



The Journal of
The Medieval Association
of the Pacific

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Contents

A Letter from the President of MAP	1
Minutes from the 2005 Council Meeting	3
Minutes from the 2005 Business Meeting	5
2005 MAP Conference Abstracts	7
2006 Meeting of MAP	58
The John F. Benton Award	59
The MAP Founder's Prize	60

A Letter from the President of the Medieval Association of the Pacific

April 12, 2005

Dear Members and Prospective Members of the Medieval Association of the Pacific:

Warmed (despite the cold showers outside my window) by our recent conference at San Francisco State University, I am delighted to welcome all returning members of MAP, as well as to urge prospective members to join this most collegial of associations. I have been a member of MAP since joining the English department at the University of British Columbia in 1990, and since then have never failed to be impressed by MAP's membership and its meetings. We turn 40 this year, and we can look back on four decades of stimulating scholarship and enduring friendships. I hope you'll all stay with us to see what the next decades will bring.

The meeting at San Francisco State was superbly organized by Bill Bonds, Jarbel Rodriguez, and their local arrangements committee, and it is worth registering yet again in this format our profound thanks for the wonderful work they did. The meeting rooms and catering were superb, with no detail, however small, having been overlooked. Two masterly keynote addresses, by Patrick J. Geary and Warren Ginsberg, were highlights of the program, as was the performance of early music directed by William Mahrt. Our business meeting allowed us to thank four retiring council members— Roger Dahood, Leslie Arnovick, Mathew Kuefler, and Karen Mathews— and to confirm their replacements— Laurel Amtower, Linda Georgianna, Kathleen Maxwell, and Arlene Sindelar. We also confirmed Mary-Lyon Dolezal as the replacement for Debora Schwartz, who had resigned as Treasurer.

MAP's next meeting will take place in Salt Lake City, Utah, hosted by Westminster College, March 3-4, 2006. Local arrangements are being handled by Georgiana Donavin. Abstracts for papers will be due November 1, 2005 and can be sent via e-mail attachment simultaneously to Georgiana Donavin, local arrangement organizer, and Brenda Schildgen, secretary of MAP. Because this will be MAP's 40th anniversary, we are hoping to recognize some of our history and the history of our discipline at this meeting, through special sessions.

MAP is an excellent venue for graduate students. If you are a faculty member, please encourage your students to join and to attend our meetings: you might even consider making them a gift of a graduate student membership. Graduate

student members are reminded that MAP subsidizes student registration fees for our annual meetings, and that it makes available the following awards and prizes: the John F. Benton Travel Awards, which contribute \$400 towards the cost of travel to conferences for independent scholars and graduate students; and the Founder's Prizes, given to the best graduate student papers delivered at the annual MAP conference. The next deadline for the Benton awards is November 1, 2005: applications should be made to the Vice President, Phyllis Brown (PBrown@scu.edu). Graduate students who wish their papers to be considered for the Founders' Prize should submit their papers, preferably electronically, to John Ott (ott@pdx.edu) by September 15, 2005.

I look forward to seeing many of you in Utah next March. In the meantime, do check in with the website (<http://medieval.ucdavis.edu/map/>) to keep abreast of MAP's activities.

Sincerely,

Siân Echard

President, MAP



Medieval Association of the Pacific 2005 Council Meeting

March 10, 2005
San Francisco State University

1. Minutes from last year approved.
2. Vice President's report: Christina Francis won the John F. Benton Award for MAP 2005.
3. Jarbel Rodriguez and Bill Bonds reported that ninety-five MAP members had pre-registered for the conference; twenty more were participating. We had four cancellations. Roger Dahood suggested that we have a list of participants for next year.
4. Secretary's report: the secretary reported that we were having trouble updating the roster because of the resignation of the treasurer. A graduate student at UC Davis, Anne Salo, will be assisting the secretary with the website and with preparing *Chronica* for publication. She is going to put back issues of *Chronica* onto the Web. She will get credit by being identified as Associate Editor on the *Chronica* frontispiece.
5. Treasurer's report: postponed until the vice president's arrival.
6. Nominating Committee's recommendations: Laurel Amtower, San Diego State University, and Linda Georgianna, UC Irvine, nominated.
7. Prizes: Christina Francis, Benton Award; no submissions for the Founder's Prize. We discussed ways to make the availability of the prize better known, for example, by putting out a call for abstracts to remind graduate students about both prizes; by featuring this more prominently on the MAP website; immediately, by using the mailing list of participants at the SFSU meeting to invite Founder's Prize nominees.
8. Future MAP meetings: 2006 will be at Westminster College, Utah; the 2007 location is not yet determined; 2008 will be held at the University of British Columbia with the Medieval Academy of America; 2009 will be at San Diego State University.

9. Treasurer issue: Because the treasurer has resigned, we agreed after some discussion that in the future two people would be charged with control over MAP bank accounts. Mary-Lyon Dolezal, a MAP councilor, offered to become treasurer. The Council gladly accepted her offer and planned to place her name into nomination at the Business Meeting on Saturday, March 12, 2005.

10. Other business: On outreach and how to increase membership: by reminding members on their renewal membership form that buying a student membership is tax deductible; by putting a reminder to this effect in the letter from the president to the members.

11. Alternative models for designing the program: a) roundtables; b) pressing current issues in the profession with more presenters and shorter presentations; c) celebrity scholars / introductions to library collections; d) controversial books and celebrity scholars.



Medieval Association of the Pacific 2005 Business Meeting

March 12, 2005
San Francisco State University

1. Siân Echard called the meeting to order.
2. Approval of the minutes. Minutes approved by general acclamation.
3. Vice President's report: Phyllis Brown announced that Christina Francis won the Benton Award for her paper, "The Gilded Cage: A Look at Bird Imagery in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*." Phyllis reminded the membership that MAP funds up to three people (\$400 per person) for travel to a medieval conference to give a paper. The deadline is the same as the deadline for paper submissions, usually in November.
4. Secretary's report: Anne Salo, a medievalist graduate student in Comparative Literature at UC Davis, charged with Web work and preparing *Chronica* for publication, will post ten years of back issues of *Chronica* to the MAP website. She will be listed in *Chronica* as the Associate Editor. Also, it has been suggested that e-mail addresses of members be listed in *Chronica*. It was agreed that the secretary should ask members when they renew their memberships in the fall whether they want their e-mail addresses made public.
5. Treasurer's report: Siân announced that Debora Schwartz has resigned. Mary-Lyon Dolezal, Art History, University of Oregon, has graciously agreed to have her name placed in nomination to succeed Debora. Mary-Lyon was nominated and seconded and approved by the membership. She will now assume the responsibilities of treasurer of MAP.
6. MAP council: Siân announced that the Nominating Committee, chaired by Mathew Kuefler, had placed four names into nomination to become new members of the MAP council. These are: Laurel Amtower, English, San Diego State University; Linda Georgianna, English, UC Irvine; Kathleen Maxwell, Art History, Santa Clara University; and Arlene Sindelar, History, University of British Columbia. The membership voted to approve these new members. Siân expressed gratitude to Roger Dahood, Leslie Arnovick, Mathew Kuefler, and Karen Mathews for their work on the board for the last three years.

7. Prizes: Siân announced that there were no Founder's Prizes for 2004, which is not uncommon when we meet with Medieval Academy. There are potentially three prizes for this award. Graduate students should submit their papers to John Ott, who is the new chair of the Founder's Prize. The deadline for submission is September 15, 2005. John will send an e-mail to the membership to remind faculty to nominate graduate students. Graduate students may submit their own papers, as long as they were presented at MAP. The winning papers cannot be expanded but they must have full documentation.

8. Future MAP meetings: 2006 is the 40th anniversary of MAP. Siân and Phyllis are in negotiations with Westminster College, Utah as the site for the next MAP meeting. Ideas for next year's meeting, because it is a significant anniversary, included: a retrospective of the last 40 years of medieval scholarship; panels with more people; shorter presentations; and a keynote that gives an overview of legacy members. In the call for papers, a statement about the fact that it is a significant anniversary can alert people to different models for making presentations. A concern was raised about people who commit to coming and then pull out just before the conference creating significant problems for organizers and session leaders. One member suggested that when a paper is accepted that the contributor should be required to commit to attend.

2007 MAP meeting: Possibly at the University of Southern California.

2008 MAP meeting: Joint meeting with Medieval Academy of America in Vancouver, at the University of British Columbia.

9. Other Business: Some people have raised questions about changing the time of MAP meetings because spring is very busy. But there was general agreement that the 40-year tradition of having the organization meet in spring would be too difficult to change. Nonetheless, the local committee can determine when in the spring we meet.

Respectfully submitted,

Brenda Deen Schildgen

Medieval Association of the Pacific 2005 Conference Abstracts

Jenny Adams, University of Massachusetts – Amherst
Putting the King Together Again: the Pictorial Scheme of Caxton's *Game and Playe*

In 1483 William Caxton published *The Game and Playe of the Chesse*, a translation of Jacobus de Cessolis's *Liber de ludo scacchorum* and a work he had printed nearly a decade earlier in Bruges. Although the second "edition" of the work itself remained unchanged, Caxton altered the volume in two key ways. First, he discarded his original preface and dedication. The 1474 text was dedicated to a single noble, George, the Duke of Clarence and King Edward IV's brother, who was subsequently killed several years later. By contrast, the 1483 text "is ful of holsom wysedom and requysyte unto every astate and degree." This decision to address all men rather than one led Caxton to make his second major change, namely his addition of sixteen woodcuts "of suche persons as longen to the playe."

Why did Caxton choose to reprint this particular text in this particular year? Why did he change the scope of his prefatory material? And perhaps most importantly, why did he add pictures?

In this paper I will look closely at the woodcuts in this second printing of the *Game and Playe*, a series that opens with a decapitated king and ends with an image of a philosopher, to show the ways the pictorial scheme reflects an increasing distrust of royal absolutism and desire to refashion monarchical power. Indeed, the first woodcut, while offering a graphic reminder of the royal body's vulnerability, does not wholly condemn such destruction. Instead, the regicide, both as described and portrayed, provides the fulcrum for rest of the book and its pictures, which work in concert to refashion the king's relationship to his own body and to the body of state. By the end of the treatise, the king's body no longer serves to represent the realm; the chess game has replaced it.

Karina Marie Ash, San Francisco State University
Loving Thine Enemy: Reconciling the Crusades and Christianity in German Romance

Konrad von Feck's *Flore und Blanscheflur* told the story of doomed love between a Saracen and a Christian. As is common with works of German medie-

val literature, *Flore und Blanscheflur* was an adaptation of an earlier French romance. T.R. Jackson notes that Konrad's adaptation contrasts with the original *Flore et Banchefflor* by ennobling the story with religious tolerance and by focusing on the social constraints against their love as opposed to the religious constraints.*The majority of the French works that serve as sources for later German adaptations portray Saracens as loathsome enemies. The demonization of Saracens was the norm for both French and German poets who supported the crusades through their literary propaganda. This paper will focus on the particular phenomenon of German adaptation that contrasted with the French sources to depict, and in some cases create, noble Saracens who serve as exemplars for love and virtue. I will briefly survey the originality of the portrayals of Flore in Konrad von Feick's *Flore und Blanscheflur*, Belakane and Feirefizz in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Jephite in Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois*, and Giburc in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Willehalm*. From this survey I will argue that the attempt by German poets to bring together courtly and religious virtues through a unified ideology** lead to a unification between the concepts of *minne*, chivalric love and *caritas*, Christian love.*** I will show how *minne*'s ability to baptize Saracens in German literature of the thirteenth century allowed German-speaking audiences to admire and love their wartime enemies, the Saracens.

* Jackson, R. T. "Religion and Love in Flore und Blanscheflur" in *Oxford German Studies* 4 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 16-17.

** Bumke, Joachim, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*. Trans. Thomas Dunlap (Woodstock and New York: The Overlook Press, 2000) 101.

*** Caritas as defined by C. Stephen Jaeger : "*caritas*, in which love was given from the love of Christ to all alike for the sake of establishing peace and claustral paradise," in *Ennobling Love: In Search of a Lost Sensibility* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999) 31.

Arthur W. Bahr, University of California – Berkeley
The Political Consequences of Narrative Disruption: Chaucer's "Tale of Sir Thopas" and "Squire's Tale"

It has long been commonplace to point out the role of interruption in Chaucer's narrative structures, and some of the most striking are his Canterbury pilgrims' tactful or rude interruptions of each other in the middle of their tales. This paper will address two such narrative disruptions: the Host's rude interruption of Geoffrey's "Tale of Sir Thopas," and the Franklin's far kinder interruption of the "Squire's Tale." I will argue that although differently phrased, both interruptions make a similar argument: that the kind of romance both Geoffrey and the Squire try to tell simply does not work in the late fourteenth century. This is striking since the "Tale of Sir Thopas," in particular, is heavily indebted to

comes to emblemize the mystery inherent in her unlikely union with Walter. Yet, although Chaucer, through this marriage, scrutinizes holy dread with remarkable precision, he never attains resolution. Instead, his treatment exposes unsettling contradictions within the ideology of *timor domini*, especially as fear redounds on and becomes implicated in love.

Julia Watts Belser, University of California – Berkeley, Graduate Theological Union

Becoming Beloved? Encounters between the Jewish Sage and Muslim and Christian Power in *Megilat Achimaatz*

With its rich depictions of wonder-working Jewish sages in confrontation and relationship with Christian and Muslim authorities, the eleventh century Byzantine Italian Hebrew chronicle *Megilat Achimaatz* makes daring use of legendary and historical traditions to articulate and bolster a sense of Jewish power. In Achimaatz' chronicle, the majority of these cross-cultural encounters share common characteristics: the Jewish sage interacts with a non-Jewish authority and demonstrates a wisdom and skill rooted in a Jewish relationship with the Divine, forcing the Muslim or Christian authority figure to concede Jewish capacity and power. While the Jew remains subject to the temporal ruler's superior political position, Achimaatz portrays the authority figure as forced to recognize and concede that the Jewish sages have a relationship with the Divine that grants them power that trumps the rulers' worldly might in certain ways. In *Megilat Achimaatz*, the Muslim and Christian response to this recognition differs sharply. With the Christian authorities, Jewish wisdom and wonder-working remain at odds with the dominant powers; a force whose significance the Christian authorities ultimately concede, but never successfully align with. Achimaatz' chronicle attests to the ease with which dominant powers could ignore Jewish capacity and wisdom with little overt consequence. But when read alongside the narratives of Jewish encounters with Muslim authorities, *Megilat Achimaatz* suggests that Christian failure to respect Jewish spiritual power has its cost. While Achimaatz does not portray Muslim-Jewish relationship in a uniformly positive light, his chronicle depicts the Muslim powers as learning from their past experiences with the Jews in such a way that the caliphs eventually acknowledge Jewish power and value their relationships with the sages. The Muslim rulers not only rise to prominence through the particular wisdom and skill of their Jewish advisors, but also come to respect and cherish their relationships with the sage himself.

Homer's *Iliad* and the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*, and reached the Middle Ages through Ovid's poetry. The various ways in which these representations of the harp and other stringed musical instruments are manifested in the Middle Ages will then be discussed by giving examples from medieval literature, including but not limited to the works mentioned above.

Robert L. Cooper, University of California – Davis
"How Many Make a *Fama*?" Common Knowledge and Conflict In the March of Ancona

Legal disputes provide some of the most colorful accounts of late medieval life, even when the actual events sparking the disputes remain elusive. The records of these contests leave unresolved questions that baffle a modern observer and present in their stead a host of textual ambiguities. Along with the colliding interests of the litigants were clashes of legal systems, cultures and language as the deeds of Italian communal life were shaped into the formulaic Latin of a written culture of jurisprudence. Despite the barriers to understanding, these narratives bring us some of our closest views of the everyday world of medieval men and women.

This study draws on a series of property disputes between two well-connected monasteries in the little Italian town of Serra San Quirico in the last years of the thirteenth century. In one corner was the venerable Camaldolese abbey of S. Elena, a powerful presence in the Esino valley for three centuries; in the other corner, the abbey and church of the young Benedictine Congregation of Silvestrines. The testimony provides a vivid glimpse of violence and skullduggery lurking beneath the surface of even the most prosaic disputes and demonstrates the importance of public behavior in the medieval hierarchy of proofs.

Peter Diehl, Western Washington University
Innocent IV and the Organization of Inquisitorial Activity in Italy 1251-54

This paper will examine the anti-heretical measures taken by Innocent IV in Italy during the last four years of his pontificate. In this brief time, Innocent laid out the blueprint for heresy inquisitions in Italy for the rest of the thirteenth century. This vigorous work of organization followed a long lull in anti-heretical activity in the previous two decades. The ongoing struggle with Frederick II that Innocent had inherited from his predecessors dominated much of his pontificate. As a result papal attention to the suppression of heresy dwined.

dled, and Innocent himself spent much of his pontificate in exile. After Frederick's death in late 1250, Innocent would be free to return to Italy and to devote much more energy to the suppression of heresy. He began by authorizing several Dominicans to conduct inquisitions for heresy in several cities of northern Italy in 1251. The murder of one of these inquisitors, Peter of Verona, in April 1252 would lead to an intensification of his efforts. Innocent pushed through Peter's canonization by early 1253 and promoted the cult of St. Peter Martyr as a centerpiece of the campaign against heresy. Renewed and expanded campaigns of inquisition would follow immediately. In 1253 and 1254 the pope issued several decretals that would form much of the legal basis for inquisitorial activity thereafter. Innocent also moved in the direction of institutionalizing the task of inquisition, assigning some provinces of Italy to Dominican inquisitors and others to Franciscans, and making provisions for the leaders of the mendicant orders to appoint successors to these inquisitors and to supervise their campaigns. By the time of Innocent's death in December 1254, he had laid out a framework for inquisitorial activity that his successors would follow with only minor modifications thereafter.

Rosemarie Deist, University of San Francisco
Vergil in the Middle Ages

The paper explores the meaning of *translatio studii* as a cultural term denoting the decoding of classical narrative conventions in a medieval social and literary environment. For purposes of demonstration, I shall examine in particular how the narrative and psychological terms of fire and poison are used by Vergil and his medieval adaptors in the *Enéas* romances to define personality. Fire and poison contain fundamentally different properties through which the essence of a person is deciphered. Through a highly conscious utilization of these terms, Vergil and the medieval poets construct seemingly familiar, yet vastly diverging narratives that testify to each author's poetic and social intention.

Lisa Di Liberti, Michigan State University
Draco Interdum Vincit? The Influence of Arundel's Constitutions on *The Book of Margery Kempe*

In 1409, Chancellor Archbishop Arundel issued his Constitutions restricting not only the subject matter of sermons, but religious discussion and writing in the vernacular. This "draconian" document is said by Julia Bolton Holloway to be "an internal terrorism, accompanied by theatrically public trauma ... requir-

ing the licensing of conformity in theology coupled with politics, privileging the so-licensed male clergy against the laity and especially against women." She notes that it likely caused the abridgement in content of such disparate (but Lollard-influenced) writings as Langland's *Piers Plowman* and Julian of Norwich's *Showing of Love*. Nicholas Watson adds to the list and argues the under-appreciated Constitutions had sizable influence on the whole intellectual life of fifteenth-century England.

In this paper, I intend to analyze how these restrictions may have influenced the speech and actions of one specific fifteenth-century author, Margery Kempe. Throughout her vocation, Margery Kempe performed a careful dance of performative oratory, her very life dependent on her audience perceiving her actions as the legitimate "teaching" of the sinful, not the unlawful "preaching" to the faithful. When Kempe met with Arundel in Canterbury in 1413, she had already gathered such fame as to provoke a call for her burning as a heretic – not an idle threat. Yet despite her concern for orthodoxy, she claimed to insist upon speaking out on the subjects that inspired her personally even when faced with Arundel himself. This paper intends to test that claim in the context of contemporary political, literary, and spiritual endeavors.

This query is part of a larger study that sees Margery Kempe as a deliberate rhetor and reads her book as written in the classical rhetorical tradition. Kempe's *Book* can be read as a deliberate attempt by its author to mirror the cogent facets of style and structure found in the sermons and texts that filled her religious life. These sermons and texts were themselves part of a larger culture of religious exchange occurring in England and on the Continent. Arundel's Constitutions had a tremendous influence on the exchange of ideas in fifteenth century England. We will see if he had such influence on Margery Kempe.

Georgiana Donavin, Westminster College

"And spek vor me, thou one": Mary and Perfected Language in the Middle English Lyrics

The quotation in the title derives from poem 60 in Karen Saupe's edition of the *Middle English Marian Lyrics*. There, as in other poems on Mary's mediation, the Virgin is entreated to speak for the narrator at Judgment Day. Such scenarios depict the Virgin as a persuasive lawyer, adept at the judicial terminology that will acquit the sinner before God's court. In the Middle English lyrics, Mary represents a specialized vocabulary of grace that constructs her as an

icon of perfected language. This paper analyzes a number of motifs from the Middle English lyrics that expand upon Mary's role as mother of the Word. The purity of her body is a sign of the cleanness of her speech, and therefore she is a faultless communicator. In "Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis," as in poem 60, she translates human petitions for a divine audience. In "Ave maris stella," as in a host of Annunciation lyrics, she accurately interprets God's messages. In poem 59, she is a shield against wicked slurs and in 63 a silencer of sighs; Mary promotes only holy discourse. Through her spotless articulation, Mary brings the narrator of MS Harley 2253 to "the joie that no tonge hit may of telle" – no tongue, that is, except the Mother's.

The image of Mary's tongue is important for the lyrics. Like the poems themselves, many of which were part of an oral tradition before being recorded, Mary's legacy in these same lyrics also rests in orality, as she hears Gabriel, blocks evil rumor and speaks out mercifully in heaven. As oral communication stresses and depends upon relationships in a tangible discourse community, so Mary's perfection in language in the lyrics emphasizes her relationships both with the narrator and with the company of heaven.

Mary Harvey Doyno, Columbia University
The Making of a Lay Saint's Cult in Lucca

Zita of Lucca (d. 1278), a domestic servant for one of Lucca's wealthiest families, the Fatinelli, was known for having performed miracles as she went about her daily chores as well as for using her employer's wealth to provide charity for the city's poor. After her death, her saintly reputation grew as news of the miraculous cures occurring at her tomb spread throughout the city. This paper looks at how rival political and religious factions responded to Zita's popularity by promoting her cult as a means to foster their own political goals. It argues that the jockeying of various civic factions to claim patronage of this pious maid ultimately led to Zita's association, not with one particular civic group, but with the city of Lucca itself.

Martha W. Driver, Pace University
Pictures in Print in English Books for Lay Readers (and some French Sources)

From the point of view of illustration, execution and layout, English printed books were generally regarded as inferior to their French counterparts from William Caxton's efforts until well into the seventeenth century. Whether this

reputation is merited is debatable – there were some extremely ugly books produced on the Continent in the early days of printing – and the English sense of inferiority may have been perpetuated, to some extent, by the printers themselves. Many commissions for Books of Hours, for example, were given to French printers with English printers and stationers acting as middlemen, though the resulting products were hardly more handsome than Books of Hours printed in England. On the other hand, the beautiful books produced for Antoine V  rard, the prolific French publisher, were extremely influential in England, beyond what the publisher himself might have imagined. Though V  rard did produce a few books directly for the English market, the illustrations that fill his printed pages are his most portable commodity. This talk will briefly examine several deluxe volumes produced by V  rard for the English market, then the use of composite images, which were popularized in England by books published in Paris for V  rard, and finally and briefly, other illustrative practices found in books produced by V  rard that were quickly taken over by English printers. The presentation will trace the use of *Ars moriendi* and typological scenes in early French and English books, along with the development of composite illustration. The role of images in promoting literacy among the laity in the period of transition from manuscript to print will also be briefly discussed.

Si  n Echard, University of British Columbia
Of Facts and Facsimiles: Representing the Medieval Book

In 1786-87, Grimur Thorkelin went to the British Museum to study Cotton Vitellius A.xv, the Beowulf manuscript. The transcriptions he made then – one in his own hand and one by a scribe who copied the letter-forms of the manuscript – have been an invaluable source for the text of the poem, because they preserved some readings which subsequently were lost as the manuscript's edges continued to crumble from the fire damage experienced in 1731. The Thorkelin transcripts have recently become widely available through Kevin Kiernan's *Electronic Beowulf*, a project which also allows one to see the attention Thorkelin's own published edition received from two nineteenth-century readers, John Josias Conybeare and Sir Frederic Madden, as each collated his own copy of Thorkelin's edition with the manuscript. Kiernan traces Madden's snide dismissal of Conybeare's work, in an amusing and instructive story about editing and editors. This paper will take off from the same documents to tell a somewhat different story, one about the larger impulse to represent medieval texts – not merely as edited words, but as whole books. At issue are changing ideas about what is thought to be essential in the transmission of a text. Thor-

kelin's scribe carefully copies the manuscript letter-forms, but ignores line and page breaks. Thorkelin himself observes line and page breaks, but uses modern letter-forms, capitalization, and expansions. And in his edition, he presents the poem in half-lines, with a second column offering a Latin translation, in italic type. About a decade later, the publisher William Pickering produced J.S. Cardale's translation of King Alfred's Boethius. Pickering presented the edition and translation on facing pages, with the former in a striking Anglo-Saxon typeface – though these pages were adorned with woodcut display letters that in no way mimicked manuscript forms. An excerpt from Alfred's Boethius appears on the home page of *Beowulf in Cyber Space*, along with an illustration from the 1952 Limited Editions Book Club printing of *Beowulf* ... but as the Pickering example shows, this mixing of forms in a new medium is no new phenomenon. This paper will use these and other snapshots of attempts to transmit Old English poetry to later audiences to show that the complexities of textual transmission only begin with the words on the page.

Donna Beth Ellard, University of California – Santa Barbara
Beowulf's Deathbed Confessions: History and Heroic Language

In his final speech, Beowulf's thoughts turn to his fifty years of peaceful rule as king of the Geats. However, this highly stylized self-epitaph fails to mention the story – as we know it – of unfavorable family ties, spartan youth, and bellicose heroism. This paper focuses on a structural analysis of Beowulf's last words: 2729a-2751b. It opens with an examination of the relationship between the heroic language that describes 'Beowulf the warrior' and its inability to tell the story of 'Beowulf the peaceful ruler.' This close reading allows a discussion of theoretical questions about the cultural limitations of language to record history. How do semiotics govern the 'facts' of history? Can moments in history be eluded by the narrative's inability to articulate them in language? If these moments do not find linguistic representation in historical narrative, where do the traces of these moments find an outlet?

Christina Francis, Arizona State University
The Gilded Cage: A Look at Bird Imagery in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*

The General Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* opens with a series of generative images, like April showers, growing crops, and especially singing birds. In addition to setting the stage for our pilgrim's journey, these images also establish the grounds for some comparisons made to characters throughout

the *Canterbury Tales*, particularly wives. More specifically, birdsong becomes a signal for sexual encounter. Consider the "Miller's Tale" and the associations of Alison, Nicholas, and Absolon to various singing birds. The husband John has no such singing voice. Another bird image that receives repeated attention is the image of the gilded cage. It appears very strongly in the "Squire's Tale" and again in the "Manciple's Tale." The descriptions of the gilded cage often coincide with discussions of wifely fidelity and transgression.

Taken together these various uses of bird imagery construct a larger commentary about female sexuality and its dangers. As Chaucer continuously utilizes animal comparisons to point out the negative qualities of the human character, it is not surprising that one single animal, "the bird," would be used repeatedly to identify a negative female quality. This essay will examine the above-mentioned examples of bird comparisons and images, along with many others, to reveal how birdsong and the birdcage define the dangers of female sexuality within Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

John Fyler, Tufts University
Hateful Contraries in the "Merchant's Tale"

The "Merchant's Tale" is the darkest of the four tales in Fragments IV and V – indeed, it is the bleakest of all the *Canterbury Tales*. Its malign quality derives most powerfully from Chaucer's systematic presentation of language corrupted. The two-fragment sequence of which it is part begins with the Clerk's enforced retreat to plain style, and ends with the Franklin's dispelling of rhetorical illusion in favor of plain speech. In between, shaping the whole as a chiasmic structure, the Merchant and Squire present versions of the high style. But where the Squire's style exemplifies romantic excess, the Merchant's alternates between the extremes of overwrought rhetoric and an unpleasant disillusionment with the realities that language describes and, in his view, falsely prettifies. The sarcasm with which he vilifies January is so deep that in the end we feel that it reveals the sordid wellsprings of his own character. The Merchant's irony – its alienation revealed by its very name, *alieniloquium*, saying one thing and meaning another – reveals itself to be a horrifying distance from his own motives, and from any understanding on his part of their dark malignity. Euphemism here contains the elements of an unknowing self-revelation. Chaucer explores some of the more extreme implications of the *Roman de la Rose*, in which Amant is also a notable lover of euphemism.

John M. Ganim, University of California – Riverside
Ricardian and Trecento Spatialities

Generalizations about medieval space most often cited by literary critics (Foucault, Lefebvre and Bakhtin) are rarely borne out by an examination of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* or *Troilus and Criseyde* or Boccaccio's *Decameron* or *Il Filostrato*. However, comparing the local geographies of Boccaccio and Chaucer, and a number of other writers and texts in their immediate historical moment, suggests a number of important ways in which literary space is being reformed and reimagined, as often in response to the demands of genre as to the example of the physical world. Neither author is more modern or more medieval than the other, but both manipulate space in ways that suggest an anxiety about modernity and its power to reshape the environment, physically, morally and economically. This paper will also briefly survey a number of important recent explorations of literary space (Fumagalli, Wallace, Fitter).

Patrick J. Geary, University of California – Los Angeles
Remembering and Forgetting Aristocratic Women: A Tale of Two Judiths
2005 Plenary Speaker

Warren Ginsberg, University of Oregon
The Language of Fraud in Dante's *Malebolge*
2005 Plenary Speaker

Stephen Glosecki, University of Alabama – Birmingham
"He sleeps and sends": Grendel's Ecstatic Attack and Bjarki's Bear Helper

This paper explores shamanistic aspects of Grendel's attack on Heorot in *Beowulf*. After Klaeber, most editors emend the manuscript's *sendep* "he sends" (line 600a) to *sneedep* "he cuts up [to eat]." In *Beowulf: An Edition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998: 68), Mitchell and Robinson emend to *sændep*, justifying the change in a longish note on the verb as "a metathesized form of OE *snædep*, which means 'eats, takes a meal'." One could say that the latest emendation also follows Klaeber (who follows Imelmann in "*Beowulf* 489f., 600, 769," *Englische Studien* 66 [1932], 321-45). But I have never been comfortable with such gratuitous text tinkering. While this particular change make a Dionysian concept more amenable to an Apollonian readership, it ignores the thought-world implicit in epic and saga alike – a world fraught with unseen

and mostly malevolent magic powers. So why do editors feel bound to "correct" the poet's diction (or the suppositional "scribal error") at line 600a? Because our field still refuses to acknowledge the shamanistic powers of Grendel the *ðyrs* or "ogre/sorcerer." With this matter in mind, I explore the ecstatic implications of Grendel's "sending" (cf. Icelandic *sendingar* "sendings," mostly evil emanations *sent* via the *seiðr* or some simpler form of attack magic). These implications of ecstasy become quite clear when viewed in the context of Grendel's *hinfus hyge* "mind eager to go out" (755a), the "external soul" passages in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, and Bjarki's celebrated "sending" of his bear helper during the climactic last battle in *Hrólfs saga kraka*. Ultimately, a shamanistic reading best explains what the poet means when he tells us that Grendel "sleeps and sends." Finally, this reading presents a monster at once more subtle and more horrific, "one minded like the weather, most unquietly."

Sharon Goetz, University of California – Berkeley
 Narrative Rendered as Illustration: *Li Rei de Engleterre* in Two Genealogical Texts

The layout of genealogical diagrams usually – and logically – suits them to rolls rather than codices. Rolls' relatively narrow width and extensible length enable multiple lines of descent to be presented in parallel and continued as required. For the producers of two fourteenth-century manuscripts, however, the codex seemed the fitter medium for conveying the lineage of English kings from the ninth century onwards. Adorning the roundels of rulers and selected offspring are paragraph-sized explanatory pieces, generally one per individual, which I have discovered to be adapted from a short Anglo-Norman chronicle called *Li Rei de Engleterre*. This little-studied text provides the basis for a longer study I have undertaken. Here, I argue that the disposition of information in these two manuscripts invites the reader to construe the genealogical diagram as text and the prose as illustration, inverting the visual syntax by which a reader navigates a page. *Li Rei* usually narrates its kings in contiguous prose paragraphs, locked together by one king's burial and his son or brother's accession. The decision to sunder the reigns and shed many of the anecdotal tales that distinguish the kings not only transforms *Li Rei*'s narrative balance; in subordinating prose to picture, it also expresses at least one contemporary reader's awareness of how text and context could interact. Finally, I show that in its slightly awkward presentation of genealogical relationships, the assemblage's inclusion in these two manuscripts responds to the historiographical and legal texts that appear with it: diagram and paragraphs together offer the

reader a condensed, alternative view of the other narratives written in the codices.

Michaela Paasche Grudin, Lewis and Clark College
Another Look at the Ugly Crow of *Il Corbaccio*

Both the anti-feminist interpretation of *Il Corbaccio* which held critical sway for many decades, and the more recent one that reads it as parody, are anchored by identifying the work's title, *Il Corbaccio*, or "ugly crow," with the Widow whom the work attacks. This identification is questionable for a variety of reasons, including linguistic (male for female), semiotic (what crows represent to people), and historical. The text suggests that a more likely interpretation of the title is to identify the crow with the narrator, who must convey an ugly truth to his fourteenth-century readers. The crow was symbolic of painful truth, as well as of prophecy. This connection, as well as the play on Boccaccio's own name, would suggest a playful self-identification of his satiric role, and open the *Corbaccio* itself to a reading as political allegory.

Janice Hawes, University of California – Davis
Trolls and Trolldóm in *Hrólfs saga Kraka* and Other Sagas

The depiction of the troll varies throughout Icelandic tradition. In the legendary saga *Hrólfs saga kraka*, the seemingly human Hvít is called a great troll in the text after she transforms her stepson into a bear for rejecting her sexual advances. Hvít is a troll presumably because of her knowledge of *trolldómur* (or magic). On the other hand, the Yuletide beast that attacks the hall in Chapter 23 of the saga is also called a great troll, although the threat it embodies is not based on magic but on the physical danger any violent beast may pose. In addition, the beast's Yuletide appearance may be the basis for its connection to the Scandinavian troll, a being who often appears at Yule. This paper will examine some of the various uses of the word troll in *Hrólfs saga kraka*. Beginning with some of the earliest recorded instances in Old Norse of the word "troll," I will explore the liminality of the idea of the "troll," a concept that flows between human and animal in the saga. While the concept of the troll is fluid, however, each use of the word in the saga also resonates with meaning specific to that particular context, whether the "troll" is a human with knowledge of magic, or a monstrous beast. Between these two extremes, I will argue, are the giants from Norse myth, whose depictions often combine the idea of wisdom with that of lower impulses and appetites. While mythic giants do not appear in

Hrólfs saga, I will argue that much of the characterization of the "troll" in its various forms can be compared with the depiction of giants in Norse myth and give insight into the trolls of the late heroic saga on which this paper focuses.

Maidie Hilmo, University of Victoria
The Clerk's "Unscholarly Bow": Reading Caxton's Woodcuts for the *Canterbury Tales*

For his second printed edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* c.1483 Caxton added 23 woodcuts of the pilgrim narrators. In his prologue he asks that all of us who "see and rede therin may so take and understonde the good and vertuous tales that it may so prouffyte unto the helthe of our sowles that...we may come to everlastyng lyf in heven." While this may seem merely a distant echo of Chaucer's Retraction or a medieval version of a publisher's blurb, a scrutiny of some of the woodcuts lends credibility to his stated moral purpose, whether because of his own beliefs or because he hoped to broaden readership by appealing in this vein.

I will begin with an examination of the most problematic woodcut for modern readers, that of the Clerk. He is "equipped with an unscholarly bow and arrows," as observed in a recent study by David Carlson. So why did this woodcut continue to be used to illustrate the Clerk? Chaucer doesn't describe this pilgrim with such weaponry. Or does he? Interrelated passages of irony concerning clerks and wives in the *Canterbury Tales* reveal a pattern of imagery that could indeed best be rendered by such a visual metaphor. That the portrait of the Clerk was meant to be seen and read in this way is confirmed by a similar woodcut Caxton published to illustrate the poet John Gower.

To show that this reading is not fanciful, I will demonstrate that Caxton's woodcuts of the Manciple and the Pardoner also incorporate visual metaphors in their presentation. All three portraits anticipate the sort of illustrations found in Renaissance emblem books and encapsulate the way in which these pilgrims or their stories are to be seen and understood in moral terms.

Amanda Jane Hingst, University of California – Berkeley
Learning from Orderic Vitalis's Mistakes: Relic Theft and Historical Method

The tenth century has often proved to be a struggle for modern historians. Sources are few, often contradictory, sometimes forged, and frequently ob-

scure. It was no easier for the historians of the Middle Ages, those chroniclers of the twelfth or thirteenth century who wished to record their history and upon whose work we must occasionally rely to fill in the tenth-century gaps. The twelfth-century Anglo-Norman monk Orderic Vitalis was one of these historians who struggled to tell the truth about the past in his account of the tenth-century theft of the relics of his abbey's patron, St. Evroul, from the Norman Pays d'Ouche. Orderic turned out to be wrong in his conclusions. But the more important point is that his sources and process are clear enough to show *why* he was wrong. It is through these cracks in the veneer of historical accuracy that the methods of the medieval historian are exposed, where not just the creation of historical narrative but also the ways of thinking about and using history shine through.

Prompted by his community's recovery of some of Evroul's bones from the abbey of Rebais-en-Brie in Champagne in 1131, Orderic Vitalis included in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* an account of the tenth-century theft of the relics, an extraordinarily rare insight into the perspective of a losing community in the face of *furta sacra*. In addition to the relics Ouche's emissaries returned from Rebais with a written account of the theft, composed by an anonymous monk from that community and today known by the title, *De translatione SS. Ebrulfi abbatis Uticensis et Ansberti*. This version contradicted the community at Ouche's cultural memory of the theft, and Orderic did not wholly approve of it, "it having without a doubt been produced by an uninformed author who," he scoffed, "did not demonstrate sufficient knowledge of events and dates." But Orderic nonetheless used the Rebais account as a source for his own, combining it with both the historical data he had gleaned from written histories such as William of Jumieges's *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* and the traditions of cultural memory passed down to him from the older monks in his abbey.

An examination of the ways in which Orderic Vitalis constructed an internally-consistent narrative of the relic theft using contradictory sources imbued with varying levels of historical accuracy and emotive truth exposes the techniques used by twelfth-century historians to reconcile and find meaning in conflicting layers of knowledge about their past. A fresh understanding of Orderic Vitalis's historiographical reconciliation will deepen our understanding of Norman history during the murky tenth century, including the aftermath of the Viking raids, so-called "relic exodus," and the relationship between the duchy and the rising Capetian dynasty.

Barnabas Hughes, California State University – Northridge
The New Geometry of Raymond Lull, O.F.M.

In July 1299, the Franciscan philosopher Raymond Lull was living in Paris where he completed *Nova Geometria*, a two-part eccentric text quite far removed from the Euclidean geometry of the day despite the communality of terms. In the first part he offers his creation, *figura magistralis*, whereby he squares the circle, triangulates the quadrilateral, and stretches lines to measure areas. In the second part he proclaims the power of geometry for developing the imagination, understanding, and memory. Since the subject of geometry is measurement, he investigates its ten facets: point, line, angle, area, quantity, center, volume, length, height, and depth, offering ten principles, ten conclusions, and ten questions for each. In twice ten minutes, some of this may become clear in a partially visual presentation.

Lawrence R. Jannuzzi, University of California – Berkeley
Canon and Canonization: Direct Revelation and Adam Easton's Defense of St. Birgitta

Adam Easton, OSB, can justly be called one of the major proponents of Dionysius the Areopagite in the last half of the fourteenth century. As it dealt with Dionysian hierarchy, Easton's most-known book, *Defensorium ecclesiastice potestatis* (1378), was equally sensitive to the hierarchical issue of revelation, specifically in the authoritative reception, translation and interpretation of scripture (an aspect of his opposition to John Wyclif). After he completed that first *Defensorium*, Easton's curial career took him first to the high rank of cardinal, and from there he found himself literally dumped into an old well by the very pope he had defended. Several years later, Easton wrote that his survival was attributable to the posthumous intervention of the woman now known as St. Birgitta of Sweden, whom he had probably known. His life had been saved by the favor of a woman who exemplified something deeply at odds with his own earlier thought: an unmediated communication with God, authoritatively transmitted to the Church through her, rather than through the Church to her. Among other things, her *Regula*, received from Christ's "own mouth," not only was the first rule from a woman without a corresponding order of men, but also directly violated at least two specific papal pronouncements on religious orders. This was the problem to which Easton formally dedicated the rest of his life as one of the leading proponents of the rule and Birgitta's canonization (which ultimately happened in 1391). The work that this effort produced, the *Defensorium regule sancte Birgitte* (c. 1387), was a defense – largely on

Marian grounds – more of the *process* of the personal revelations of Birgitta than of their substance, and in that defense, he wrestled again with this problem of the mediation of God's authority.

This paper will outline the polemical thrust of Easton's defense of St. Birgitta's revelations in the context of her canonization procedure and of Easton's own thought. It will seek to show through the accusations brought against Birgitta and Easton's response, how Easton tried to balance direct revelation with ecclesiastical mediation; it will thus try to give a small glimpse into the concerns of the day about revelation, authority and the power of holy women within the Church in a time of unequalled political instability.

Lisa Justice, University of California – Davis
Going Greek: An Investigation of Medieval Scotland's Non-Trojan Heritage

The mid-fourteenth century Scottish historian John of Fordun used his chronicle as an intellectual weapon against attempted English conquest by recounting the classical foundation myth of the Scots. By incorporating tales of Scottish origins based on the exploits of their Greek forefather Gaythelos, Fordun was able to create an identity for the Scottish kingdom that was equal to, but separate from, the English. John of Fordun carefully modeled Gaythelos, the Scottish founding hero, on other such heroes in the classical tradition in order to give the Scots a comparable heritage. Yet he consciously deviated from this tradition in order to assert the separate and superior origins of the Scots from the English. This separate superiority served as an argument to legitimate the power of the Scottish monarchy in a time of political crisis.

This paper examines how John of Fordun crafted his version of the Gaythelos myth to assert his political agenda. A comparison of his Gaythelos to such Trojan founding heroes as Virgil's Aeneas and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Brutus reveals John of Fordun's awareness of and appreciation for the power of Trojan foundation myths as tools to legitimate power in the Middle Ages. Gaythelos's adventures mirrored those of other Trojan founding heroes, which made him their equal. An analysis of how Fordun's Gaythelos differed from these Trojan heroes and from earlier versions of the Gaythelos myth demonstrates his deviance from the established tradition. This deviance created a Scottish identity separate from the English and served as the crux of Fordun's argument for Scottish autonomy. The incorporation of a classically influenced version of the Gaythelos myth in John of Fordun's chronicle indicates the political utility of such myths in medieval identity construction and maintenance.

Lisa Kaborycha, University of California – Berkeley
Transvestites, Anchorites, Wives and Martyrs: How Legends of Female Saints
were read by Fifteenth-Century Florentine Women

The conversion of Beato Giovanni di Piero di Jacopo Colombino of Siena took place one day in 1355, we are told, when the prosperous merchant returned home for lunch as usual, and became enraged because his wife did not yet have his food prepared. Mona Biagia, a wise and even-tempered woman, told her husband to relax while she finished seeing to the lunch and handed him a book to read in the meantime. The story tells us that it was not the kind of book her husband was accustomed to reading, indeed it appears the future holy man was barely literate. The book contained the legend of Santa Maria Egeziaca, and not only did it change Giovanni's life but, even more miraculously, he could not stop reading, even when his food arrived at the table, and he let it grow cold. This tale of Beato Giovanni Colombino, which so neatly illustrates how women could influence reading practices and devotion in the household, was copied in a fifteenth-century Florentine manuscript, one of many collections of lives of saints. What is even more revealing in this narrative is that the story of Santa Maria Egeziaca itself is one of a number of legends of female saints taken from Domenico Cavalca's *Lives of the Holy Fathers* written a century earlier. These legends of daring, transgressive, even transvestite women saints, such as Eufrosina, Marina, Margherita, and Maria Egeziaca appear again and again grouped together in miscellanies that often had a predominantly female readership. This paper will explore how legends of female saints may have been read and perhaps helped Florentine women develop strategies to cope with their extremely circumscribed social roles.

Scott Kleinman, California State University – Northridge
After Pan floc: National History and the Encyclopaedic Tradition in
La3amon's *Brut*

This paper examines the intellectual context for the ethnic dynamics of La3amon's *Brut* by arguing that La3amon invokes in his prologue theories about the origins of nations found in early medieval encyclopaedic literature. In the process, it will shed light on unanswered questions about his sources. At the beginning of the *Brut*, La3amon shifts his perspective in rapid succession from his local Worcestershire environs, to national history, to the survival of the Biblical flood by Noah and his three sons. He then proceeds to name his sources, including a book made by "Saint Albin," and Saint Augustine of Canterbury. The nature of this source has been the subject of speculation, with

spect to the form of the work, than the tale-telling game that the Host institutes. That game is play time – recreational time, for Harry Bailly, social amusement – in the context of pilgrimage or purposive time, and the conjunction of play time and purposive time makes imagining not "time-off" – time to be elsewhere – but time to be "here," to see the here and now differently, but always to see it. Canterbury storytelling would reveal values and correct values (by mocking them or imagining their transformation or adumbration). But the pilgrims' imaginative play has real-world consequences as commentary and critique. For Chaucer, tale telling is serious play because, for him, the imagination is an instrument of order and reordering.

In the *Decameron*, Pampinea organizes the brigata's play time – genuine "time off" at three o'clock every afternoon, time off, that is, from the insistent aristocratic play the brigata have instituted for themselves in a villa outside plague-ridden Florence. Storytelling in the *Decameron* is two removes from a real world that is in chaos. This context for storytelling lets the brigata's stories mirror circumstances and behavior that may have never existed in the "brave old world" from which they have fled, or that should exist when the world is reconstituted. Boccaccian storytelling is both nostalgic and projective, and its sheer exuberance, its witness to the mind's free reign to "imagine otherwise," reflects imagination's power as an autonomous social and moral instrument. Just as the brigata have been severed from the real world, Boccaccian storytelling severs the social and moral service to which stories may be put – ought to be put. Such storytelling is dangerous because, for Boccaccio, stories are not necessarily tied to a real world they may reflect or critique. Stories in the *Decameron* push social and moral limits, which finally make them a species of utopian literature, that is, literature of "no time," as it were.

Mathew Kuefler, San Diego State University
Sex with Eunuchs and the Implications of Sexual Difference

Medieval societies inherited from ancient Mediterranean societies a sexual tradition of pederasty, in its classical sense, the initiation of boys into manhood through sexual relations with an older man. Although the evidence is much slighter and more problematic, a similar sexual tradition may have existed in ancient northern (Germanic, Scandinavian) societies. Some evidence of longstanding discomfort with the role and status implications of pederasty also exists, especially in the context of growing ascetic impulses in late antiquity and through the conversion to Christianity. These problems with the tradition may explain an alternative, transgendered model for homoeroticism, sex with

eunuchs. Eunuchs' feminized status and appearance downplayed the "sameness" of homoeroticism. There may even have been some social experiments with marriages between men and eunuchs. Yet, the limited medieval evidence demonstrates a continuation of the pederastic model throughout the Middle Ages. That this transgendered model did not last seems not only to have been a result of the increased difficulty in obtaining eunuchs. Rather, we must speculate about a possibility that the problematics of role and status in pederasty also functioned as an element of homoerotic desire. The rhetoric used for the transgendered model developed in late antiquity, however, continued to be used throughout the Middle Ages to condemn homoeroticism, even of the pederastic model.

Bérénice Virginie Le Marchand, San Francisco State University
Losing fairies in *Le Bel Inconnu* and *Bataille Loquifer*

Composed by Renaut de Beaujeu during the late twelfth century and early thirteenth century, *Le Bel Inconnu*, or the *Fair Unknown*, is a 6266-line octosyllabic novel about the account of Fair Esmerée's liberation. She is captured and changed into a snake by two sorcerers, and only a kiss from a brave knight can break the spell. Throughout his adventures to save Princess Esmérée, Fair Unknown, sent by King Arthur, arrives at a magical land called the Golden Island governed by a fairy named Blanches Mains [White Hands]. Fair Unknown is struggling between his love for Princess Fair Esmerée and for fairy White Hands. The fairy clearly dominates the novel and holds the power of the outcome of the story despite the protagonist's wedding to Fair Esmérée.

We observe striking resemblances in the *Cycle of Guillaume*. Indeed, *Bataille Loquifer* [Battle of Loquifer], an anonymous account of the thirteenth century, is the story of Rainouard who is looking for his son Maillefer. Ordered by King Arthur, three fairies capture Rainouard and he arrives at Avalon, a magical kingdom. Like Fair Unknown who liberates an enchanted creature, Rainouard saves Chapalu who has been transformed into an enormous and monstrous cat. Only the blood of a brave knight can break the spell. Similar to our hero in the Golden Island, Rainouard falls in love with a fairy, but decides to leave Paradise to find his son and ultimately his wife, Aélis. In both tales, the fairies, despite their magical powers, do not succeed in keeping the knights.

This paper compares these two tales while focusing on the relationships between the fairies and the protagonists. One may question why the authors of these two accounts decided to give power to fairy women and why the super-

natural prevails if the outcomes are not a winning situation for the magical world.

Marisa Libbon, University of California – Berkeley
"Margarete, the storye dothe hir calle": The Textual Invention of St. Margaret of Antioch

More English churches have been dedicated to Margaret of Antioch than to any other female saint. The Holy See suppressed Margaret's cult in 1969: there are neither documentary records to account for Margaret's existence or persecution, nor is there any evidence of an ancient cult. Nevertheless, Margaret's popularity grew steadily in England from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries, and versions of her *vita* proliferated. Scholarship generally identifies Margaret's faithful devotees as women, attributing Margaret's tremendous popularity to the guarantee of safe childbirth that appears at the end of many of her *vitae*. Scarce attention has been paid, however, to the fact that Margaret exemplifies a saint that a hagiographer has, with great success, entirely constructed. Close examination of Margaret's textual legacy renders more transparent the means by which Margaret was supplied with an historical and believable persona, a template that might be examined alongside hagiographical traditions of other invented saints. Margaret's *vitae*, and the manuscripts in which they are extant, suggest a lost, or heretofore overlooked, tradition of the construction and inscription of Margaret as a literary, textual saint. First appearing in the earliest versions of legends of Margaret's life, her inter-textual, written identity is inextricably intertwined with her success as an invented saint.

Fabio Lopez-Lazaro, Santa Clara University
Montezuma's Gardens: The Impact of Aztec Botany on Mediterranean Culture, 1519-1600

In this paper I explore how Europeans responded to the sophisticated botanical systems of Mesoamerican cultures, focusing on the possible influence of Aztec or Mexican *xóchitl* gardening on the development of botanical gardens in the sixteenth century and particularly on the work of Dr. Francisco Hernández (1515-87), King Philip II's official botanist in the New World. I examine how the imperial agendas of the Hapsburgs intervened in the Spanish and Italian intellectual absorption of New World flora and discuss whether Philip II's academic reforms in the 1580s led to a Hispanic "closing of the mind" which limited the scientific potential of Mediterranean botany.

Nancy Lucid, Lucid Landscape Design – San Jose, California
The Saint of Silicon Valley: Clare of Assisi and Her Horticultural Legacy

This paper explores the spirituality of Clare (d. 1253) through horticultural imagery in contemporary writings, including her *Testament* and Bull of Canonization and Bonaventure's *Legenda Maior*. It concludes with an overview of St. Clare's Garden at Santa Clara University, a new medieval garden designed to embody and showcase Clare's life and spiritual legacy.

Lisa Manter, Saint Mary's College
The Medieval Mae West? Chaucer's Wife of Bath as Female Camp

In the introduction to *The Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer complains that his efforts to present a fully realized female character, in the figure of Criseyde, have been found wanting. Lord Cupid accuses Chaucer of showing only women's wickedness and charges him to find stories of "wemen that were goode and trewe." The legends of "good women" that follow tend toward pathetic and ludicrous portrayals of women as victims of bad men. The women come off as foolish or powerless rather than good, and as a result, there is little to suggest that such "good women" have power, intelligence, or narrative appeal. With his creation of the figure of the Wife of Bath for *The Canterbury Tales*, however, Chaucer offers a stronger, if not altogether good, woman. She is not a realistic portrayal like Criseyde, but rather a campy exaggeration of female stereotypes drawn from antifeminist texts of the period. In this sense, Chaucer embraces a female camp, creating an entertaining, sexual, and powerful figure from the elements of a misogynist literary tradition – a medieval Mae West. The Wife of Bath acts as the "solvent of morality," a character whose witty self-presentation "neutralizes moral indignation" and "sponsors playfulness" – defining characteristics of camp according to Susan Sontag. By lovingly embracing the "badness" of this female character, Chaucer mocks the repressive morality that demands a saccharine image of the good woman and that rejects well-rounded female characters such as Criseyde.

Francisco J. Martín, California State University – San Marcos
Los ecos del Toledo altomedieval en el mundo judío de principios de la Baja Edad Media peninsular

Se estudian en este trabajo los efectos de los eventos transcurridos en la Toledo visigótica de los primeros siglos del medioevo de cara a los judíos de la

Sefarad bíblica, y específicamente, de la capital misma del reino visigodo. A este efecto se examinan las vicisitudes por las que aquellos judíos sefarditas tuvieron que atravesar cuando se hallaban bajo el dominio de esta monarquía de origen germánico, tanto cuando afiliada primero al arrianismo, como cuando posteriormente convertida en masa la población general al cristianismo católico de sus reyes. Se estudia así, como consecuencia más o menos directa, el surgimiento de las primeras restricciones y conciernes con respecto a la comunidad judía de Iberia por parte de los cristianos, patentes en las regulaciones establecidas en el tercero y cuarto concilios de Toledo. Con este trasfondo histórico, se examinan asimismo las consecuencias para los judíos de la aparición del dominio musulmán en la península ibérica, el período sin igual a que lleva en la historia de Sefarad, y el papel decisivo de los judíos en las actividades de traducción llevadas a cabo en este emporio del saber que comparten, supuestamente en armonía, musulmanes, judíos, y cristianos españoles. Son seguidamente motivo de examen y reflexión el impacto que sobre aquellos judíos operan las cruzadas, primaria, tradicional y teóricamente emprendido contra el poderío musulmán; así como las consecuencias que esta circunstancia tuvo en el estatus de la población judía de la península, hasta desembocar, tras la consideración y el alcance del concepto de Galut entre los judíos de Iberia, en la famosa Disputa de Barcelona entre Palo Cristiano y Nahmánides, la figura judía más sobresaliente de todo el siglo XIII.

Andy Matt, University of California – Davis
Dante's Ovidian Oneirics: *Eros* Redeemed?

Against the ascending current of comic "purification" which Dante the pilgrim experiences as he climbs Mt. Purgatory, a tragic Ovidian undertow of erotic reminiscence intermittently beckons the pilgrim, siren-like, to stray from the "narrow way." This undertow manifests itself most visibly within and around the three prophetic morning dreams that punctuate Dante the pilgrim's three-day journey up mount Purgatory. Clustered within and around each oneiric experience, Dante the author employs Ovidian allusions of tragic *eros* with which the pilgrim dreamer struggles both successfully [with Virgil: in the dream of the eagle (*Purg.* 9) and the dream of the siren (*Purg.* 19)] and less successfully [without Virgil: in the dream of Leah (*Purg.* 27)] to interpret. Thus, far from depicting a coherent, ascending "purification" of the mind and the senses, the author presents his wayfarer anxiously reading and misreading not only Ovid, but the Ovidian implications of his own (past and present) relationship to *eros*, and to erotic poetry generally [i.e. Casella's song in canto 2, which "resurfaces" later in Cavalcantian guise when he misreads the prelapsar-

ian Matelda in canto 28 for a postlapsarian *pasturella* in tragic Ovidian dress (as Proserpina, Venus and Hero)].

This conscious collusion of the author in the pilgrim's misprision of Ovidian *eros* suggests that Dante as author makes use of the medieval genre of dream vision to stage a hermeneutical drama between a "comic" Christian/Virgilian and a tragic Ovidian reading of *eros*. Or does it? While it would be tempting to suggest that with Virgil by his side Dante the dreamer overcomes the Ovidian undertows that emerge in and through his troubled oneiric psyche (dreams 1 and 2), but that as soon as the Mantuan steps aside the pilgrim immediately succumbs to his barely repressed Ovidian eroticism (dream 3), such a simple Virgil vs. Ovid binary breaks down when one considers that Virgil had supposedly "crowned and mitered" (*Purg.* 27, 142) Dante's will as "libero, dritto e sano" (*Purg.* 27, 140) just prior to the Dante pilgrim's entrance into the earthly paradise. If the wayfarer's will were truly free, upright and sound, why would he so suddenly and glaringly mistake Matelda for an enticing *pasturella*? Furthermore, why would his Ovidian misprision continue so blatantly, this time in a Virgilian vein, as soon as he beholds Beatrice, who immediately summons up in him the recollection of Dido's proleptically tragic words, "conosco I segni de l'antica fiamma" (*Purg.* 30, 48) = *Aen.* 4.23? Might we then have to reconsider whether Virgil really knew what he was talking about in his last speech when he authorized Dante, "lo tuo piacere omai prendi per duce" (*Purg.* 27, 131), especially when Dante continually reads Beatrice in terms of his youthful love [i.e. "d'antico amor senti la gran potenza" (*Purg.* 30, 39) = Rime XCI: "Io sento sì d'Amor la gran possanza"; "Troppo fiso" (*Purg.* 32, 9), etc.]?

At the close of the second cantica it will be Matelda, at Beatrice's bidding, who will wash the pilgrim in the waters of Lethe and Eunoe, after which the memory of sin is washed away and the memory of good deeds are restored. Only now will the riddle of Dante's erotic-oneiric misprision, both Ovidian and Virgilian, be solved. Somewhat. For Ovid still remains through the *Paradiso*. Ultimately, Dante's Ovidian oneirics strives, fitfully, to reconcile the two poles of Virgilian "comedy" and Ovidian tragedy within a vision of *eros* redeemed.

Kathleen Maxwell, Santa Clara University
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Codex Grec 54 and Princeton, University Library, Codex Garrett 3: A Copy/Model Relationship for Their Greek Gospel Texts?

New Testament text critics and art historians both study Gospel manuscripts,

but they often pursue their respective goals independently. I turned to New Testament textual criticism in an effort to learn more about Paris 54, a thirteenth-century, illustrated, Greek and Latin Gospel Book that contains no colophon indicating the circumstances of its commission. I wondered if Paris 54's text had attracted the attention of New Testament textual critics and, if so, did their research shed any light on Paris 54's origins? I especially sought clarification concerning the relationship of Paris 54 and another thirteenth-century, illustrated Gospel Book: Mt. Athos, Iviron, Codex 5. These manuscripts have long been linked by art historians, and I wanted to know if their texts were closely related as well.

A review of New Testament textual criticism scholarship reveals that Paris 54's Greek Gospel text is not idiosyncratic, but a member of a small subgroup of manuscripts of the Byzantine text type that was isolated initially by Hermann von Soden in 1911, and later confirmed by E. C. Colwell. Membership in this group has been reaffirmed more recently by those employing the Claremont Profile Method, as well as by Kurt Aland's "test passages" method, the results of which have been published in a series of volumes in the late 1990s. Moreover, in 1982 Frederik Wisse actually named a small group of Gospel manuscripts after Paris 54 (Group 16). More importantly, Wisse paired Paris 54's Greek text with that of Princeton, Garrett 3, a Greek manuscript dated to 1136 that otherwise appears unrelated to Paris 54 in its script and decoration. The proximity of these two manuscripts' Greek texts was also confirmed recently by the Alands.

The Iviron 5 text however, has never been mentioned by text scholars in conjunction with Paris 54. In fact, very few text critics have had access to Iviron 5. I discovered that microfilm copies of this manuscript are still not available in the major New Testament microfilm repositories and, consequently, Iviron 5 is not included in the extensive comparative studies conducted by the Alands or those employing the Claremont Profile Method.

In my presentation, I will share the results of my collations of the Matthean texts of Paris 54, Iviron 5, and Princeton, Garrett 3. I will demonstrate that notwithstanding their divergent dates and formats that Paris 54 and Princeton, Garrett 3 share a number of textual aberrations not found in the other Greek Gospel manuscripts to which they have been linked by text scholars. Moreover, I have discerned that a small cross, executed in red ink, is found in Princeton, Garrett 3's text in a number of places that correspond exactly to the locations of the narrative miniatures interspersed in Paris 54's text. That is, these crosses have been inserted into Garrett 3's text even in the middle of a

verse when that location serves as the break point for a miniature in Paris 54's text. I will propose that these crosses may have served as visual cues for the head scribe of Paris 54 to remind him to leave space for miniatures in his manuscript as he copied from Princeton, Garrett 3's text. The presence of these crosses, together with the textual evidence, may suggest that Princeton, Garrett 3 itself served as the textual model for the head scribe of Paris 54's Greek text.

Anne McClanan, Portland State University
Byzantium and Landscape in Lorenzetti's Palazzo Pubblico Frescoes

My paper will discuss the frescoes painted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in Siena's Palazzo Pubblico in terms of the discussion of seasons and the natural world in contemporary late medieval Italian texts and connections with the Byzantine world. Often considered the first landscape painting after antiquity, the contrasting tableaux of the panorama accompanying Good and Bad Government illustrate political and religious ideologies in a more nuanced way than has been acknowledged. Just as there is an intentional ambiguity in the rendering of locale in the urban environments, the images of the countryside also permit us to reconsider now the level and type of specificity intended. I will argue that just as Coppo di Marcovaldo's earlier painting, *Madonna del Bordone* (and many other works in late medieval Siena), have been tied contemporary Byzantine art, the disparate sources of influence on Lorenzetti can also be seen to embrace some of the changes occurring in Byzantine art at this time.

Murray McGillivray, University of Calgary
The 'Fates of Men' and the Fears of Their Mothers: Maternal Point of View in an Old English Poem from the Exeter Book

The Exeter Book "Fates of Men" has long been considered primarily as a *thula*, or poetic list, cataloguing various fates that can occur to human beings, and classed with the neglected wisdom and catalogue poetry of the Old English period. Although a list structure is certainly an organizing principle in the poem, this paper argues that the traditional title and the readings that have been influenced by it have tended to ignore the opening of the poem, which invokes the care of parents for children as they are growing up, and to downplay the other places in the poem where the point of view of a mother, specifically, is important. I argue that the scene-setting of the opening should condition our reading, and I propose a full reading of the poem as spoken from the point of view of a mother worried about the fates that can occur to her male child or

children as they grow into men and develop maturity in their dealings with male society, but able to derive consolation from the idea that such maturity is often a late development. I argue that this perspective on the poem provides a coherent reading both for juxtaposed scenes, such as the fallen bird and the drunkard, that traditional readings have failed to explicate, and the sequences in which such vignettes occur, and I conclude by proposing a title change for the poem.

Mike McGlynn, Wichita State University
Wapentake: Symbolic and Real Force in Germanic Law

The concepts that surround the ON term *vápnatak*, the OE *wapentake*, and the Lombardic *gairethinx* help us understand one fundamental principal of Germanic law, namely, that legal actions can only be taken from a position of strength. This is the nature of compurgation, the *wapentake*, and other Germanic legal institutions. The legal systems of the Germanic peoples in general did not necessarily protect the weak but rather provided a forum for the strong to work out disputes.

This paper supports this observation by analyzing the ON term *vápnatak*, the OE *wapentake*, and the Lombardic *gairethinx* in the contexts of Icelandic saga, Anglo-Saxon law, and Lombard law. The symbolic brandishing of weapons and the prohibition on weapons in certain official, legal spaces illustrate the relationship between force and law among the Germanic peoples. *Hrafnkels saga freysgoða* well illustrates this relationship: legal actions are determined in a safe, sanctified space, and then enforced by arms by the disputing parties. The stronger case is nothing more than the stronger armed party. This paper focuses on the term *wapentake* and the text *Hrafnkels saga freysgoða*.

Barbara J. S. McKee, University of California – Berkeley
The Memory of Loss: Expressing the Inexpressible in the *Tosa Nikki* and Dante's *Vita Nuova*

This paper will consider the poetic phenomena associated with the loss of a loved one in two very different literary contexts: the death of a child in Ki no Tsurayuki's *Tosa Nikki* and the death of Beatrice in Dante's *Vita nuova*.

Tsurayuki served as governor of Tosa (in present-day Kochi prefecture, Japan) from 930 until 935, and the *Tosa Nikki* is set in the context of his sea voyage

back to Kyoto at the end of his term of office. The story is narrated from the point of view of a female in his household whose daughter has died during their time in the provinces. Her description of the journey is overshadowed by her intense grief at returning home without her daughter. The work is the first example of a "poetic diary," a record of events, often during a journey, written in a mixed genre of alternating prose and poetry. In the last section of the diary, the narrator has returned to her old house where her child had been born, and she is bitterly reminded of her loss. She sets down a poem of her own in an attempt to find relief from her grief, but even this is not enough to exhaust her feelings. She writes another one and realizes that she will not be able to forget her child even if she tries. Seeing that writing poetry cannot help her to exorcise her feelings, she says: "it really is best that I should tear up these papers and end at once." Of course, "she" (Tsurayuki) does not do so, which is precisely why we have still have the poems today.

This stance, in which the narrator says it would be best not to write at all, is the same one that Dante uses to close the *Vita nuova*. His narrator has a vision that he does not describe, except to say that he sees things that make him decide not to write anything about Beatrice until he can write more worthily of her. Like the *Tosa nikki*, the *Vita nuova* is also a prosimetric text. It is comprised of the narrator's "interior" and "exterior" experiences of Beatrice, and again like the *Tosa nikki*, the poems are used to express moments of heightened emotion, instances in which the narrator describes the indescribable.

This paper will explore the intersection of love and grief in the prose/poetry framework with careful attention to the issues of past vs. present time and the creation of narrative in spite of, or indeed thanks to, the ineffable.

Glenn W. Olsen, University of Utah
The Middle Ages in the History of Toleration

For a long time the history of toleration has dominantly been written according to what might be called the Whig Grand Narrative of History. In this narrative, certain times and places in the Middle Ages have received the accolade of being exceptional. Two of these are tenth-century Andalusia, presented as a "Golden Age" of *convivencia* and religious harmony, and eleventh- and twelfth-century Sicily, praised for its benign multiculturalism. Such views have recently faced stormy weather. The formidable Israeli scholar Bat Ye'or will have none of it. David Nirenberg insists on the "sharp edges" always present in Spain. Hiroshi Takayama, writing of Sicily, insists on change over time and

shows how difficult generalization is. A number of scholars have pointed out that the portrayal of "Golden" periods of toleration often reveals more about some contemporary agenda than anything of the past. *Toleratio* is an ancient word that has undergone many permutations. Its Latin meaning as found in Cicero centered on the idea of endurance in the sense of bearing or enduring or tolerating something. This was a kind of primary meaning in medieval usage, and in this paper I wish both to sort out the issues facing any history of toleration and to show how differently the history of toleration looks if we keep close to understandings of that term actually used historically.

Marijane Osborn, University of California – Davis
The Loathly Lady's Agency in *Hrólfs saga Kraka* and the "Wife of Bath's Tale"

In most English Loathly Lady stories, the lady has been transformed into a hag or other frightening creature by a wicked stepmother, and it typically takes a magic kiss, often by courteous Gawain, to disenchant her. In Chaucer's interesting variant, the hag persuades the rapist knight (who is *not* Gawain) to hand over his sovereignty. His act of doing so seems to persuade her to change into a lovely lady, and his delighted kiss follows. Uniquely among the English stories, Chaucer's hag has agency over her change. In Celtic tradition, as in the "Wife of Bath's Tale," the Loathly Lady is herself a supernatural woman with agency over the loathly appearance by which she is testing the young hero of the story: she identifies herself as the "Sovereignty of Ireland." Similar testing appears also in Chapter 11 of *Hrólfs saga Kraki* in the brief but important episode of the *alfkona* (elf woman) whose testing of King Helgi's troth will influence his sovereignty – although here, oddly, the stepmother theme also appears. With one handout illustrating the range of agency and enchantments in these Loathly Lady stories and another translating the brief *alfkona* episode, I will examine the possibility that Chaucer may be fusing the Celtic tradition of the "Sovereignty Lady" with that of the English "Loathly Lady" in a way similar to the contemporary *Hrólfs saga Kraka* author's treatment of the Loathly Lady story.

John S. Ott, Portland State University
"Both Mary and Martha": The *Vita* of Bishop Lietbertus of Cambrai (1051-1076) and the Fashioning of Episcopal Sanctity in a Border Diocese

Bishop Lietbertus of Cambrai (1051-1076), like the diocese he headed, lived between two distinct worlds. Suffragan of the Frankish, reform-bent archdiocese of Reims and a subject of the imperial regnum of Henry IV, he balanced the worldly concerns and ideological demands of French, Flemish, and German potentates with his own and his flock's religious and worldly needs. His *vita*, composed at least two decades after his death by a monk of Saint-Sépulchre of Cambrai (between 1094 and 1133, and almost certainly at the earlier end of that range), presented its readers with a carefully balanced portrait of the bishop, unusual in contemporary episcopal hagiography produced in Frankish and German territories. Raoul made Lietbertus – the only bishop from eleventh- or twelfth-century Cambrai afforded a cult – appear as not only a reliable imperial servant but also as a devout adherent to the spiritual overlordship of Reims. Indeed, Raoul depicts Lietbertus in the company of 'exemplary' bishops from Reims, Laon and Châlons, loved as much by the French as the Germans. This image not only stands in contrast to the earlier written *gesta* of Lietbertus, which makes essentially no mention of Lietbertus' activities in France or associations with its bishops, but also accords with the general transformation of his image by the later chronicler of Saint-André of Cateau-Cambrésis, who puts Lietbertus in the exalted company of Gregory VII, even though the former's episcopal tenure barely overlapped with the latter's pontificacy. Close study of the narrative sources for Lietbertus reveals the tensions within, and problematizes historians' concept of 'reform' bishops. How exactly should Lietbertus be qualified? As a reformer or neo-reformer? As a good 'company man' and loyal servant of Henry IV? Both? Indeed, the successive remaking of Lietbertus's image over thirty years mirrors the transformation of the bishopric of Cambrai itself, and speaks to the extent to which ecclesiastical reform was a highly contingent process and molded by local circumstances to such an extent that no one absolute standard for 'church reform' becomes possible.

James K. Otté, University of San Diego
Crux Fidelis: The Rise to Distinction and Eminence of the Christian Cross

Today, the cross is without question the most common and most eminent symbol of the Christian Church. But like the bell, it evoked abhorrence and rejection among early Christians. The cross was the most barbarous Roman instrument of torture and execution, and the bell had long enjoyed a prominent role in various ancient fertility cults. Neither cross nor bell were readily conceived as prominent future symbols by the nascent Church. In fact they were both rejected! Since I have discussed the ascent of the bell in several papers, I will limit myself in this paper to the origin, evolution, and acceptance of the cross

as the preeminent symbol of Christianity.

The crucifixion of Jesus in about 29 A.D., next to two thieves and the choice of location, Golgotha, literally "the skull," held little, if any promise of hope, of sanctity, or of salvation. Indeed, what could be more abject than a hill called "the skull," and the cross, one of the cruelest instruments of torture and death! And that appears to have been the prevailing attitude until the fourth century. But a civil war waged by two Roman generals altered the course of history!

At the beginning of the fourth century, Constantine and his opponent, Maxentius, were engaged in a war for control of the Empire. As they prepared for battle near the Ponte Milvio in 312, so the contemporary Church historian, Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea tells us, Constantine beheld a blazing cross in the sky with the inscription "IN HOC VINCE." His legionaries thereupon inscribed upon their shields the Greek letters *chi* and *rho* I – the initial letters of *Christos* – and defeated their enemy. Constantine, whose mother, Helena, was a Christian, attributed her son's victory to the Christian God, and became a nominal, if not a moral follower of the Christian deity.

Then, in 326, fourteen years after her son's victory and almost three centuries after the crucifixion of Jesus, Helena visited Palestine. She was in search of the cross on which Jesus had suffered and died and whose appearance in the sky had promised victory. Why, one might ask, did it take three centuries before a Christian set out to retrieve the cross on which "the Son of God" had died to atone for the sins of mankind?

My paper will answer that question, chronicle the rise of the cross initiated by Helena's discovery, and trace its development until its culmination in the magnificent hymn, *Pange lingua*, by Venantius Fortunatus in the seventh century.

Jennifer R. Ottman, Stanford University

The Influence of Aristotelian Psychology on Richard Rufus's Account of Free Will

In his commentary on Aristotle's *De anima*, written in the 1230s, Richard Rufus generally presents a quite faithfully Aristotelian psychology of perception, intellection, and action, but when he raises the question of the possibility of error in the human intellect and its relationship to human sin, he moves beyond the Aristotelian framework to insist on the intellect's freedom to choose the lesser or apparent good over the greater one. When he takes up the topic

again in his chief theological work, his Oxford *Sentences* commentary, written at least a decade after the *De anima* commentary, this spontaneous freedom of the choosing faculty becomes the focus of attention, applied even to the beatific vision, though Aristotle's influence remains visible in other areas, most notably in Rufus's basic conviction that the human soul is fundamentally and positively linked to its body, not a primarily independent being unpleasantly trapped in a burdensome flesh.

Julie Paulson, San Francisco State University
Personification and Theater: The Medieval Morality Play

This paper will re-examine personification, or *prosopopoeia*, as outlined in James Paxson's *The Poetics of Personification*. Following Paxson, I am here chiefly concerned with personified characters, when a thing or abstraction is endowed with both a human identity and voice, and the critical discomfort with the trope. Paxson builds his taxonomy and analysis of personification upon the Saussurian model of the sign and the poststructuralist emphasis on personification's ability to make and unmake human characters through language. Following de Man in his characterization of *prosopopoeia* as "the giving and taking of faces, with face and deface, *figure*, figuration and disfiguration," Paxson sees personification's power to lie in its ability to points to the process of literary creation.* For Paxson, personification thus becomes a "complex tool for revealing and advertising the limits and inherent in narration in particular and poetic or verbal creation in general." **

While Paxson's study is invested in rehabilitating personification as a narrative mode, this rehabilitation reveals and relies upon prior critical discomfort with the trope. The danger of personification, in this view, lies in its potential reversibility: if through figures I can turn an abstraction into a human being, what is to stop me from turning a human being into an abstraction? And once I've imagined a human being as an abstraction, what is to stop me from treating it like one? For in translating a human being into an abstraction, I translate away my relationship and responsibility to them. The medium of theater would seem only to increase the dangers inherent in personification. Putting personifications on stage, the body no longer signifies a human subject by an abstract entity. In translating an abstraction into such as Avarice or an entity like the World into the living human body of an actor, the trope dis-personifies – reifies – a human being into a conceptual abstraction. The actor is simultaneously reduced to mere signifier and distended (figured and disfigured) into a concept, an abstract thing. From this perspective, the actor's body signifies not a human

character, but a concept masquerading as one. As James Paxson points out, in this view, personification works on a model of containment "the *prosopon* ("face" or "mask") is a surface, and external set of material contours" under which "lies the true entity or essence" (39).

* Paul de Man, *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 75.

** James Paxson, *The Poetics of Personification* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), i.

Bissera V. Pentcheva, Stanford University
Sensual Splendor: The Icon in Byzantium

This paper focuses on the 'decorated' icon in Byzantium and explores the experience of this luxury object through the senses. The term 'decorated' icon designates portraits of Christ, the Virgin, and saints on wood panels covered in metal revetments or on luxury surfaces such as ivory, enamel, silk, and steatite. According to the Byzantine image theory, the icon was understood as matter stamped with the visual traits (form) of the divine face. As such, the material became a carrier of the spiritual and the conduit through which grace could be dispensed in the world. Since matter stands at the center of the Byzantine perception of the icon, this object specifically addressed itself to the sensory and sensual. By uncovering how the icon is experienced through the corporeal senses of touch, sight, smell, taste, and hearing, this paper will explore the interaction between the 'animated' image and the viewer. As such, this study will introduce the topic of phenomenology of perception in Byzantium.

Anthony Perron, Loyola Marymount University
Death of a Carolingian Paradigm: Metropolitan Power, the Canonists, and Fourth Lateran

The rise of papalist ideology is one of the most important developments of the High Middle Ages. Often referred to by the simplistic label "Gregorian reform," this multifaceted movement saw the abandonment of an older Carolingian ecclesiology based not simply on sacral kingship, important though that was, but also on the regional jurisdiction of the metropolitan bishop, or archbishop. According to orthodox historiography, in addition to the more familiar papal-imperial quarrels, popes from Gregory VII to Innocent IV waged a persistent attack on archiepiscopal power as an insufferable obstacle to direct and universal Roman governance of the Western church.

More recently, some scholars have questioned the pervasive notion that "Gregorianism" signaled the end of the great Carolingian metropolitan church. My own work on Scandinavia has shown, for example, that there the papacy was willing in practice to endorse archiepiscopal might as a useful, indeed necessary, means of acculturating a church still on the Latin-Christian fringe. Furthermore, however strong might have been the condemnation of metropolitan authority in the ideology of popes, canonists displayed a marked conservatism in asserting the provincial rights of archbishops.

This paper will lay out the results of my recent research into the commentaries of jurists glossing the main canon-law compilations between Gratian's *Decretum* and Gregory IX's *Decretals*. All composed between 1190 and 1230, these manuscripts reveal that canonists were engaged in a lively debate over the jurisdictional prerogatives of the metropolitan bishop, which they interpreted in surprisingly broad terms. The real turning point came with the Fourth-Lateran decree "Sicut olim," which denied the archbishops the right to use agents with jurisdictional power in the dioceses of their provinces. It was only after that point that the canonists interpreted the rights of metropolitan bishops so narrowly as to erase them altogether. When it comes to this characteristic institution of the Carolingian church, we might say that the decisive "paradigm shift" did not occur with Gregory and his circle, but with the Fourth Lateran Council.

Darleen Pryds, University of California – Berkeley, Graduate Theological Union

Praying with Herbs: The Contemplative Life of a Franciscan Lay Preacher, Rose of Viterbo

This paper explores the contemplative side of the young female Franciscan lay preacher, Rose of Viterbo (d. 1251). Within the hagiographic tradition, special attention is given to the role of herbs with respect to her inner spiritual development. This paper demonstrates the relationship between the contemplative cultivation of a spiritual life and the active apostolate of this young, lay Franciscan woman.

Kevin Roddy, University of California – Davis

Helena, the Finding of the True Cross and those Mysterious Rabbits of Plimpton MS 40B

Among the many manuscript treasures to be found in the Plimpton Collection

in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, is a single, large (650 by 440 cm) parchment leaf depicting Saint Helena. The image, available through the Digital Scriptorium Database, presents a bold, determined Helena, fully frontal, preceding the Introit for her feast on the 18th of August. The image is as splendid and imperial as any that the late fifteenth century could produce in Northern Italy. The sheer magnificence of the illumination has in fact prompted the cataloguer to hazard a surmise that the entire gradual was "perhaps intended for a church dedicated to St. Helen."

The image may be seen at:

<http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/search/shelfmark.html>
by entering "Plimpton MS 040B."

In the midst of all this glory, what, then, are the two rabbits doing at Helen's feet? Are they merely a natural touch, like the plants surrounding them, a homey contrast to the Empress and her golden crown? Or are they symbols, admittedly in somewhat questionable taste, of Helena's fecundity as a mother? Or is there another reason for them? In Christian iconography, rabbits do not figure prominently, yet here they do, and their presence is a mystery to be explored.

Vincent Ryan, Saint Louis University

"Appeased by the prayers of my Mother, I shall be merciful to the Franks":
The Virgin and Marian Devotion in the Chronicles of the First Crusade

One of the most significant developments in the twelfth century was the emergence of the crusading movement. This fusion of the pilgrimage tradition and warfare received an overwhelming response in the West, as the First Crusade was presented as a penitential undertaking to liberate the land where Christ was crucified. Much has been written about the nature of the piety of the initial crusaders. Extreme devotions and miraculous visions figured prominently in the accounts of this first crusading campaign. With regards to these apparitions, eighteen saints were reported making appearances to the visionaries. Some scholars have analyzed the role, significance, and implication of apparitions by male saints, especially those identifiable as warriors. Of the eighteen holy figures reported to have visited members of the First Crusade, none appears as often as the Virgin Mary. Moreover, aside from a brief appearance by St Agatha, she is also the only holy woman to appear in the chronicles. Yet, little has been made of her rather prominent role in the sources for the First Crusade.

Chronica

Amid the emergence of the crusading movement and the many other cultural, economic, political, and religious developments of the twelfth century, this period also witnessed a sudden explosion in devotion to the cult of the Virgin. This growth in Marian piety is often attributed to the Cistercians or simply regarded as just part of the overall religious renewal of the period, but as Patrick Geary confesses, "The reasons for the diffusion are still incompletely understood."

This paper will examine Marian spirituality and apparitions in the First Crusade chronicles, arguing that this neglected phenomenon actually reflects a concerted effort by churchmen to foster and link the nascent devotion to the cult of the Virgin in the West with the First Crusade – indicative of how the crusading movement would shape and be shaped by the expansion of Marian piety in Western Europe during the twelfth century.

Jennifer Rytting, Arizona State University
Julian of Norwich and the Rhetoric of the Late-Medieval English Sermon

Recently, scholars such as Marion Glasscoe, Denise Baker, and Felicity Riddy have placed the anchoress Julian of Norwich in the context of an "oral-literate culture," suggesting that Julian learned not only from written texts but also from oral religious discourse, including sermons. Indeed, it is possible to say rather definitively that Julian heard sermons, since, as an anchoress, she was physically present – continuously – in a church setting where sermons were part of the program of regular religious devotion. Sermons were also sometimes collected specifically for the devotional reading of pious laywomen. Whether or not Julian read any such manuscripts, sermons epitomize the intersection of oral and literate practices. At the same time, they represent the confluence of public and private religious discourse, as the communal experience of hearing the Word of God is internalized and personalized and then, inasmuch as it influences Julian's writing, which is directed towards her fellow Christians, made public once again. This paper explores the intersections of oral and literate practices on the one hand and public and private worship on the other in connection with the creation of Julian of Norwich's *Revelation of Love*.

Anne Salo, University of California – Davis
Moral Gower and Moralizing Chaucer

Elizabeth Robertson has recently joined the debate over the extent and significance of Wycliffite influences on Chaucer's work by noting that the "Man of Law's Tale intersects with a fourteenth-century cultural debate, spearheaded by the Lollards." Following Carolyn Dinshaw she argues: "the law of men is under scrutiny in this tale" ["The 'Elvyssh' Power of Constance: Christian Feminism in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Man of Law's Tale*," *SAC* 23 (2001) 148, 176]. I would like to suggest that it is not just the law of men Chaucer is concerned with in this particular story, but also men of law. When Chaucer cribbed from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* he changed the story of Constance, modifying the protagonist until her behavior could be said to be reminiscent of an apostolic woman preacher (Robertson), and similar to followers of Lollardy. Chaucer also turns the tale's narrator into a lawyer, which, as David Wallace notes, "invites us to identify such men with the hierarchic and hierocratic values of the Constance story" [*Chaucerian Polity* 197]. Maureen Jurkowski and Anne Hudson have shown that lawyers at the end of the fourteenth century heartily endorsed Lollard efforts at ecclesiastical reform, since they likely understood themselves to be the economic beneficiaries of the resulting social reorganization. By altering Constance's behavior and replacing the tale's narrator with a man of law, Chaucer transforms 'moral Gower's' high-minded didactic tale into a heterodox materialistic tract. I contend Chaucer modified Gower's earlier version of the tale so as to moralize about the late fourteenth-century heresy by capitalizing on Gower's well-known morality and strong anti-Lollard stance

Randy Phillip Schiff, University of California – Santa Barbara
 Subverting the Stuarts: The Revival of Anti-Imperialism in *Gologras and Gawane*

At the turn of the sixteenth century, the Scottish Crown seemed poised to transform itself into an empire, as is evidenced by James III's adoption of the imperial crown in coinage (Barrell). James IV vigorously pursued his predecessor's imperial program through a policy of revenue generation from the baronial class, with funds directed not only to continuing military build-up, but also to patronage for a Scottish "Renaissance" that seemed to offer a sense of international engagement and literary prestige (Macdonald). However, we can trace a literary revival of the Scots' perennial distrust of imperial pretensions – whether English or Scottish – with the appearance of *Gologras and Gawane*, which was among the first texts to be printed by Chepman and Myllar in 1508 (Amours). At first sight, *Gologras* might appear to be a nationalist text, in harmony with assertions of Scottish independence issued by Scotland's nascent press: a clearly "Scoticized" magnate, Gologras, retains his independent hold-

ings, despite an onslaught by an Arthurian army often associated with the English imperial war machine (Ingham; Chism) and a visit from the figure of Gawain, who so often plays the role of assimilating those resisting colonization into the Arthurian Empire (Hahn). However, a careful reading of the text reveals that imperial sovereignty *itself* is undermined by Golagros's refusal to assimilate himself into a political order in which each noble must hold lands from a larger imperial power, ensuring that the Arthur who seeks to dispossess Golagros might signify, as readily as an English aggressor, the Scottish Crown and its own imperial ambitions. Indeed, the late fifteenth-century Scottish environment in which *Gologras* was composed featured a noble class increasingly alarmed by the Scottish Crown's attempt to brutally extend its authority into the peripheries and the Marches, with consistently heavy taxation and incidents such as James III's aggressive destruction and dispossession of the Black Douglases (Brown). Whereas the fourteenth-century *Awntyrs off Arthure* had featured Gawain's assimilation of Galeron of Galloway into the Arthurian empire, reflecting the increased nationalism on either side of the early fifteenth-century Marches (Goodman), the later *Gologras*, by reviving images of the magnate's resistance to overlordship by *any* king, reveals anxieties among the landed Scottish class about James IV's imperial program – which indeed would lead to James IV's later power-plays and the 1513 catastrophe at Flodden. *Gologras* functions as a voice reminding Scotland of the hard lessons it had learned from the brutal imperial policies begun by Edward I's attempt at colonization and later English attempts to exploit political instability by setting magnates fearful of dispossession against an expansionist and centralizing Scottish Crown (Barrell). *Gologras*'s insistence on negotiating only with Gawain is a sign of a galvanized baronial class that shows itself willing, through cooperation, to ensure that Scottish "freedom," a word that resounds throughout *Gologras*, *not* be compromised by the Stuarts' reckless ambition of imitating the policies of the English empire.

Brenda Deen Schildgen, University of California – Davis
 Animals in Dante's *Commedia*

In the Middle Ages, animals were the subject of constant attention and reflection. Figuring an inventory of animal references in keeping with the encyclopedic interests of the thirteenth century that includes beasts, birds, insects, and amphibians (as allegories, symbols, similes, or metaphors) in the *Commedia*, Dante appears to adhere to the philosophical tradition from Aristotle to Aquinas on the place of animals in the hierarchy of beings. But, he presents both the philosopher's and the poet's view of creatures, offering a holistic view of the

natural world where dichotomies between philosophy and theology or poetry and theology disappear and poetry comes to the fore as the means to dispel discursive practices that separate poetry from philosophy and theology. In keeping with a Franciscan approach to the natural world, creatures are at once symbolic figuration in Dante, but also the poet's metaphorical eye becomes the means through which we see creation's details, the art work of the creator, where creatures become evidence of the love and order of the created universe, and in the language of Bonaventure (1271-1274), vestiges, or footprints of God. This essay explores Dante's diverse sources and strategies for representing and referring to animals in the *Commedia*.

Shelby Schwartz, University of California – Berkeley
Poetic Intersections: Cecco Angiolieri and the Troubadours

Literally split down the middle of every line, the dialogued sonnets of Cecco Angiolieri are amalgamations of alternating male and female voices. These sonnets are the first, in thirteenth-century Italy, to utilize the line break as a staging technique for sharply gendered comic poetry. Although Cecco Angiolieri's verse demonstrates its kinship with the few non-courtly lyrics that precede it in Italian, it also hints at a technical sophistication acquired through exposure to a tradition born outside of Italy. In, fact, I argue, Cecco Angiolieri's sonnets reflect two literary trends of Occitan composition – the biographical aspects of *vidas* and *razos*, and the mixed-gender dialogue of the debate *tensos* and *pastorellas* – as well as a performance-based oral practice.

The effects of the trans-alpine migration of troubadour verse – imprinted in the very beginnings of poetry composed in Italian – have been examined more thoroughly in terms of courtly and *dolce stil novo* poetry than in terms of *poesia giocosa*. However, utilizing more integrative approaches to lyric register (in Italian, as pioneered by Mario Marti in the 1950's), scholars of medieval literature in the Romance vernaculars have demonstrated the benefits of considering its authors, transmitters, and audiences in more generous and fluid ways. Multilingualism, genre grafting, the oral-written continuum, and interplay between registers are of particular interest in the field of early Italian literary history; a scant fifty years before Cecco Angiolieri's birth in Siena, a quintilingual troubadour named Raimbaut de Vaqueiras seems to have died fighting alongside his best friend and patron, the Marquis Boniface of Montferrat, in the Fourth Crusade. Among Raimbaut's lively and varied works in verse is a bilingual *tenso* in Italian and Occitan, a volley of scathing wit between the poet's voice and that of an acerbic Genoese woman.

There is a striking proximity between Raimbaut's verbal duel with this humorous, archly articulate Italian woman and Cecco's mixed-gender, dialogued sonnets with the inimitable Becchina. In both works, the pseudo-autobiographical *persona* of the poet finds more than a match in the verbal agility of his would-be mistress. And yet the male and female voices negotiate a ragged truce with each exchange: in Cecco's sonnets, they sometimes overlap into enjambments, often cut each other off, and always evade a neat balance of rhetorical responsibility. Another curious literary kinship to Cecco's interlocutor Becchina appears in the form of Guilelma Monja, the brash and clever wife of troubadour Gaucelm Faidit. Gaucelm, like Raimbaut, was a late Occitan troubadour whose travels took him often through Italy – it is even likely that the two troubadours died together in 1207, with Boniface of Montferrat – and during many of these voyages he was accompanied by Guilelma, who performed alongside him in poetic recitations.

These suggestive parallels, when traced through manuscript evidence and through coordinated literary and linguistic analyses, set Cecco Angiolieri's Italian poetry on a broader stage. This paper argues that, by throwing a spotlight on the dialogue forms, gender dynamics, comic register, poetic characterizations, and linguistic range shared by Cecco's poetry and Occitan literature, we can better appreciate the complex moment of Romance vernacular poetry they so artistically perform.

Arlene M. W. Sindelar, The University of British Columbia
 Family Dependence: Representation in the Eyre Courts of Thirteenth-Century Medieval England

The significance and organization of family relationships have long been an important theme in historical studies on the exercise of power in the public arenas of the Middle Ages. Many have dealt with the impact of feudal relationships on their relationships. By the middle of the thirteenth century another force affected the reliance on family; professional lawyers were supplanting both blood and feudal relations with their ability to provide counsel and support in an increasingly technical legal culture.

In the English courtroom of the king's justices on eyre, however, this professionalization was less rapid, and more people continued to rely on family and friends when the king's court came into their own county and neighborhood. Analysis of the appointments in the court records by gender highlights the sig-

nificantly different networks men and women used for support in this sector of the public sphere. In nearly a quarter of these appointments, litigants appointed relatives, but women were nearly three times more likely than men to appoint members of their nuclear family as their attorneys.

The medieval family perceived through the lens of eyre court appointments of attorney assumes a shape similar to that viewed in other public venues, but with a few surprises to prevent over-generalizing about male dominance or patriarchy. Although discovering that wives frequently relied on their husbands to represent them in court is not surprising, it may be more startling to discover that husbands sometimes appointed wives, and that unmarried women hardly ever appointed their fathers or brothers. Tenurial relationships, legal circumstances, and demographic realities all significantly affected which family members litigants appointed to act for them in court.

Nichole L. Sterling, University of California – Berkeley
Icelanders in the English Courts

In *Haralds saga hárfagra*, King Harald of Norway tricks King Æthelstan into fostering his son, Hákon. At this point, readers are specifically told that in such cases of fostering, the man who fosters another man's child is the lesser man. However, Snorri Sturluson, the author of *Haralds saga hárfagra*, carefully balances the two kings continuing in the saga to say that neither king lost dignity from this fostering and that each was the best king in his own realm until his dying day. While Snorri may have been quick to appease both sides in *Haralds saga hárfagra*, other Icelandic saga composers were not so diplomatic. However, their choices often seem to reflect Norwegian partiality. When we see Icelanders in the Old Norse sagas choosing to ally with the kings of England and join their courts, it is typically in a situation that would cause the Icelandic to unite with the king of England against Denmark. This is not to say that the Icelandic characters in the sagas always favored the kings of Norway as they clearly did not, but the sagas typically show Icelandic characters who were also careful not to ally themselves blatantly with kings opposed to Norway. This can be seen in several places in the sagas, but perhaps most clearly in Gunnlaug Serpant-Tongue, the title character of *Gunnlaugs saga ormstungu*, whose support of King Æthelred against Sven Forkbeard will be central to my analysis in this paper. Gunnlaug's journey to England not only places him in the court of King Æthelred, but the saga also then attempts to pull the court of King Æthelred into the Scandinavian cultural realm by having King Æthelred

react to Gunnlaug's appearance in his court with all the proper responses of a Scandinavian king. King Æthelred, in fact, responds with more knowledge of what is a proper reception for an Icelandic poet than does Sigtrygg Silkenbeard, who should know what is proper when Gunnlaug visits him next. With *Gunnlaugs saga ormtungu* as a point of departure, this paper will then explore the tangled relationship between Icelanders and English kings in the Old Norse sagas.

Kathleen Stewart, University of California – Berkeley
Transforming Marian Miracles Through Context: BPT, SC MS 55 and the Catalanian Frontier

Marian miracle collections form one of the most numerous surviving genres of medieval literature. Beginning in the twelfth century and continuing through the late thirteenth, authors and scribes throughout Western Europe composed and compiled collections of narratives detailing the power of the mother of Christ. Yet despite their widespread distribution, not all of these collections were the same. Stories originally composed in one context were often used to a much different end in new circumstances. This paper examines one such transformation through a close study of the manuscript known as Biblioteca Publica de Tarragona, SC MS 55. An early thirteenth century volume that largely contains well known texts, BPT, SC MS 55 nonetheless created something new: a vision of the Virgin as both defining the community of believers and actively working to defend it.

Victoria Sweet, University of California – San Francisco
As the World Turns: The Body, the Cosmos and the Astrolabe

It is well-known that the Middle Ages relied on an elaborate schema of the "fours" – four elements, qualities, and humors; four times of day, four seasons, ages, directions, winds, and tastes – for its understanding of the body. Traditionally the ubiquity and longevity of this system has been ascribed to the perfection of its abstract model, along with the medieval respect for ancient textual authority. But it has been less clear how the system "worked" for patient and practitioner; or why the "fours" were linked in the way that they were. Using Hildegard of Bingen's *Causae et curae*, Bede's *De temporum ratione*, Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, the diagrams of William of Conches and Byrhtferth, and a functioning model of an astrolabe, this paper will demonstrate how and why the fours were linked. The medical model of the fours was

a schematization of the visible world embodied by the astrolabe. An ancient computing device, it was popular and ubiquitous; Chaucer wrote a how-to-manual for his ten-year old son, Lewis, and Heloise named her son by Abelard, Astrolabus. On it was literally inscribed the motions of the heavens – hourly, daily, monthly, yearly – over the earth, and, therefore, over the body. The astrolabe displayed the coming and going of the four times of day and the four seasons, and linked them to the four directions. It made obvious the relations between seasons, directions, weather, climate, qualities, humors and tastes.

The system of the fours was not abstract but practical. It was rooted in the experience of sky, constellations and seasons, weather as brought by directional winds, the derivative rise and fall of saps and humors, and the transmittal of their qualities to the tastes and medicinal effects of plants. The schema falls out of an immense experience inscribed onto an ubiquitous device – the medical model based on that system "worked" because it was the bodily equivalent of the visible and computable world.

Charity Urbanski, University of California – Berkeley
Wace's Representation of Henry I in the *Roman de Rou*

Henry I was a problematic figure for contemporary Anglo-Norman historiographers. While most writers praised Henry I's leadership and the peace he created, his rise to power in both England and Normandy was morally ambiguous at best and treacherous at worst. Henry I took the English throne in 1100 while his oldest brother, Duke Robert Curthose of Normandy, was returning in triumph from the First Crusade. Six years later Henry I took the duchy of Normandy from Robert by force, defeating him at Tinchebray in 1106, imprisoning him for the remainder of his life, and ruling Normandy in his stead. Henry I's apologists such as Orderic Vitalis and Robert de Torigny reported these troublesome facts in their histories, but they also attempted to justify Henry's actions by portraying Robert as dangerously inept and by emphasizing Henry's positive achievements in reunifying the Anglo-Norman realm and exercising a harsh but effective justice. Wace, on the other hand, offers a strikingly different representation of Henry I as an opportunist who infringed upon his brother's rights in taking the English throne, wantonly brought civil war to Normandy, and shamelessly bribed men to abandon Duke Robert, their natural lord. Wace was familiar with and used both Orderic Vitalis' and Robert de Torigny's histories as sources for his *Roman de Rou*, but his characterization of Henry I rejects their positive assessments and focuses on the monarch's negative qualities to such an extent that it ultimately questions his very legitimacy.

Wace chose to depart from his sources in his evaluation of Henry I and his description of events from 1100 to 1106. Instead of relying upon Orderic Vitalis and Robert de Torigny, Wace based his account of Henry I on his own experience and memories, on his own original research, and on the testimony he gathered from the people around him. As a result, Wace's idiosyncratic representation of Henry I was shaped to a great extent by his unique location in Normandy and his position as a canon of Bayeux. Wace was born on the island of Jersey around 1100 and educated at Caen and Paris, he returned to the Bessin before 1135 and lived in and around Caen and Bayeux until his death in the late 1170's. Wace spent the vast majority of his life in the Bessin near its border with the Cotentin and it was precisely this region that had been the central stage of the Norman civil war. Henry I had besieged Caen, burned and looted Bayeux, and bribed Norman magnates in the Bessin to betray Robert. To ensure that Robert could not return to the area, Henry had devastated the whole countryside between Bayeux and Caen and driven off the inhabitants. Memories of the evils committed by Henry I and his men were still very much alive in the region and Wace's history reflects these local traditions.

Wace's *Roman de Rou* is anomalous among Anglo-Norman histories for questioning rather than celebrating Henry I's reign. An examination of Wace's historiographical methodology and his unique physical location reveals that his account of Henry I is not as arbitrary as it first appears but is intimately linked to the experience and memory of events in a particular region.

Stephanie Volf, Arizona State University
Private Liturgies and the Power of the Word: Books of Hours as Healing Texts

My paper focuses on liturgy, literature, and healing in late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century England. It will locate and engage intersections of medieval women's medicine and spiritual devotion, a topical area that even today remains largely under-represented and under-investigated in the academe. Since Caroline Bynum's seminal work, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, the body's role in feminine piety has been discussed extensively, especially with regard to self-induced illness and devotional acts of physical mortification. However, scholars have devoted little attention to theurgic remedies women sought for alleviating infirmities that troubled themselves and family members. It is my theory, in fact, that for each woman who attempted to subjugate or impair the flesh in search of sanctity, more women looked to religion in search of physical wholeness.

More specifically, my paper will attempt to prove that in lieu of secular curatives, medieval women strove to harness the prophylactic power of the word/Word, employing ritualized speech acts and amuletic manuscripts to inspire physical change. Evidence of this sort of therapy materializes in books of hours (and/or their English equivalent, primers) – private liturgies composed primarily for women and perhaps the most widely owned and consulted text in the Middle Ages. Within books of hours, speech, text, and healing converge. Prayers aimed at specific illnesses and conditions appear in them, as do charms, and occasionally, professional medical advice and preventative regimens make their way into their prefatory materials. As a result, books of hours acquire amuletic properties.

My chief objective with regard to these artifacts entails, first, recognizing and analyzing their figural and rhetorical craftsmanship, and second, discussing thematic and artistic interchanges with contemporary literary texts. Books of hours and primers are traditionally dismissed as literary works or analogues. On close inspection, however, I believe that these daily prayer cycles contain carefully constructed narratives of bodily sin and salvation, significant as art and valuable for their capacity to expose and convey both the personal worries and wishes of their owners and the greater fears, concerns, and desires of the cultural milieu that composed them.

Amanda Walling, Stanford University
Pleasure, Poetry, and the Rhetoric of Royal Address in the *Confessio Amantis*

John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* begins by promising to chart a "middel weie" between the opposing poles of pedantry and frivolity, incorporating both "somwhat of lust" and "somewhat of lore." I argue that Gower's middle way offers a formal literary analogue to the principle of the ethical mean so prominent in the Aristotelian texts which serve as Gower's sources for the didactic sections of the *Confessio*. As Judson Allen has reminded us, poetry was often considered a branch of ethics in the Middle Ages, but this notion of the middle way treats poetry as not only a vehicle for ethical content, but an expression of ethical principles through its aesthetics and form as well. Throughout his work Gower demonstrates his concern about the ethical consequences of literary pleasure. In addressing a poem concerned, in part, with the principles of good kingship to Richard II, a ruler notorious for his patronage of flatterers, Gower repeatedly asks whether the delight and solace of poetry can themselves convey stringent truths or whether literature's aesthetic pleasures are inextricable

from the suave eloquence of flattery. Even as he castigates the frivolous or deceitful language of most vernacular poets, Gower tries to recuperate that language for truth-telling and an investigation of ethical selfhood. Although the *Confessio Amantis* draws heavily from and is often seen as part of the *speculum principis* tradition of works on kingship, I argue that Gower's work is self-consciously concerned not only with that genre's problems of good rule, but with poetry's ability to address those problems in a manner intelligible to its audience.

Corinne Wieben, University of California – Santa Barbara
Foster-mother of vipers: Santa Verdiana, Episcopal Conflict, and the Development of the Commune of Castelfiorentino

Verdiana da Castelfiorentino – born in the late twelfth century and patron saint of the Florentine suburb of Castelfiorentino after her death in the mid-thirteenth century – was just one of the many lay women who dedicated themselves to God as religious recluses. Many historians have concentrated on the spirituality of holy women while ignoring the political conditions surrounding them and the later development of their cults. This is an artificial separation in a time and place that saw spiritual authority used as a political tool. The recluse, the future patroness of her community, would have provided spiritual, and consequently political, authority both during and after her life.

In this paper, I examine the two earliest vitae describing the life of Verdiana – the first written by a Florentine monk nearly a century after her death and the second nearly a century after that by a native of Castelfiorentino, unhappy with the previous treatment of her life – set against the background of the lengthy and virtually continuous conflict over territorial claims with the Florentine bishops. I will show that the development of the cult of Santa Verdiana, and perhaps the life of the recluse/saint herself, was closely related to communal politics in Castelfiorentino. Not only does this reveal much about the political role of the recluse in her community, it also shows that, like the urban bishops, emerging rural communes could use spiritual authority to reinforce their own political claims. The inclusion of spirituality in political history thus forces a rethinking of the conventional political and religious geography of the medieval Italian commune.

Christina R. Wilson, University of California – Berkeley, Franciscan School of Theology

Awakening Obedyah: The Lasting Importance of an Eleventh-Century Conversion Text.

In the early twentieth century, a Hebrew fragment of what appeared to be an early Jewish autobiography was located in Cairo. From that time until the mid 1960s, other fragments that have been traced to the same author were found in a variety of interesting places, from libraries to back pages of prayer books to street vendor stands. In 1953, S. D Goitein of Hebrew University published an English translation of the Cambridge fragment. This fragment claims to be written by a man who calls himself Obedyah, a monk from southern Italy who traveled to the Holy Land as part of the First Crusade and converted to Judaism in 1102. Some sections of Obedyah's writing have musical notations in a style that bears a strong resemblance to Gregorian chant. None of the other fragments have been translated in their entirety. The writings were the focus of some considerable debate in the 1960s, but since that time, no new information has been published dealing with them or with Obedyah the Norman as a historical figure. It is the intention of this paper to inspire translators and researchers (especially musicologists familiar with early medieval works) to consider re-examining the existing work of Obedyah the Norman, as well as to continue the search for other lost fragments of his autobiography.

Peter Sean Woltemade, University of California – Berkeley
Courtly Love and Knightly Violence in Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*

Partly in reaction to the Arthurian romances of Chrétien de Troyes and Hartmann von Aue, Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* takes the ideal of courtly love in an innovative direction, transforming it into a deadly zero-sum game in the wider context of knightly violence as a mode of social interaction so pervasive that feudal units as small and ostensibly cohesive as the court of a king or a noble family ultimately threaten to destroy themselves through internal conflict. While causal connections between heterosexual pair relationships and frequently lethal knightly violence certainly exist already in the Arthurian romances of the twelfth century, none of those romances presents a narrative strategy similar to that developed by Wolfram for *Parzival*, in which the successful exploits of the three heroes Gahmuret, Parzival, and Gawan are counter-balanced by a large number of references to dynastically important knights who die because of their commitment to love service. Violent encounters are seen to function structurally in *Parzival* as *de facto* prerequisites for sexual relations. Such love service is on one level an ideal of the fictional society presented by the poem, i.e., it is obviously in practice consistently required

of knights who hope to increase their social standing. Among courtly texts, however, *Parzival* treats knightly violence generally, and love service in particular, in a uniquely critical fashion. Wolfram's adaptation of Chrétien's *Perceval* represents an attempt to create a new narrative strategy capable of critiquing, or at least illuminating, knightly violence through a multiplicity of competing and sometimes self-contradictory voices and through an idiosyncratic narrative manipulation of descriptions of and references to lethal violence. In *Parzival*, the practices of courtly love appear as a cipher for unprovoked knightly violence engaged in to attain sexual success and social advancement. Because it is responsible for the deaths of heirs apparent to most of the major dynasties of the fictional world, knightly violence creates an extremely threatening level of social instability in *Parzival*. No epically realized alternative is offered by the poem, but the disparate voices in Wolfram's *Parzival* critiquing or praising violent acts in general and lethal outcomes of love service in particular constitute a plurality of discourses; this plurality may productively be understood in terms of Mikhail Bakhtin's literary theory, as an aspect of the proto-novelistic dialogism that characterizes Wolfram's poem and distinguishes it from Chrétien's *Perceval*. An analysis of Wolfram's complex and unusual treatment of the literary convention of love service reveals how *Parzival*, although written by a self-described knight (as opposed to a cleric like Chrétien), in a provocative and subversive fashion attempts to engage knightly violence as a social problem.

Marc Wolterbeek, Notre Dame de Namur University
A New Date for William of Aquitaine's "Song of Penance"

William of Aquitaine's "song of penance," "Pos de chantar m'es pres talenz," is his most historical poem, as it mentions his son, the French king, and Fulk of Anjou, and for this reason scholars have long sought to date it. Early historians believed the poem was composed on the eve of William's departure to the Holy Land (in 1101), but later scholars pointed out that the poem is not about departure on crusade, but about departure from life. Attempts have been made to date the song in 1110-12, when the duke lay wounded in Saint Jean d'Angély, and in 1119, when he was too ill to attend the Council of Reims.

Scholars have overlooked a document that contains strong evidence for dating William's song of penance in 1121, when William wrote a letter to Diego Gelmirez, Archbishop of Compostella, containing several Latin words and phrases corresponding to the Provençal of the poem. The historical situation – the duke, indicating that he may soon die, asks Archbishop Gelmirez to protect the

son of the king and queen of Aragon – finds a close counterpart in the troubadour's song, in which William asks Fulk of Angers to protect his son, whom he leaves "in great fear and great peril." This letter provides the best historical evidence that William composed his song of penance late in his life and suggests intriguing connections between history and fiction.

Rega Wood, Stanford University
Richard Rufus of Cornwall and St. Anselm

Richard Rufus of Cornwall has been depicted as a logic-chopping opponent of Anselm and Augustinian theology. "Gone from Rufus is the view that argument is meant to edify the soul," says Scott Matthews in his excellent survey of Anselm's reception among mendicant friars in the thirteenth century. After spending most of my time explaining why Rufus rejected Anselm's argument in *Proslogion* 2, I will show that Rufus proposed in its place an equally Augustinian argument for God's existence. Instead of what is normally called the ontological argument, Rufus argued for God's existence by claiming that there is only one truth in virtue of which all truths are true. Rufus identified this as an Anselmian claim when he defended it in the course of lecturing on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*. Where Anselm departed from Augustine on the objects of our knowledge, Rufus defended Augustine and divine ideas rather than the representational similitudes Anselm proposed as intentional objects. Not only was Rufus, like Anselm, committed to Augustinian theology, but he was also extremely respectful of Anselm as a servant of God. Since Rufus was also one of the earliest teachers of Aristotle's metaphysics and natural theology, his allegiance to Augustine and his respect for Anselm and Anselm's commitment to theological arguments based on reason alone has special significance.

Georgia Wright, The National Coalition of Independent Scholars
A 1779 Attack on Abbot Suger of St-Denis and Twelfth-Century Monasticism

In 1778 the Académie royale française set an essay competition on the Abbot Suger, art patron, adviser and biographer of two kings, and regent during the Crusade of 1148. One essay, submitted anonymously with good reason (the author, should he be discovered, was threatened with the Bastille), was published in England in 1780 under the name of the abbé d'Espagnac, who dubbed himself "vicar general" of Notre-Dame, Paris. The Academy had chosen the topic in the hopes of restoring the reputation of monasteries, but d'Espagnac's attack more closely reflected the enlightenment view of the excessive wealth

and small contribution to the public good of monastic houses in the years before the Revolution.

What is particularly amusing is that the faults d'Espagnac ascribed to Suger and twelfth-century monks – womanizing, living luxuriously, dressing extravagantly, manipulating the court, and behaving venally – he himself would manage to emulate and greatly exceed in the following years. In the 1780s he manipulated the stock market and cornered shares of the New East Indies Company so that he was exiled from Paris. He returned in 1789 and looked for opportunities, which he found in the War of the First Coalition, when he set up a company to supply convoys to the armies at outrageous prices, manipulating the government through General Dumouriez. He brandished a pistol – he had accused medieval monks of wearing arms to war – and called it a new breviary used to convert the Belgians to the Revolutionary cause. A ladies' man, he was tall, handsome, and of noble stock, characteristics that he noted were not those of Suger. D'Espagnac, no doubt puzzled, had ascribed Suger's success to his ability to flatter and tread a fine line in the court.

While d'Espagnac had described St. Bernard as the antithesis to Suger, admitting that he himself was also a Cistercian but in no way biased, his future acts, before and after he had foresworn his vows, surpassed those of his version of Suger and twelfth-century monks "à la treizième puissance!" In 1795, he went to the guillotine along with his protector Danton, accused of corruption. This modest, but I trust amusing, contribution to twelfth-century historiography was made possible by a truly remarkable coincidence, which I will save for my introduction.

Mark Zier, San Francisco, California

The Ambiguity of the Book: Readings, Redactions, and the 1480 Rusch edition of the *Glossa Ordinaria*

The relationship between MSS of the *Gloss on Romans*, Peter Lombard's *Collectanea* and the 1480/81 Rusch edition of the *Gloss* will be explored. Manuscripts from Paris and Salzburg have been consulted. Upon examination, we are left with a rather tantalizing ambiguity *vis-à-vis* the text of the *Gloss on Romans*: we can be sure that virtually everything we read in Rusch will be found in the Lombard's *Collectanea*; and we can be sure that virtually everything in the manuscripts will be found in the Lombard's *Collectanea* and in Rusch; but we clearly cannot conclude from this that Rusch is a sure guide to

the manuscripts.

This research confirms and extends in a vivid way the kind of analysis done by Buc with reference to political thought, and more recently by Lenherr, who examines Gratian's use of the *Gloss* as a source for his *Decretum*.



2006 Meeting of the Medieval Association of the Pacific

The 2006 Annual Conference will be held at Westminster College in Salt Lake City, Utah. For local arrangements and other questions please contact Georgiana Donavin (gdonavin@westminstercollege.edu).

Papers abstracts should be sent via e-mail attachment simultaneously to Georgiana Donavin, local arrangement organizer, and Brenda Schildegen, (bdschildgen@ucdavis.edu), Secretary and Editor of *Chronica*, by November 1st, 2005

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.

Christina Francis, of Arizona State University won the 2005 John F. Benton Award for her paper, "The Gilded Cage: A Look at Bird Imagery in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," presented at this year's conference.

The award may be used to defray costs connected with delivering a paper at any conference, especially for MAP conferences, or connected to scholarly research. Up to three awards will be presented each year, for \$400 apiece. Applications should include a one-page vita, an abstract of a 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 one-page vita, and a letter outlining the research project. Send applications by November 1st, 2005 to the vice president of the Medieval Association of the Pacific.

Phyllis R. Brown
Santa Clara University
Santa Clara, CA 95053
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The MAP Founder's 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 judge the winners of the prizes (\$500/\$250/\$250). Graduate students who wish their papers to be considered for the Founders' Prize should submit their papers, preferably electronically, to John Ott (ott@pdx.edu) by September 15, 2005.

Mary-Lyon Dolezal, Treasurer, 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 her at:

Mary-Lyon Dolezal
Dept of Art History
5229 University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon 97403-5229
mdolezal@uoregon.edu

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

There were no MAP Founder's Prize recipients in 2004.

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