carthusiensis [James of Paradise] and Ecclesiastical Reform
in 15th century Cracow and Erfurt
Paul Knoll, USC

Linguistics and Grammar
Chair: Michael Calabrese, CSU Los Angeles

"Gibberish" Indeed: A Pragmatic-Linguistic Rehabilitation of the
Unintelligible in Old English Charms
Leslie Arnovick

Timor Domini, Grammatica, and *Piers Plowman*
Claire Banchich, UCLA

Multilingualism in MS Digby 86
Judith Tschann

Jews in 14th-15th-Century England
Chair: Leonard Koff, UCLA

Non-Christians and the Ex-Non-Christians in Chaucer's England
Henry Ansgar Kelly, UCLA

The Punishment of the Jews and the Limits of Irony
in Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale"
Roger Dahood, University of Arizona

Learning from the Conquered: The Instructive Other
in "The Siege of Jerusalem"
Randy P. Schiff, UC Santa Barbara

Romance Encounters with History and Science
Chair: John Ganim, UC Riverside

Adventures of History: Marie de France's response
to Galfridian Historiography
Linda Georgianna, UC, Irvine

The "Vavasseurs" in French Romance:
Historic Reality and Feudal Ideology
Rose Marie Deist, University of San Francisco

The Breviari d'amor as Encyclopedia
Michelle Bolduc, University of Arizona

Healing and Health
Chair: Kim Benedict

Discipline and Redemption: The Healing Power
of Self-Mortification in 14th-Century Dominican Convent Culture
David Tinsley, University of Puget Sound

The Usual Supplements: *The Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene* Michaelmas, 1412-Michaelmas, 1413
Kevin Roddy, UC Davis

Hildegard of Bingen's Medicine as Practice
Victoria Sweet, UC San Francisco
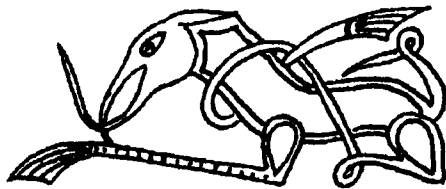
Laurel Amtower   English, San Diego State University
Skeptical Bodies: Wives, Midwives, and Alewives in the Chester cycle

Recent studies have focused on the post-Reformation additions of problematic scenes involving women to the Chester Mystery Cycle. The prominent and independent roles women play in the Chester Cycle—including scenes in which women distance themselves from their husbands, state preferences for their "gossips" over their families and brew ale so brazenly that they eventually dance with the devil himself in hell—evince public anxiety over women's participation both in the civic life of Chester and in the actual production of the plays. This paper observes that recalcitrant wives in particular are subdued through the degradation of their physical bodies, arguing that this physical degradation is linked to an intellectual edification that is realized only after the wife recognizes her failure to believe what she can't see. Noah's wife is constrained by force after refusing to acknowledge the coming flood; Salome the midwife suffers a withered hand after doubting the sanctity of the Virgin; the woman taken in adultery is released and spared a stoning after witnessing Christ's invisible writing in the sand. For the ale-wife the degradation is eternal—she is promised both endless pain and a hellish feast to match her earthly one—because she acknowledges her sin only after entering hell. Maids and widows are spared such treatment, "seeing" the reality of the Incarnation despite the doubt of their companions. In the authority-conscious Chester Cycle, faith is posed as submission to an incontrovertible social and cosmic order, an order itself mirrored in the sacrament of marriage. The body literally withers away when the expositor fails to submit to faith, and that failure to submit is itself always linked to an already corrupt physical status. Thus only a complete submission to the hierarchy restores the wife to the Christian fellowship Chester promotes.

Justine Andrews   Art History, UCLA
Images on the Border: Approaches to art
produced between Byzantium and the West

Identity has quickly become a powerful category of study for art historians as we seek to understand styles of art and motives that give rise to differences among groups. Much of the discourse surrounding identity and art history comes from a modern or post-modern perspective, often founded on an understanding of nationalism and colonization. In the Middle Ages, however, identity must be approached more carefully. Particularly at issue for art historians of the Middle Ages is whether we can associate ethnic identity and imagery. If we do so, how can we approach the problem responsibly within a medieval context?

In this paper I will consider this issue using the example of the illustrated manuscript Paris B.N. Grec. 135, a fourteenth-century manuscript produced in Mistra on the Peloponnese of Southern Greece. The manuscript has always been difficult to categorize given its Byzantine format and Greek text illustrated with images that immediately recall Western styles. Historians of this manuscript have adopted the ethnic categories created by political boundaries between Latin and Byzantine rule in the Morea after 1204. Ethnic identity has been fundamentally linked with the diverse images of this Commentary on Job.

However, the distinct division modern scholars draw between Latin and Byzantine categories derives from our contemporary understanding of two distinct languages, religions and the political divisions between the Byzantine Empire and Latin Crusader kingdoms. After the initial conquest of the Peloponnese by Crusaders and the division between Greeks and Westerners in the thirteenth century, a century of continued Western presence in Greece permeated political boundaries in a commingling of artistic traditions. The illustrations of the manuscript Grec. 135 encapsulate this cultural exchange between Western and Greek communities in Mistra and the Peloponnese in the fourteenth century.

Leslie Arnovick   University of British Columbia
'Gibberish' Indeed: A Pragmatic-Linguistic Rehabilitation of
the Unintelligible in Old English Charms

Gibberish. Hocus Pocus. Mumbo Jumbo. Gobbeldy Gook. All these accusations blame the speaker for flouting his or her communicative responsibility. This paper reexamines the concept of gibberish in oral performance, identifying it as a crucial component — rather than an accident of transmission — of Anglo-Saxon charm texts. In this paper I will argue that the "gibberish" common to several Old English charms actually comprise utterances with clear pragmatic functions. Gibberish utterances work magic: they perform the single illocutionary job of the charm: to speak and thereby to cure or to heal or to protect or otherwise to direct the powers-that-be. As pragmatic structures they mark the apex of charm performance. One goal of the new historical-pragmatic linguistic methodology is to reconstruct the pragmatics of earlier language use, asking how an audience from a particular historical period may have interpreted an utterance within its discursive context. My task here is to ask of Anglo-Saxon charms, not only "who speaks?", but who "listens?" Foreign incantations or those of unknown etymology or uncertain integrity must have seemed to their audience both unintelligible and functional illocutions. If the Old English charms extant were actually texts for a linguistic and physical performance of magic rather than vestiges of originally legible Latin and Greek and Hebrew texts, then we must concede the possibility that the charms Anglo-Saxons actually used may have sounded to them a lot like "gibberish." The paper concludes by asking why the crucial transformational utterance of the charm often clothes itself in the language of "unknowing.

Claire Banchich   English, UCLA
Timor Domini, Grammatica, and Piers Plowman

My paper concerns a late medieval connection, hitherto unnoticed, between grammar (the first liberal art) and fear of God (the first gift of the Holy Ghost). I will demonstrate the link between fear and grammar through alignments in medieval septenaries; iconographical depictions

in which Psalm 110:10 ("fear of God is the beginning of wisdom") appears, in banderole or rubric, attached or proximate to personifications of Grammar; and through incipits to grammatical commentaries that regularly include exhortations to fear God. Such evidence, I argue, suggests an originary inter-dynamic between holy fear and grammar in literary production. This complicity of fear in language-production proves an important factor in the fourteenth-century Middle English poem Piers Plowman. For the purposes of this paper, I focus on two moments in the B-text. In B.IX.95-98, the character Wit defines dowel, dobet, and dobest as, respectively, to fear God, to fear and love God, and not to waste speech or time. Wit adds, in authoritative Latin, that whoever is guilty in one is guilty in all, a qualification that in itself suggests an interworking of fear of God and the proper use of language. While Langland explores and struggles with dynamics of fear throughout the poem, especially as they resound on his own poetic making, Passus XX, the final passus, provides a striking example of the interdependence of holy fear and language. There, the collapse of Unitee (Holy Church) and Conscience's abandonment of the community coincide with the simultaneous disintegration of dread and of language. For, as Hende Speche gains entry to Unitee through guileful grammar, the inhabitants no longer fear sin, death, or God. Moreover, Contrition forgets how to cry, i.e, contrition is no longer "contrition"; the word is fundamentally depleted of meaning. With this mutual breakdown of fear and grammar the long poem itself settles into silence as Conscience, now on solitary pilgrimage, "graddes" (a speechless crying out?) after grace and the dreamer-author awakens, so to speak, onto the blank page.

Michelle Bolduc   **French and Italian, University of Arizona**
The Breviari d'amor as Encyclopedia

In his introduction to his 19th century edition of Matfre Ermengaud's Breviari d'amor (c. 1288), Gabriel Azaïs declares that this work cannot be considered an encyclopedia, or even a compendium, because of the subjects that Matfre omits. The Breviari, Azaïs claims, does not contain such subjects as Pierre de Corbiac includes in his Trésor (for example, grammar, dialectic, rhetoric, music, geometry, arithmetic, civil and canon

law), nor does it include such subjects as comprise Vincent de Beauvais' Speculum doctrinale (the art of war, medicine, politics and architecture). Eeven today the Breviari figures rarely, if ever, in studies of thirteenth-century encyclopedias.

In Matfre's Breviari, however, the diverse topics create a compendium of learning. Matfre comments upon features of the natural world such as comets (5527ff.) and the nature of fish (7257ff.); he includes religious topics such as prayers to the Holy Trinity (14091ff.) and the life of St. Andrew the Apostle (26071ff.). While we might liken the Breviari to Brunetto Latini's Trésor in scope, the Breviari d'Amor is a book primarily about love in all its forms, and in many ways is quite different from most encyclopedias whose focus remains the natural world and its association with God. The Breviari's focus on love clearly disconcerts modern critics who are more accustomed to thinking of courtly love as belonging to secular genres such as lyric and romance. Although love serves as the organizing principle of the Breviari, I argue our understanding of the Breviari must take into account its association with other encyclopedias or compendia. The idea of love in the Breviari confronts the reader with a provocative intertwining of sacred and human concerns; Matfre thus expands the generic boundaries of the encyclopedia by infusing it with human, sensual, courtly love.

Mark B. Busbee   **English, University of California, Davis**
Ingeld's Awakening in Grundtvig's Beowulf

N.F.S Grundtvig's 1820 translation of "Beowulf" came in the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, when national sentiments were gathering force all over Europe. In response to this growing European nationalism, Grundtvig uses Beowulf's account of the Danish-Heaðobeardan feud, observed through the filter of Saxo Grammaticus, to promote a nineteenth-century awakening of the Danish national consciousness. In this paper I will show how Fichtean philosophy lies behind Grundtvig's rewriting of the Ingeld episode as an allegorically conceived "call" to a political awakening. I propose that this rewriting reflects a political intent for the poem as a whole.

P. E. Chevedden   UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies
Middle Eastern Sources:
A Key to Understanding the Crusades

Since September 11th the crusades are once again in the headlines. A view generally accepted among scholars is that Christians and Muslims held different perspectives on the crusades. A recent study presents "Islamic perspectives" on the crusades (C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* [Edinburgh, 1999]). This implies that the Muslim world during the Middle Ages was peopled not by one mind but by many minds, each with its own point of view on the crusades. Though this was certainly true, the notion of multiple perspectives ignores the underlying reality of one dominant view of the crusades shared by both Muslims and Christians. Scholars have ignored this shared perspective. Contemporary witnesses—Christian and Muslim—were conscious of the political transformations taking place in the Mediterranean in the eleventh century. By the end of the century, no one who looked around the shores of the Middle Sea was blind to the shifting balance of Mediterranean power. Muslims throughout the Mediterranean world and beyond recognized the political transformations taking place in the eleventh century and the general nature of the crusade. This paper will present an analysis of Arabic and Syriac sources on the crusading movement and will demonstrate that the Islamic perspective of the crusade was the mirror image of papal view of the crusade.

Alexandra Cook   University of California, Santa Barbara
Pagan Treasure, Providential Gold: Revising Economies
of Interpretation in Augustine's De doctrina Christiana

Throughout the Middle Ages, the writing of medieval Christian scholars evinces an anxiety about the reception of pagan texts. This paper examines Augustine's seminal discussion of classical and Christian intepretative modes in De doctrina Christiana, and specifically explores his anxiety that interpretive methods of the pagan past may return to infect the new Christian exegesis. Among the many obstacles to Chris-

tian interpretation identified by Augustine are certain classical or pagan interpretive modes which threaten to lead the Christian astray. I argue that the places where he addresses these modes can reveal yet another source of potential anxiety for Augustine, for in his efforts to revise this legacy Augustine is trying to change the course of exegetical history. Indeed, he must rewrite this history in order to reorient his audiences from what might be termed the regular economy of man's word, in which meaning and value are established through agreement or consensus, to the hypereconomy of God's word, whose rewards surpass any man-made system of exchange. However, ultimately Augustine's reconstruction of the pagan past also creates problems from which his new Christian exegesis cannot fully escape.

Roger Dahood   English, University of Arizona
The Punishment of the Jews and the Limits of Irony
in Chaucer's Prioress's Tale

Since World War II American critics have debated whether Chaucer's treatment of the Jews in the Prioress's Tale is ironic. The present paper briefly reviews the current state of critical opinion, establishes the probable nature of the drawing and hanging inflicted upon the guilty Jews, and then turns to a consideration of what I believe has been an underappreciated Latin and English chronicle tradition behind the tale. I conclude with a skeptical appraisal of claims imputing irony to the punishment. The paper buttresses the position Florence Ridley sketched out in her 1965 essay, "The Prioress and the Critics."

Samuel Dean   Languages and Literature, Univ. of Utah
Fürwitz and the Passion for Fashion

Fashion is a very important topic in many sixteenth century texts. Modern works have been written describing the clothing styles of the time and modern theories have been developed to describe its origins. They define "Mode" as the system of regular and rapid changes in styles of clothing that began in the fourteenth century. But the term "Mode" did not appear before the seventeenth century, and the

theory and vocabulary which sixteenth century texts used to describe this phenomenon have been largely neglected.

My study examines how Hans Sachs's shrovetide play "Der Fürwitz" develops an interesting concept in the contemporary language of fashion. A superficial reading might lead to the conclusion that this is a simple didactic work preaching against the evils of lust, pride, gluttony, and a host of other vices common to the sermons of the time, but such an interpretation would certainly notice something odd about the title. The most widely recognized definition of Fürwitz is curiosity, but what does this term have to do with the vices described in the work? And why does this spirit of curiosity also tempt a young man to constantly change his wardrobe so that he will always be dressing in the latest styles? Why does the same urge which drove our first parents to taste the forbidden fruit also try to interest our hero in silver mining, health fads, Italian architecture, hunting, exotic banquets, and a swim across the Bodensee? What do all of these have in common? Using the methods of a sociological word study, my investigations suggest that this text binds all of these temptations together in a multifaceted, coherent and intriguing theory linking curiosity and the desire to be fashionable as two manifestations of the same human tendency.

Rose Marie Deist　　　　　　　　**University of San Francisco**
The 'vavasseurs' in French Romance: Historic Reality
　and Feudal Ideology

The "vavasseurs" or vassals represent a social evolution and ascendancy in the aristocratic structure. I shall discuss the integration of the "vavasseurs'" social significance into romance. Truly fascinating in the figure of the "vavasseur" is the transformation from the historical evidence of minor vassal to the embodiment of aristocratic ideals in literature.

Maria Dobozy German Literature, University of Utah
The Performing Body and Twelfth Century Morality

This paper examines the moral code of body movement and conduct first expressed by Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141) in the 12th century. His little book *de institutione novitiorum* for training pupils in monastery schools focuses new interest on the human body within moral theory that acknowledges the body can be beautiful. The theory, based on the platonic ideals of harmony and moderation, was picked up first by other theologians and then also by writers of courtesy books teaching behavior and body comportment to members of the secular court. The *de institutione* influenced vernacular writers of courtesy books in Germany like Thomasin von Zerklaere who, in Der welsche Gast, expresses many of the same moral directives for proper behavior and gesturing for the education and guidance of courtiers.

The values and guidelines for body movement will be contrasted with those of contemporary theater anthropology which claims universal, basic rules of body movement without which no type of performance (be it song, dance, mime, or acting) can succeed. These guidelines are diametrically opposed to those in Hugh's text. The comparison is instructive because it discloses the rather clearly drawn distinction between morally licit and illicit comportment. Thus we can discover in greater detail the limits of tolerance for gesture and comportment expressly discussed at secular courts and consequently some specific reasons for the pariah status and bad moral reputation of performers.

Georgiana Donavin　　　　　　　　**English, Westminster College**
A Marian *Yerd*: Homelife as *Hortus Conclusus*
　in the Prioress's Tale

This paper examines an extreme fictional example of Mary's influence on the construction of family relationships, Chaucer's "Prioress's Tale." In the "Prioress's Tale," the Virgin's figure is stamped upon the household in several ways. The generic conventions of the Marian miracle insist on the conventional lesson: good boys who imitate their mother's

Marian devotions get to go to heaven. As the little scholar sings the *Alma redemptoris mater* instead of practicing his Latin pronunciation assignments from school, he is more obedient toward his mother's sense of obligation to the Virgin than toward his master's sense of duty toward the primer. Through this feminized code of spiritual responsibilities, the "Prioress's Tale" dramatizes the complexity of gender modeling both at home and church, where the enclosures in which a boy lives and worships are declared "feminine."

Just as the boy is enclosed in feminine structures, so he is surrounded by Marian characters in triplicate: first, the Prioress/narrator who has many attributes in common with the Virgin; second, the widow who reenacts the *pièta* with her little schoolboy; and third, the Virgin herself, who prolongs the little boy's life in the end. The repetition of feminine role models and authority figures forms a rosary-like chain around the boy as he enters the masculine world of the primary classroom. Purifying him and preserving him from homosocial bonding as well as heterosexual desire for peers, the maternal environment of the Prioress's Tale illustrates only one way in which the codes inside the domestic space remain private and self-perpetuating.

Liam Ethan Felsen   English, University of Oregon
Temporal Confusion: *Christ I* as Medieval Lyric

The Harrowing of Hell looms large in the Old English prose and poetry, perhaps most especially in the Old English translations of the apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, as well as the poems *Christ and Satan* and *Descent into Hell*. But the Harrowing is also a primary focus of the poem *Christ I* and an important aspect of what the series of lyrics attempts to achieve. In particular, the poem's association of every event in Christ's life with the Harrowing encourages a typological rather than chronological reading; at any point in the depicted life of Christ, the reader must be aware of all others. Therefore, the poem, as part of the lyric genre, seeks to break down the temporal barriers that, as Saint Augustine argues in his *Confessions*, separate mankind from God, who exists within a single moment that encompasses the past, present, and future. The Harrowing becomes the future aspect of this single moment that the poem opens up to the reader, the endpoint of a typological drama that also includes Christ's birth, life, and death. By experiencing the poem's destruction of temporal barriers, the reader also experiences the totality of Christ's existence as if in a single moment, and is thus able to come closer to achieving—albeit temporarily—a stronger spiritual union with God.

Christina Francis   Literature, Arizona State University
The Shifting Paradise in *Cleanness*

The fourteenth century poem *Cleanness* sets three exempla before the reader that showcase God's responses to un-cleanness and in doing so create a shifting notion of paradise. In examining images of paradise throughout the poem, a pattern emerges: the inhabitants of paradise fail to live up to God's expectations, God destroys paradise, and then He creates a new paradise. This pattern will demonstrate both the changing definition of paradise and highlight a growing distance between God and man. As the definition of paradise grows more earthbound, God removes himself more from direct interaction with man. Man also concerns himself less with obtaining "heuen" or access to God. Thus the shifting paradise begins to complicate questions about the eternal nature of heaven and the spiritual value of one's actions. Finally, I will attempt to draw conclusions about the impact of a shifting paradise upon the relationship between God and man.

William Gahan English, Loyola-Marymount University
***Noblesse Oblique*: Chaucer's Clerk Reveals Faith**
in Hereditary *Gentillesse*

Chaucer's version of "The Clerk's Tale," like that of Petrarch and Boccaccio, argues that "gentillesse" can be found among the peasantry and the nobility alike. Even so, the Clerk's Prologue and Tale also illustrate, inadvertently, the persistence of the belief that one's "degree" or "estaat," largely determined by birth, can recommend particular character traits, including virtue itself. In the story of Griselda, the Clerk

answers the Wife and fashions a tale that seems to subvert the idea that the aristocracy inherits virtue. The Clerk uses what Jill Mann has called "the different semantic values of words like 'worthy,' 'gentil,' and 'fair'" in ways that undermine his apparent intention to reject the notion of a "natural" nobility. The employment of the "heigh style" of Petrarch upholds the idea that the noble form of the story's telling is related to the virtue of its content. The Clerk fails to contest the assumption that, as marquis, Walter is better equipped to recognize hidden virtue. The populace he portrays often confuses virtue with lineage. These are only a few of the many examples of the Clerk's rhetorical choices that suggest the persistence of the ideological connection between one's station and one's moral worth, even when it is exactly this idea that is being argued against in the Prologue and the Tale.

Maura Grady   English, University of California, Davis
"I told a story": Meta-narrative in *The Raven Waits*

While some re-tellings of Beowulf for children (such as Sutcliff's *Beowulf* and Gardner's *Grendel*) receive widespread attention and a substantial readership, June Oldham's Beowulf-based 1979 novel *The Raven Waits* (which begins just before Beowulf arrives at Heorot and ends just after the defeat of Grendel's mother) has garnered far less attention. Though not usually seriously considered appropriate topics for examination and analysis by *Beowulf* critics, novels such as these can nonetheless prove themselves to be relevant to contemporary scholarship and serve as reminders of *Beowulf's* enduring cultural influence on non-scholars. *The Raven Waits* in particular can serve as starting point for a discussion of a possible history of the poem's composition and as an examination of the poem's significance as a cultural artifact in the modern imagination. Using Roland Barthes' article "From Work to Text" as a theoretical frame, my paper examines the ways in which June Oldham engages the text of *Beowulf* by "pre-writing" herself into the poem's events, giving herself (in the persona of the scop), a central role in the composition of *Beowulf.*

Michael Hanly   English, Washington State University
***Piers Plowman*, Philippe de Mézières and the Context of War**

My paper will deal with matters of war in late-fourteenth-century Europe as represented in the poetry of William Langland (and other English and Continental authors) and in the reformist and pro-crusade writings of Philippe de Mézières. Despite the ongoing state of war between France and England throughout the century, and despite the continuous encroachment of an expansionist Islam on the eastern borders of Christendom, European literary texts of the period offer little commentary on this momentous topic. Indeed, English poetry comments very little even on the war with France, and even less on the subject of Islam: in <u>Piers Plowman</u>, for example, the debate between Mede and Conscience (B-text Passus III) is the only section that can be read as commenting on the conduct of the war with France, and the only possible commentary on the Islamic threat must be gleaned from the scattered references to Moslem religious beliefs and practices (esp. Passus XV). Chaucer's poetry is even less fruitful, offering only the war-protest sentiments noticed by John Scattergood in "Sir Thopas" and "Melibee," and the references to the crusading ideals of Philippe de Mézières noted by Paul Olson in the Knight's portrait in the General Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*.

The writings of Mézières, however, present opinions on the Hundred Years War and attitudes toward the righteousness of a Christian crusade against the Infidel. In this paper I present a brief review of the major "players" in this milieu, and then focus upon a number of scenes in Langland's *Piers Plowman*, on some statements in the longer tracts by Mézières, and on the curious dramatic version of Mézières's Griselda story (from his *Livre sur le vertu du saint sacrament du mariage*) now found in a Paris manuscript (BNF fr. 2203, *Le Mystère de Griseldis*). This play features a character named "le Quint Chevalier" who shares many attributes with the historical Mézières; the manuscript's curious illustrations, furthermore, allow its placement alongside the Wilton Diptych in the artistic exchanges of the 1390s, and indicate also that it

could well be of English origin, and thereby have been known in England in Chaucer's time. The convergences among the works by Mézières and Langland and the anonymous play make for a provocative statement about war, peace, and crusade in this turbulent time.

Aline G. Hornaday   **History, UC Santa Barbara**
The "Maubeuge Cycle" Saints: Powerful Civic Protectors

In Mons, capital of medieval Hainaut, townspeople honor their patroness Saint Waldetrude with pious devotion, annual processions, and literary homage. Citizens of nearby Soignies likewise venerate her husband, their patron, Saint Vincent Madalgar. Once every century since their death, marchers parade their relics in procession to meet halfway between Mons and Soignies, in 1917 defying Belgium's German occupiers to express their devotion. Waldetrude's sister Saint Aldegunde especially protects the nearby French town of Maubeuge and the Rhineland town of Emmerich, while Waldetrude's son Saint Dentelin was once patron of Emmerich's commercial sister-town Rees on the Rhine. Aldegunde, Waldetrude and Vincent Madalgar played key roles in civic development through their churches and monastic foundations. Aldegunde brings numerous pilgrims to Maugeuge from old Lotharingia (Hainaut, the Rhineland, the Low Countries and northeast France), where she presides over many churches.

Popular devotion enshrined this family, which presents a cross-section of medieval saintliness: aristocratic warriors, visionary virgins, pious wives and mothers, holy infants and high-ranking clergymen. Though Aldegunde's cult spread furthest, no fewer than nine of her eleven sainted relations over three generations also protected churches, altars and holy wells in her region. The appearance of so many saints in one family suggests that it held extensive domains, whose inhabitants looked to its members for earthly and spiritual protection. Notwithstanding their different origins and economies, at least three medieval towns under their aegis still express great devotion to their sainted patrons.

Henry Ansgar Kelly   **English, UCLA**
Non-Christians and Ex-Non-Christians in Chaucer's England

Chaucer scholars and other literary medievalists have uniformly assumed that no Jews were to be found in England after the expulsion of 1290, except for a few converts to Christianity who gradually died off. They have also assumed that there were never any Muslims or ex-Muslims in England. A review of the evidence, however, shows that, through the reign of Richard II and into the time of Henry V, there was a small but steady number of new converts to Christianity living in England. Most of these converts lived in the House of Converts, next to the Chancery, on what was later called Chancery Lane, or at least they received the convert stipend from the Keeper of the House. Most of these converts were foreign-born, and many of them converted before coming to England. But some may have been born in England to non-Christian foreigners, and some were living in the realm before they were converted. The clearest case is that of a Sicilian merchant who became Richard II's godson when he was baptized by the bishop of London at one of the king's manors in 1389 (thereafter he was called Richard of Sicily). Since he is not specified to have converted from Judaism, he may have been a Saracen. A dozen years earlier, in 1377, the Commons in Parliament voiced their suspicion that both Saracens and Jews were living in England as "Lombards" (that is, Italians).

Also in 1389, the chief rabbi of Burgos, Solomon haLevi, was in England as part of a delegation of "hostages" from the king of Spain to guarantee his buy-out of John of Gaunt's claim to the Spanish throne. The rabbi wrote a comic letter to a friend in Spain complaining about the lack of wine for celebrating Purim. Back home in the following year, 1390, he converted to Christianity and eventually became bishop of Burgos.

In London in 1390, a self-proclaimed recent Jew named John Barking was punished by the mayor of London for exercising the forbidden trade of thief-finding and slandering persons as thieves. He was even-

tually banished from London. No further notice was taken of his alleged convert status, and he was not on the rolls of the House of Converts.

In 1392 a recent convert named William Piers began to draw his stipend from the House of Converts. "Piers" was a usual rendering of the Spanish or Portuguese "Perez," and presumably he was a merchant or seaman from those parts. As in the case of Richard of Sicily, his previous religion was not specified.

In 1399, a convert named Elizabeth, identified as the daughter of Rabbi Moses, bishop of the Jews, began to draw her pension from the House of Converts. It raises the question of whether her father was also a London resident who was ministering to the non-converted Jews of the city. We know enough to conclude that both secular and ecclesiastical authorities were interested in fostering conversions among non-Christians. We can doubtless assume that the ban against admitting Jews to England was not strictly enforced and that the presence of infidels of all kinds was tolerated or perhaps even encouraged, in the hopes of gaining souls for Christ. A corollary would be that anti-Jewish and anti-Saracen stories like the "Prioress's Tale" and the "Man of Law's Tale" would not have been written in complete isolation from practicing Jews and Muslims.

Mark Marino   English, Loyola Marymount University
Griselda Quilts: a metaphor for collaborative texts

In discussing *The Canterbury Tales* and *The Decameron*, critics wrestle with the narrative frame, pushing and stretching the metaphor to make it fit such complicated and layered texts. A better-suited metaphor is the American patchwork quilt. For as a frame freezes, removes and isolates a story, the quilt with its quilting bees, patches, batting, and tessellated patterns offers an extensive vocabulary to the analysis of story cycles. Drawing from what Katherine Martinez calls "The Material Culture of Gender," we can apply one communal art form to the study of another, even an imagined community. Medieval manuscripts can be thought of as quilts, "motley collections of literary pieces," as Katherine Gittes describes them. Focusing on the marriage group, I will explore the quilt metaphor's usefulness in discussing the interrelationships between tellers and tales. The quilting bee is the story contest, as each sewer brings their scraps, material remnants of their personal history. Similarly, the Clerk appropriates the tale from Boccaccio and Petrarch for his patch. Following the work of Robert Miller and J. Burke Severs, I will examine the Griselda patch and how its recontextualization changes its essence. Thus, this complex and multi-level image will serve as a tool for unfolding and unraveling multi-valent texts.

Kathleen Maxwell   Art History, Santa Clara University
Paris, Bibl. Natl. de France, Cod. Gr. 54 and Mt. Athos, Iviron, Cod. 5: An Art Historian's Venture into New Testament Textual Criticism

More than sixty-five years ago, Ernest C. Colwell wrote:

> Our experience... indicates that there is a high correlation between iconographic, paleographic, and textual relationship[s]... They suggest to the student of Byzantine manuscripts who works in one of these areas the possibility of finding valuable leads in the other two areas. [*The Four Gospels of Karahissar*, I (Chicago 1936), 221-2]

I will concentrate on two thirteenth-century, illustrated Byzantine Gospel books: Paris 54 and Iviron 5. Byzantine art historians have long recognized a close kinship between the evangelist portraits and key aspects of the narrative cycles of these two manuscripts. New Testament text scholars, on the other hand, have assigned Paris 54 and Iviron 5 to two different recensions of Gospel texts. This is noteworthy because my research indicates that the scribe responsible for the layout of Paris 54 had direct access to Iviron 5. It is only with this assumption that one can explain why almost every narrative miniature in Paris 54 that is common to Iviron 5 appears not only in the same Gospel text in Paris 54, but interrupts that Gospel text at the *same* word in the same

verse as its counterpart does in Iviron 5. This is true even though Paris 54 and Iviron 5 feature markedly different formats. The foregoing suggests that Paris 54's scribe consulted Iviron 5 itself as he wrote his text and reserved space for the miniatures of its narrative cycle.

My presentation has three parts. I will begin with a brief description of the ties that bind Paris 54 and Iviron 5, proving that the head scribe and initial artists of Paris 54 had direct access to Iviron 5 itself. This will be followed by a short introduction to New Testament textual criticism. Finally, I will present the results of my collation of Paris 54's and Iviron 5's texts of the Gospel of Matthew.

Liam Moore   **History, University of Utah**
The Use of the Title "Imperator" in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*

The *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris* is a 12th century Latin chronicle about the reign of Alfonso VII, King of León-Castille from 1126 to 1157. In this paper, I examine the structure and language of the chronicle and demonstrate how it mirrors the king's ideological and political use of the imperial title, especially after his coronation as emperor at the Council of León in 1135.

Sean Nittner   **University of California, Davis**
A treatise against the authenticity of the *Communia Naturalium*

The *Communia Naturalium*, ostensibly written in or around 1268 by Roger Bacon, displays elements contrary to earlier works of the author. While Bacon traditionally displays great open-mindedness in his works, the *Communia Naturalium* narrowly focuses on proving a single argument. To this end however, the author of the *Communia Naturalium* does not defend his argument well, certainly not up to the standards associated with Bacon's works. The author often references texts that could not be located by the translator. In other instances the translator corrects the author's interpretation of Aristotle's work or corrects the author when he misattributes more contemporary works to Aristotle. Finally the author of the *Communia Naturalium* regularly contradicts Bacon's works. He does so especially when he argues for the limitations of the universal, that Bacon repeatedly described as multi-faceted and varying. Considering the many discrepancies between the author of the *Communia Naturalium* and Roger Bacon I must propose that the *Communia Naturalium* was not written by Bacon but some other contemporary, possibly a student, the person I call Pseudo-Bacon.

Anita Obermeier   **English, University of New Mexico**
Male Infertility in the St. Anne's Legend

Much Medieval devotional and modern scholarly energy has been spent on St. Anne, the apocryphal mother of Mary. Scholars have called her a polysemous medieval symbol that can serve dynastic aspirations, elevate married life over celebate life, and buttress the notion of the immaculate conception. Anne's story first appears in the *Protoevangelium of James*, one of the infancy narratives of the second century, and later in Voraigne's *Golden Legend* and Osbern Bokenham's *A Legend of Holy Women*. Anne's character is patterned after the barren matriarchs of the Old Testament who finally conceive after a long spell of barrenness; she subsequently becomes the medieval symbol of fecundity.

Whereas Old Testament husbands are never "blamed" for infertility—actually often showing their sexual prowess by fathering children with other women—Anne's husband, Joachim, is greatly attacked and humiliated in the synagogue. This blaming of St. Joachim seems to fly in the face of not only Old Testament precedents, but also of Aristotelian and Aquinian theories of sexuality and fertility, where the man contributes the life giving semen and the woman is merely the vessel. I am going to examine Joachim's infertility and later Medieval marginalization in the light of Midrashic, Aristotelian, and Aquinian gender theories in order to elucidate obscure aspects of male infertility in the Middle Ages.

Glenn Olsen   **History, University of Utah**
Sex and the Romanesque in Occitania-Provence

I would like to follow up the paper I gave at the MAP annual meeting at Claremont "On the Frontiers of Eroticism: The Romanesque Monastery of San Pedro de Cervatos," now published in Mediterranean Studies 8 (1999) with a paper on the treatment of what the theologians considered the more disordered forms of desire, including libertinage, sodomy, exhibitionism, and sex-play. I will also make some remarks on the portrayal of the body in Romanesque Occitania-Provence. The presentation will use slides and, as time allows, will consider the various symbolisms of desire: sirens and mermaids, griffins, dragons, devils.

Carol Braun Pasternack   **English, UC Santa Barbara**
Bede's Families, Virginal and Otherwise

This paper will analyze the representations of families in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Bede's narratives represent families ranging from the royal to the monastic, and, as a document intended to describe and promote the conversion of the English people to Christianity, they show many of the conflicts involved in changing pagan and Germanic systems of familial bonds to filiations guided by Christian and Roman ideas of virtue. The story of AEthelthryth is a case in point. As a wife and queen who was married twelve years to King Ecgfrith but "perpetua tamen mansit virginitatis integritate gloriosa" (continuously, nevertheless, remained with glorious integrity of virginity) (HE iv.19), she exemplifies the conflict between perpetuation of the royal kindred and the call to the Christian virtue of virginity. Her movement from royal to monastic *familia* can be read not only as historical but also as symbolic of the turn from earthly to heavenly concerns preached by Bede's history. This paper will focus on the ideal of converting the reproductive family to the virginal, studying both familial formations, royal and monastic, looking at practices rejected by Bede (such as marriages to stepmothers) as well as those praised (such as oblation of children), monastic versions of fatherhood and motherhood,

and the necessary contaminations of monastic families by reproductive families seen in the genealogies of abbacies and material support of monastic institutions by royal families. Though like Lees and Overing's "Birthing Bishops," this paper questions the Ecclesiastical History, unlike that essay, "Bede's Families" does not attempt to "rescue" Hild or others from the text but see what Bede creates and to what end. Though this examination may result in some recovery of knowledge regarding familial practices in Bede's time and before, its goal will be to analyze the work Bede does to construct an idea of the family that serves his ecclesiastical history.

Frederick Poling   **History, Catholic University of America**
The Maintenance of Ecclesiastical Order in the Parish of Hartlebury, 1401-1597

During the later Middle Ages, the ecclesiastical courts of England operated along side of, and mostly independent of, the secular legal system. The Church courts were organized into a hierarchical structure, starting at the court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and descending through layers to the courts of the rural deans. Exceptions to this structure were known as "peculiar jurisdictions" which could exist in various forms. One such form, found at the parish of Hartlebury in the diocese of Worcester, occurred when the local bishop exercised his jurisdiction directly over the faithful, rather than through the intermediate jurisdictions of deans, chapters and archdeacons. In such instances, the bishop would usually appoint a rector to oversee the clergy and parishoners of the parish. The records of the rector's court at the parish of Hartlebury preserved in a single bound volume include sessions spread over the years 1401-1597. Since these are the records of a single parish, the lowest level of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, they provide a unique view into the interaction of the Church courts and the 'common' villager.

The jurisdiction exercised by these ecclesiastical courts extended over a wide range; at the parish level, the court activities included the probating of testaments, maintaining sexual discipline among parishioners,

and enforcing the Church's rights to tithes and payments. However, the court sessions also provided an opportunity for parishioners to express their complaints and concerns over the performance of their local clergy. The records show recurring complaints about the quality of the clergy's services, the manner in which they maintain Church property, and occasionally, about their moral failings. The dynamic found in the Visitation Book of Hartlebury is not simply a matter of the "clergy" and the 'laity'; there is the parish clergy, and the rector's officials; there are the parishioners in general, and then there are the churchwardens.

This paper will examine the network of relationships involved in these court proceedings. Through an examination of approximately eighty court sessions conducted over nearly two centuries in a single village, it will be shown that the interests of the various participants often led to shifts in the patterns of cooperation. This study will seek to understand the often conflicting role of the churchwarden as an advocate of the interests of both the rector and the local parishioners; it will also relate this local evidence to the broader discussion of the role of the churchwarden.

Kevin Roddy   **Medieval Studies, UCDavis**
The Usual Supplements: *The Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene* **Michaelmas, 1412-Michaelmas, 1413**

Christopher Dyer's many books on diet and nutrition in the later Middle Ages represent an important contribution to our understanding of what was eaten and drunk in Medieval England. Dyer's survey of the over 500 surviving account books furnishes a broad study of this aspect of medieval life, an aspect as critical to our knowledge and appreciation of society as any other one might name.
One of the most useful primary sources of information on what people— most commonly the nobility and gentry—consumed is *The Household Book of Dame Alice de Bryene*, a compilation of one year's daily meals in minute detail. In the *Book* we find enumeration of people invited for breakfast, dinner, and supper, for Alice and her household never dined alone, the numbers of loaves of white and black bread eaten, the flesh, fish, fowl (including the infrequent heron), and eggs. While no specific daily quantities of wine and ale are tabulated, the recorded purchase of the former and the weekly brewing of the latter (to the amount of about 112 gallons) provide a reasonable estimate of the maximum volume drunk. All in all, the *Book* offers a useful insight into both common and uncommon fare in households of well-connected gentry in Suffolk at the end of the reign of Henry IV.

Jarbel Rodriguez   **History, San Francisco State University**
Merchants and the Ransoming of Captives in Medieval Spain

The Muslim invasion of Spain in 711 was the first act in a long struggle as the two competing religious groups fought each other for control of the peninsula. The enduring state of warfare and the piracy that was prevalent, even during truces, meant that individuals living along the frontiers and seacoasts were in constant danger of becoming prisoners. The religious practices of Christianity and Islam dictated a life of slavery for those captured while a state of war existed. Hence, Muslims captured by Christians and Christians taken by Islamic forces became slaves as soon as their captivity began. By the twelfth century, the Christians had begun to develop a ransoming system that provided the funds and the contacts necessary to release their coreligionists from Muslim control. Royal envoys and religious orders dedicated to ransoming—the Mercedarians and Trinitarians—did the bulk of the ransoming, but the ransoming networks also included merchants and business associations that handled many cases larger institutions were unwilling or incapable of negotiating. The merchants played many roles including negotiating releases; transporting captives back home; providing loans for specific ransoms; and, as a social group, they were among the most charitable donors on behalf of captives. Moreover, they were also active on the side of Islam, as Christian merchants often served as brokers who negotiated the releases of Muslim captives. Consequently, the purpose of my paper is to discuss the role played by these merchants and locate their position within the vast ransoming system that was in place by the fourteenth century in Spain, especially in the eastern kingdom of Aragón.

Jenny Rebecca Rytting   English, Arizona State University

Familial Similitudes in Gertrud's *Herald*
of God's Loving-Kindness

The medieval mystic Gertrud of Helfta uses a large number of familial images and similitudes in her writings: Christ is seen as a brother, a father, a mother, a spouse. These various images, however, are not used in identical ways. Gertrud's mother-images tend to be similes ("*as* a mother comforts her child, I will comfort you" [*Herald* III, 30.]) and her father-images encompass both similes ("your fatherly loving-kindness taught me that I should judge your affection for me to be *like* that of the father of a family" [*Herald* II, 18:1.]) and direct addresses to God the Father, while her images of husband and lover tend to be metaphors and thus more direct and more personal.

Also, although Gertrud uses male familial roles as similitudes more frequently and more intimately than she does female familial roles, her portrayal of these male roles is not necessarily stereotypically masculine. According to Carolyn Walker Bynum, Gertrud does not differentiate greatly between maternal and paternal attributes (*Jesus as Mother* 252). Also, Sister Mary Jeremy includes in her discussion of Gertrud's parental similitudes examples of both fathers and mothers similarly correcting and caressing ("Similitudes" 51-52; *Women* 90-91). Thus, many of Gertrud's images of God as a father are grounded more in the idea of his parenthood than the idea of his maleness, which places more emphasis on the relationship than the role. On the other hand, Gertrud speaks of Christ as a bridegroom more often than as a husband, which seems to emphasize the role rather than the relationship.

Building on Bynum's work on gender and the work of Sister Mary Jeremy on Gertrud's similitudes, this paper will examine Gertrud's use of familial images and similitudes, differentiating between metaphors, similes, and vocatives as a way to elucidate Gertrud's conceptions of God, of Christ, and of her relationship to them. It will also consider Gertrud's treatment of gender and gender roles in the context of familial relationships as similitudes for relationships with the divine.

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Randy P. Schiff   English, UC Santa Barbara

Learning from the Conquered: The Instructive Other
in 'The Siege of Jerusalem'

Critics of "The Siege of Jerusalem" have regularly commented on the gruesome realism of the depictions of siege warfare that dominate the poem. Interpreters have by and large attributed such brutal realism either to the poet's particular penchant for violence (Koelbing and Day) or to a "vindictiveness" against the Jews conquered by the Christian Roman armies (Pearsall). However, in featuring what proves to be a sympathetic portrayal of the Jewish defenders of Jerusalem and a critical account of the plundering activities of a Roman army claiming to be 'warring for Christ,' "The Siege of Jerusalem" marshals its gruesome narrative of siege warfare in the service of an anti-imperialist program that has been read into two other key works of "The Alliterative Revival"— the "Alliterative Morte Arthure" and "The Awntyrs off Arthure." Jews prove to be an "instructive" Other in "Piers Plowman": Wit complains that Jews' support of the impoverished members of their community makes them the moral teachers of selfish Christians (B.x.80ff). The "Siege" offers similar instruction to the self-proclaimed Christian Roman warriors and the audience that would be inclined to support them: Josephus's selfless 'healing' of Titus teaches the Roman general the 'Christian' lesson of 'loving one's enemy,' while the Jews' stalwart defense of their capital sets this action in a context of valiant Jewish behavior in stark contrast to the anti-Semitic stereotypes so common in late medieval England. Far from depicting siege warfare as gruesome because of a putative fascination with violence on the part of alliterative poets, "The Siege of Jerusalem" exposes the grim reality of mercenary warfare on a noble population, in a critique of imperial conquest, carrying an anti-war message that would resonate in the violent North and in the 15th Century England of the brutal Wars of the Rose.

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Brenda Deen Schildgen　　　　　**Comparative Lit, UC Davis**

**Allegory, Time, and Space in the *Mi'raj*
and its Commentary Tradition**

The *Mi'raj (Book of the Ladder)*, a work of popular piety, written in Arabic originally, describes Mohammed's journey to the other world. Its numerous versions and translations into many languages during the Middle Ages testify to its importance both in Europe and the Middle East. It is often cited as one of the Islamic texts that Dante knew because it had been translated into Latin and French by Bonaventura of Sienna. The Islamic commentary tradition that grew up around the *Mi'raj* offers a case study of diverse applications of allegorical reading strategies in intellectual activity in the Islamic (High) Middle Ages (c. 950-1150). More particularly the way the *Mi'raj* and its commentary tradition represent time and space highlights a division in interpretive methods between the philosophers (falasifa) and the mystics that parallels similar intellectual differences in the later Latin Middle Ages. Especially interesting for scholars of the Latin Middle Ages is a parallelism between the Islamic and the Latin allegorical practice. The difference in the application of allegorical methods in the interpretive strategies of Albert the Great and Bonaventure parallels that of the philosophers and mystics in Islamic culture of the late Middle Ages. Focusing on how "allegory" was used as a reading strategy in this controversy synthesizes the nature of the rift transpiring between theology and philosophy. Since a word for "allegory" does not precisely exist in Arabic, I am borrowing from the western critical tradition to describe a commentary tradition that seeks to construct a symbolic interpretation of the literal (that is, philological) dimension of a text.

Mary Stroll　　　　　　　　　　　**History, UCSD**

The Concordat of Worms: A New Interpretation

Mid-eleventh century a movement evolved to purify the morals of clerics and monks, and to reform the practices of churches and monasteries. The emperor cooperated in these enterprises, but soon church leaders realized that the emperor's involvement undermined church authority. Under Gregory VII during the last quarter of the century, the papacy took the lead in divorcing the church from secular authority, concentrating on imperial investitures of bishops and abbots.

Guy, the son of the count of Burgundy, who became archbishop of Vienne in 1089, became one of the most intrepid opponents of the emperor, Henry V. Elected pope as Calixtus II in 1119, he failed to achieve an agreement with the emperor over investitures in the Council of Reims in October of that year. In September of 1122 he and Henry did reach a compromise in the Concordat of Worms. Generally, historians attribute the main cause for the resolution of the dispute as pressure on Henry from the German ecclesiastical and secular princes. I argue that the situation in 1122 was not decisively different from that of 1119, and that the primary initiative came from Calixtus. Having been defeated by Count Roger II of Sicily, he could not oppose adversaries on two fronts. He was willing to make concessions over investitures to gain the emperor's support in the *regalia s. Petri*, the *patrimonium*, so that he could freely rule his kingdom, and move on to other objectives.

Victoria Sweet　　　　　　　　　**Medical History, UCSF**

Hildegard of Bingen's Medicine as Practice

A medical text known as *Causae et Curae* or the *Liber Compositae Medicinae*, has been attributed to Hildegard of Bingen since at least 1220. If Hildegard did indeed write this text more or less as we have it today, then our idea of her needs to be extensively revised. Why? Because, as I shall demonstrate, *Causae and Curae* is above all, a practical medical text, bearing the certain marks of wide reading, but even more importantly, of experience—of patients, of sickness and disease, of practical techniques like bleeding, cupping and moxibustion, and of the use and preparation of hundreds of herbal recipes. The person who wrote this text could not have been strictly enclosed, for example, and she must have had access to medical literature. What's more, the only likely explanation for the knowledge and experience that this author betrays in her text is that she had been the infirmarian or

medical practitioner for the woman's side of Disibodenberg, which was a double monastery. She must have been taught her medicine by the male infirmarian, and accessed Disibodenberg's medical texts in its monastic or infirmary library. Therefore medicine and the experience of being a medical practitioner must be taken into account when Hildegard's other texts are analyzed. This paper has three parts. First, I will present *Causae et Curae*, focusing on the material that proves its practical basis in experience. In the second part, I will martial the evidence against and for Hildegard's authorship of this text; I now fall on the side of believing that she did indeed write it pretty much as we have it. In the third part, I will discuss how the current understanding of Hildegard needs to be revised in light of this text—in particular I will provide an example of just how an understanding of the medicine behind her writings, leads to a more nuanced and more accurate understanding even of her theological work.

Paul Szarmach   Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ
Æþeldreda in the Old English Bede

As Gordon Whatley has so correctly reminded Anglo-Saxonists, Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* is a collective hagiography or a compendium of early Anglo-Saxon saints. As such, *Historia ecclesiastica* has been the focus of various and many studies of the saints who appear therein through methodologies traditional and historical in nature as well as those with post-modern premises. When comparative in whole or in part, these studies do not generally see the *Old English Bede* as relevant or important for their purposes. No doubt, Miller's edition does not easily support contemporary research agendas, and for more traditionalist scholars the vernacular witness to Bede is no better than a secondary or marginal text. The anonymous translator, trailing Alfredian associations, has perhaps even been implicitly disregardful or disrespectful of Bede's original. In treating Æþeldreda, e.g., the translator refuses to offer a rendition of Bede's hymn to the saint, that *opus geminatum* that constitutes *Historia ecclesiastica* IV. 20. Given some of his other moves, some could view this miss as "a good thing." In this paper I would like to open up the question of the Old English Bede and its relation to the original with special reference to the treatment of Æþeldreda. The consideration has to be horizontal and vertical: i.e., a point-to-point comparison is most meaningful when the broad ends and means of both works play a role in the discussion. A reassessment of the Old English Bede, incipient as it can only be here, is the goal, while a review of the work and its current status is an appropriate beginning.

Candace Hull Taylor   English, Univ. of California, Davis
Beowulf's *gumcyste*: Listening to and Imitating Story

After his defeat of Grendel's mother, Beowulf and the Danes listen to the story of Hildeburh—a disheartening and ultimately sorrowful tale of revenge and bitterness. But why serve up such a tale of heartache and woe on a night of unbridled celebration? My paper explores the extent to which Hidleburh's story informs Wealtheow's later comments that same evening, which, in turn, teach Beowulf a lesson about respecting the past and being loyal. Ultimately, by imitating the Hildeburh story when he tells his own story to Hrothgar and the Geats about Freawaru's impending marriage to Ingeld, Beowulf underscores the wisdom behind allowing story to "stalk" us and teach us how to behave.

David F. Tinsley   German, University of Puget Sound
Discipline and Redemption: The Healing Power of Self-Mortification in 14th-Century Dominican Convent Culture

Possessed by admiration and driven by his passion to have the sainthood of Dominic universally acknowledged, John of Spain presents the following testimony regarding the founder of the Order of Preachers: "[Dominic] used to take the discipline with a triple chain, particularly at night, either giving it to himself or getting someone else to give it to him, and there are many brethren who can attest this, who beat him at his request."

The tone of this passage is so striking that is provokes a reassuring footnote from Simon Tugwell to the effect that, "however repugnant this may seem to the modern mind, the use of the discipline was widespread during this period," and that the leaders of the Order took pains to control such practices. Yet, it is clear that "taking the discipline" was not only an essential part of Dominic's routine, along with waking, fasting, preaching, and prayer; it became, under the motto from Psalm 17, "tua disciplina me docebit," expected of every friar. My survey of these practices in Dominican writings from the thirteenth century onward confirms that attention to regular discipline was an essential component of the soul's progress towards God and that self-mortification should not be separated from spiritual practice in Dominican convent culture.

The belief that suffering in conformity with Christ had the power to heal the soul underlies views like these. I shall summarize conventional notions of how this worked by frequent reference to the Middle Latin treatise, *De duodecim utilitatibus tribulationem*, in which the author seeks to enumerate the therapeutic benefits of suffering, from God's gift to be employed against the devil to the innate power of suffering to purge the spirit. I follow Peter Ulrich in arguing that self-mortification must be seen in Suso as part of a larger process in which the soul acquires the qualities it needs to move ever closer to God.

In my final segment I examine several passages from the revelations of Elsbeth von Oye and the Sisterbooks in order to determine how expectations regarding ritual self-mortification developed during the *cura monialium*, which had begun already while Dominic was still alive. Did the spiritual biographer of Agnes of Ochsenstein, when she attributes Agnes' horrific practices to the inspiration of the "fire of divine love," actually believe, as Bynum has asserted, that one could through such austerities "become" Christ in life?

Judith Tschann   **English, University of Redlands**
Multilingualism in MS Digby 86

This paper looks at the phenomenon of language mixing in the thirteenth-century miscellany MS Digby 86 and at other linguistic phenomena related to the pragmatics of language when a writer was literate in more than one language. Digby 86 combines French, English, Latin (and traces of Welsh) within a single volume, and also within a work or a sentence. I discuss these intratextual forms of language mixing in Digby 86 in its glosses, dialect layering, and macaronics. I also look at the particular uses and distribution of languages in Digby 86 to determine possible connections between a particular language and a genre or subject matter. Besides showing the language practices of at least one literate person or household in the thirteenth-century, this manuscript helps to show how these particular practices fit into a larger pattern of multilingual behavior among many readers and writers over centuries, and the effects of this long-range behavior on the language which emerged as the national language.

Major changes in language pragmatics occurred in the century and a half after the writing of MS Digby 86: the language of the nobility eventually came to be English; Parisian French rather than Anglo-Norman was the high-status dialect of French in England; an increasing number of writers complained that people did not know French (by which they meant Parisian French); more and more scientific, business, and legal texts were written in English or in macaronic form (English-Latin, or English-French); and macaronic writing was also used in literature and was common in sermons.

Thus studying language pragmatics helps explain the wealth of synonyms and the compendiousness of the English language, and the phenomenon called "borrowing." It shows that language mixing was common among writers of English during the Middle English period, and that this mixing was a centuries-long process of mutual encroachment, English encroaching on the domains of French, and the French lexicon encroaching on the English lexicon. Digby 86 witnesses the early stages

of this evolution, with its particular hierarchical uses of language and its particular kinds of language mixing.

Thomas Turley   **History, Santa Clara University**
Sibert of Beek on Marsilius of Padua

This paper considers the <u>responsio</u> offered by the Carmelite papalist Sibert of Beek to Pope John XXII as the pope prepared <u>Licet iuxta doctrinam</u> (23 Oct. 1327), his condemnation of Marsilius' doctrines. The conclusions both revise current estimates of Sibert as an ecclesiological thinker and call into question current analyses of papalist theory in the 1320s and 1330s. Sibert and several others identified in the article adopted a defense of papal authority that avoided the extremism of figures like Giles of Rome and James of Viterbo while offering a mode of argument much better suited to answer Marsilius' attacks. Instead of the metaphysical and deductive proofs favored by Giles and his followers that are today stereotyped as "papalist," Sibert, John Baconthorpe, Guido Terreni, Hermann von Schildesche, and others used documentary and historical evidence to prove the antiquity and legitimacy of contemporary ecclesiastical order and practice. Their work suggests a more complex development of papalist political thought in the early fourteenth century than that commonly described.

Elizabeth Walsh   **University of San Diego**
The Intersection of the Timeless with Time

T. S. Eliot wrote that "the intersection of the timeless with time is an occupation for the saint." The lucidity of this statement becomes most apparent, not only for the saint but for all of us, at the moment of death. Death brings us face to face with the question of eternity. Perhaps this is why the representation of the death of the Virgin was such a popular motif in medieval and Renaissance art, especially in the east. In the west, the motif is seen in the mosaics of St. Mary Major and Santa Maria in Trastevere in Rome. Toward the end of the twelfth century, Duccio Di Buoninsegna painted a series of six panels depicting the

death of Mary. These panels, beautifully illuminated in the Museo dell'Opera in Siena, draw out, in time, the dramatic narrative of her passing. In the eastern Church, and it seems especially in Russia, the mystery of the death of the Mother of God was painted on the wallls of churches and in icons from the Middle Ages to the seventeenth century. Many of these icons can still be seen in churches and museums in different parts of the country. One of the most striking features of these images, which draw on iturgical, theological, and legendary sources, is the appearance of Christ at His mother's deathbed holding her soul in his arms. Also present in many, but not all, of these images is the figure of the Jew Jephonias who, according to legend, tried to steal the body of the Virgin after her death. He is depicted with his arms stretched toward her bed or bier; his arms have been paralysed because of this attempt. I will discuss a selection of these representations, drawn from eastern and western sources. My presentation will focus on the iconography of the paintings and offer some reflections on the theology of death manifested in mosaic, fresco, icon, panel painting, and miniature. The talk will be accompanied by slides.

Karen Wilson   **English, University of California, Davis**
Synn **and Sin in** *Beowulf*

In the spirit of Fred C. Robinson's work, I examine the uses of the word *synn* ("wicked" or "sinful" to a Christian audience, but simply "hostility" before the conversion) in *Beowulf* to determine in each instance whether the poet intended pagan, Christian, or both meanings. This endeavor is complicated by the other meaning of *syn- (sin-)*, a prefix usually meaning "everlasting", but in some cases translated as "big." I also look at places where six translators, including Heaney, Chickering, and Luizza, have used the word "sin" where the poet used another word, usually, but not exclusively, *firen.* I conclude that the *Beowulf* poet's use of *synn* confirms Robinson's view that the poet played with Old English multiple meanings and punning. But the examination of translations, especially Chickering's, which intrude more sin into the poem than seems justified, underscores the danger of pushing a Christian interpretation of the poem too far. For an audience reading the

poem in modern English, the answer to the pagan/Christian problem clearly depends on the translation.

Linda Marie Zaerr   **English, Boise State University**
Performing the Animals in *William and the Werewolf*

The mid-fourteenth-century Middle English romance of *William and the Werewolf* (known less colorfully as *William of Palerne*) is filled with human beings appearing as animals. Alphonse appears as a werewolf from the beginning until his transformation near the end of the poem. William and Melior disguise themselves as two white bears and then as two deer. William's mother Felice even disguises herself as a hind in order to approach the two mysterious deer.

Walter Skeat refers to these "fancies" as "the true groundwork of the story," but suggests that they are "tedious" to modern readers. Perhaps the reason for the discrepancy in response is that the animals need to be performed in some way in order to elicit and imaginative response.

This presentation will explore ways in which this text may invite performance: how the animals might be represented; how costumes and multiple actors might be employed; how, without costumes, a single performer might distinguish between the four-legged animals; how a performance could range from subtle effects easily incorporated into prelection to dramatic pantomime; and finally how music might be involved to underline the effects. Demonstration of possibilities suggests how performance may have served a thematic purpose.

The John F. Benton Award

This award, named in honor of its progenitor, John F. Benton, President of the Medieval Association of the Pacific between 1982 and 1984, provides travel funds for all members of MAP—independent medievalists and graduate students in particular—who might not otherwise receive support from institutions.

The award may be used to defray costs connected to a paper at any conference, especially for the conferences of the Association, or connected to scholarly research. Up to three awards will be presented each year, for $400.00 apiece. Applications should include a 1-page vita, an abstract of the paper submitted to the conference, and a photocopy of the Call for Papers or conference announcement; if the application is for travel to research, it should include a 1-page vita and a letter outlining the research project. Send applications or inquiries to the Vice-President of the Association.

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Future Meetings of MAP

The 2003 Annual Conference will be **March 28-29**
at Portland State University.
For information, contact Prof. John Ott
(Ott@pdx.edu)

The 2004 meeting will be jointly with the Medieval Academy
at the University of Washington, Seattle, WA.
For information, contact Prof. Miceál Vaughan
(miceal@u.washington.edu)

The MAP Founders' Prize

The Medieval Association of the Pacific awards a maximum of three prizes for the best papers presented by graduate students at the annual meetings. MAP Councilors in their second year of service serve as judges for the prizes. At the business meeting of the annual meeting, graduate students will be advised as to how to apply for one of the prizes ($500/ $250/ $250). Barnabas Hughes, OFM, is accepting donations to an endowment to support the student prize. If you are interested in contributing to this fund, please send your check with the notation **MAP endowment** to him:

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California State University, Northridge
Northridge, CA 91330

After he receives your check, he will send you a statement specifying that MAP is a non-profit organization and listing MAP's EIN number.

Founders' Prize Winners

At the 1999 and 2000 annual meetings of MAP, MAP members voted to give a maximum of three prizes yearly for the best student paper presented at a MAP conference, one for $500 and two for $250 each. Prizes for papers presented at the **2001 meeting in Tempe, AZ**, were awarded to

First Place: **Glenn Keyser, UC Davis**
                 "One Way Streets: Urban Geography and
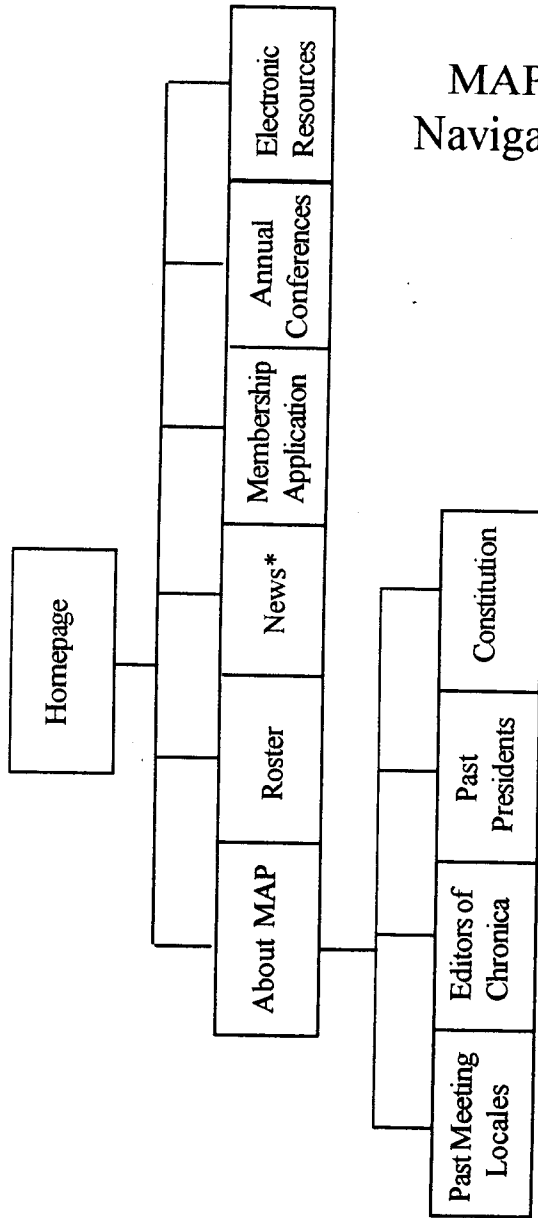   Anti-Semitism in Chaucer's Prioress's Tale."

Runners-up: **Christina Fitzgerald, UCLA**
                 "Of Magi and Men: Christ's Nativity and
                 Masculinity in the Chester Drama Cycle."

                 Ronald Ganze, University of Oregon
                 "Leaving the Bed-Chamber Behind: Chaucer's
                 Announcement in the *Book of the Duchess*."

Students who presented papers at the **2002 meeting in San Diego, CA**, were invited to submit their papers for consideration. Kathleen Maxwell, chair of the most recent committee announces the following winners:

First Place: **Liam Moore, University of Utah**
                 "The Use of the Title "Imperator"
                 in the *Chronica Adefonsi Imperatoris*."

Runner up: **Samuel Dean, University of Utah**
                 "Fürwitz and the Passion for Fashion"

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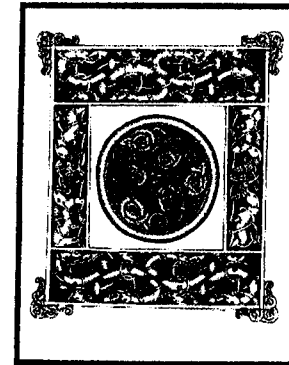
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