

Abstracts

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The Aesthetic of Joy in Old English Religious Poetry

This paper looks to the medieval conception of joy in its religious contexts, and delineates some of the formal, linguistic and cultural factors that shape the poetic expression of this emotion.

It is argued that the aesthetic of joy found in much religious poetry of the Old English period is a uniquely Anglo-Saxon one, which, though it inevitably owes much to the theological and linguistic influences of Latinate Christianity, is also fed by the forms and features of Old English secular poetry and by a cultural consciousness which is native to the secular social order of Anglo-Saxon England. In many of its most religiously orthodox evocations of joy, the poetry deploys tropes and formulae of the heroic tradition; it is often in these moments of what might be termed 'cross-cultural' writing that the poetry is at its most successful and most beautiful. The examination also explores key differences between the Anglo-Saxon approach to joyful pleasure and that of the Bible and other Latin homiletic and patristic texts. The study seeks therefore to add to an understanding both of the influences on the composition of Old English religious poetry, and of the well-springs of joy in the Anglo-Saxon consciousness.

Anders Ahlqvist

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Some Otago Place Names of Celtic Origin

As is well-known, much of the European settlement of Otago was organised from Scotland. This led to many places receiving Scottish-inspired names. On the whole, place names in Scotland are either of Germanic or Celtic origin. Echoes of Celtic ones are found in Otago too, as for instance in names like (Bal)clutha and Dunedin. Much valuable work on place names like these has been provided by researchers such as Herries Beattie, George Griffiths, E.R. Nevill, A.W. Reed and W.H. Sherwood Roberts. This paper will seek to add some additional information about some such names, in respect of their etymology and early history, in Scotland and elsewhere in

the medieval Celtic world. Attention will also be drawn to the role of James MacPherson's Ossian in relaying these names from their original Celtic context to the mostly English-speaking circles that eventually introduced them into Otago. Finally, one or two doubtful cases may be considered.

Simona Albanese

6A

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The Fleeing Caravaggio

Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio lived the darkest and most dangerous life of any of the great painters. Originally from near Milan, Caravaggio travelled widely in search of his own destiny until he reached Rome, where he made his fortune. At that time travelling was a custom for many artists, such as Gianlorenzo Bernini and Rubens. Caravaggio followed their example, until when, at the top of his career in 1606, he fled to Naples and then to Malta, in order to escape decapitation following his conviction for the murder of Ranuccio Tomassoni. In Naples and in Malta Caravaggio created some of the most dramatic paintings of his age, full of drama, immediacy and humanity. My intention is to show how in the later representations, such as the Seven Acts of Mercy (1607) for the Church of Pio Monte della Misericordia, the Madonna del Rosario (1607) commissioned for the Duke of Modena, and the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist (1608) for the Oratorio di San Giovanni, Caravaggio departed from the conventions of his time to paint works evoking acts of clemency to receive the permission of the Pope to come back to Rome.

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Apologetic Natural Theology: The Boyle Lectures Once More

The Boyle Lectures, founded by Robert Boyle in 1691, are commonly viewed as the paradigmatic example of early modern English natural theology which, in turn, is seen as a platform for the dissemination of a social ideology modelled on Isaac Newton's natural philosophy. However, a closer examination of the lectures presented between 1692 and 1732 reveals a different picture. Instead of promoting a Newtonian worldview, the main

purpose of the lectureship was to fulfil Boyle's brief of 'proving the Christian religion against notorious infidels.' By examining the variety of ways in which the lecturers applied themselves to this task, addressing particular challenges by carefully selected arguments, this paper shows that natural theology in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries is best understood as a dynamic and apologetic discourse, in which a range of natural philosophical and theological resources were employed in support of religious doctrines. Understanding natural theology in this way also highlights the various ways in which it was used to mediate the relationship between natural philosophy and theology in the early modern period.

Robyn Natasha Amendola **5C**
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Penelope: The ideal wife in anti-marriage literature

The classical figure of Penelope disappears from literature for several centuries, but remains known to the educated elite through her inclusion in several classical texts used to teach Latin. She reappears in medieval writings in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, in works by authors generally regarded as misogynistic, such as Walter Map, John of Salisbury and Jean de Meun. These works are not written for women, but had a lot to say about women and marriage, and how these both disrupt the philosophic life. Unlike other women in these texts, Penelope remains a positive exemplum, representing the ideal of marital chastity. If the purpose of these texts is to denigrate marriage, as has been suggested, what role does a positive exemplum play? This paper explores how the case of Penelope functions when read and commented on by a male audience, within terms of a larger debate about the meaning of exemplary women.

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Bede's Literacy Casebook: *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV

Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (c. 731 CE) is organized as a chronological narrative, detailing the growth of Christianity, specifically the Roman Church, on the island. The story of Caedmon (Book IV) is one of

the best known episodes in Bede's account. But the Caedmon story is embedded within a series of literacy narratives, each devoted to a different aspect of the intersections of orality and writing in early medieval England. In Book Four, Bede embeds several stories of orality and new modes of literacy within a general institutional narrative of clerical control and dissemination of textual regularity and orthodoxy within a still largely oral context. The accounts of Imma, Caedmon, the Hertford Synod, John the Archcantor, and St. Cuthbert focus on different uses of writing, preferred and disempowered, within religious and ecclesiastical contexts. *Historia*, Book IV presents a thematic sequence of microhistories from magical writing to officially sanctioned hagiographical writing. At the same time, Bede's historical narratives reveal gaps and conflicts within dominant literate ideology. These gaps and conflicts, for example, the role of reading aloud and oral improvisation and mixed language textuality, remain unresolved in the text and point to the multimodal, multilingual complexity of Bede's literate mentality.

Daniel Anlezark

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Panel Organiser: New Voices in Old Norse / New Voices in Old English

Peter Anstey

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The development of Baconian natural history

This paper examines the crucial development in Bacon's views about the nature of natural history from his *Advancement of Learning* (1605) to his architectonic project of the *Instauratio magna*. It is argued that Bacon's later view of natural history redefined the relation between natural history and natural philosophy and that this later view was to be his most important legacy for the emergence of the new science of the early Royal Society and beyond.

Helen Appleton

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Blossoms from Blood: Enriching the land in the Old English *Andreas*

The paper will examine the relationship in the Old English poem *Andreas* between the spiritual poverty of the Mermedonians and the physical poverty of their land. Andrew is tortured and miraculously healed; as a result both land and people are enriched physically and spiritually: fruiting trees sprout in the barren landscape, and the Mermedonians convert to Christianity. I will explore the symbolism of the three days of torture and the trees that spring from Andrew's blood in relation to the tree of sin stemming from Abel's murder depicted in Genesis A and the link between this section of *Andreas* and Rogation Days.

Andrew Atkin (with Sarah Randles) 3F

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Medievalism in Antarctica: the sledging pennants of the early Antarctic explorers

Photographs of the explorers on Captain Robert Scott's expeditions to Antarctica show men posed with heraldic pennants displayed on poles stuck into the snow, attached to sledges, hanging from the ceiling at dinner, decorating individual tents or suspended above bunks. These pennants, many of which still survive, are of medieval form: swallow-tailed silk standards embroidered with personal devices. Their use on the Antarctic voyages of discovery, and also on some earlier Arctic expeditions, demonstrates a conscious and overt medievalism. This paper explores the ways in which these artefacts tangibly invoke ideas about the medieval past, nationalism, colonialism and masculinity in the Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration.

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The strange case of the portable altar: rites and wrongs in early medieval Gaul

This paper examines a letter from early sixth century Gaul, condemning two priests who were accused of heresy for conducting masses on a portable altar and doing so with the assistance of women. The text has aroused occasional anxious comment, and some discussion of the possible status of the women involved, but has generally been treated as an opaque oddity. My analysis will use the letter as a basis from which to discuss issues around lay access to and participation in church rites, arguing that although clerics were seeking to establish firm control over religious rituals in this period, they were only partially successful in doing so. Private religious practices continued to flourish alongside public ones and the countryside in particular continued to be a zone largely beyond episcopal control. This has important implications for our understanding of the development of the early medieval church and for our conception of the role of the laity within it.

Patrick Ball

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Lots, Laughter and Elizabeth I: The 'Lotterie Generall' of 1567-69

Our neighbours about in iarre,
among them God helpe at warre,
and we in lottes and laughter may be seene,
nowe prayse and thanks to God, and to our Queene.

Entrants in the 1567-69 English Royal Lottery were supposed to write a 'posy or device' on their ticket, to be read out on a public stage when the Lottery was drawn. This was Anne Patten's effort and it paints a very positive picture of the Lottery. However, in economic terms the thing was a debacle, overambitious and undersubscribed. People distrusted the process; sales were low. This prompted the government to pressure bodies and individuals to buy tickets and ensure others did so too, which exacerbated resentment. The prizewinning tickets and their posies were printed, of which around two thousand survive. These can be investigated to examine how people felt about the Lottery itself. They suggest something more ambiguous and contested than the merrymaking Patten portrays: buyers used posies to express both distrust and resentment and ostentatious loyalty, while the Queen's own devices reacted to this situation. Even Anne Patten's posy turns out to have a darker purpose.

Alexandra Barratt

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What Shall We Pack? Immigrants and their Medieval Manuscripts

Any immigrant knows the dilemma: what shall we pack? Space is at a premium and you really don't know what you'll need half way round the world. Most of the medieval manuscripts now in New Zealand did not arrive with immigrants, but were bought in Europe and imported into the country by wealthy, well established residents. But at least two did come out to New Zealand in their owners' baggage. This paper will describe them and their stories. One, the Mantell Hours, now in the Bishop's House, Ponsonby, Auckland, must have been bought out by Walter Mantell, son of the fossil collector and dinosaur hunter Gideon Mantell. It is probably the only medieval manuscript in the world that contains some Maori. Another, a 13th century Franco-Belgian psalter up to now misidentified as a 15th century book of hours, is implicated in the more complex story of the Hudson family from London – the father a painter of stained glass, one son a graphic designer and public servant, another a distinguished entomologist. What can we deduce about their owners' reasons for bringing them along to their new lives in 19th century New Zealand?

Lorna Barrow

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'Conspicuously Unstable in Her Affections': Reputation and Reality in Margaret Tudor's Divorce from the Earl of Angus'

In August 1514, just a year after the death of James IV of Scotland on Flodden Field, his queen Margaret Tudor, sister to Henry VIII of England remarried Archibald Douglas, sixth earl of Angus. Margaret needed the support of this powerful, charismatic and internationally acclaimed nobleman to maintain her power and authority as Queen Regent as she fought for the rights of her young son James V and his brother, Alexander, born posthumously to James IV. Margaret's marriage to Angus was unsuccessful and she sought a divorce from him in 1519, eventually achieving it in 1527. The divorce was a complicated and shady affair that left Margaret with a less than illustrious reputation that has continued down the years. Agnes Strickland, a nineteenth-century commentator, thought that Margaret's character 'reflected, as in a dim and turbid mirror, a family

resemblance of the caprices and passions of her powerful brother Henry VIII'. This paper explores the validity of comments such as Strickland's, in light of the complex situations Margaret encountered as she negotiated her divorce.

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The Marginalia of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Manuscript 41: Pragmatic Texts for Pragmatic Concerns

In the early eleventh century, a copy of the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was made at an unknown location in the south of England. Most pages had ample margins, and some years later, though perhaps not many, these margins were used to record a remarkable assortment of texts. In the same 'unusual angular hand,' in the period up to 1050, masses, homilies, and a short section of the Old English martyrology were copied along with *Solomon and Saturn I*, several charms, other remedies, blessings and prayers. The texts appear in series over one or more folios, and between these sections the margins of many folios were left completely blank. Many of the Old English homilies and charms in this text are recorded nowhere else.

Several explanations have been forwarded for this apparently odd collection of texts, which vary from the only charm in English to contain no overt Christian references, to devotional and liturgical texts. Earlier criticism suggested possible uses for the book, from a storehouse of texts to be later recopied, to a missal with accompanying works for devotion. The most recent criticism of the collated texts has focused on what they can tell us about the worldview of their collator. Such criticism emphasises the homogeneity of the texts as part of conventional religious practice in the late Anglo-Saxon Church. This paper rejects the need to posit the copying enterprise as one unified in theme or deliberately planned in execution. It argues that the marginalia should be read for what they are: texts which range from the devotional to the pragmatic and which might have been read and performed in a variety of circumstances. At least some of these texts are anchored to the manuscript and not intended to be recopied later on.

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Of gleemen and their successors: the Anglo-Saxon and Norman approaches to musical entertainment in Medieval Britain

This paper discusses the origin and development of secular music in Anglo-Saxon and Norman Britain. The time boundaries of the present study stretch approximately from the attestation of the term gleeman (OE *gl?o-/gl?g-/gl?w-man*) to the era when the term troubadour began to be used.

The study describes the system of social rankings among musicians who played a significant role in the ritual artistic functions of both monastic and court communities in pre-Renaissance Britain. According to Lord (2008: 89-90), '[...] scops were treated as persons of great respect. [Gleemen] and instrumental harpers were a step down from the scops, but still respected for their talents.'

The paper emphasises that the emergence of the popular music reflected the elaborate ecclesiastic ceremonies of the period, which were accompanied by choral singing. Harrison (1958: 45) claims that 'The institution and development of balanced groups of singers was the most significant feature of the musical history of the later Middle Ages [...]'

The paper also mentions foreign influences on the British music coming from the Continent. The growth of medieval civilisation in Britain coincided with an expansion of musical forms from plainsong to polyphony and the implementation of musical instruments.

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Britain's boat people: the German Palatine refugee crisis of 1709

Between May and July 1709 over 12,000 German refugees made the crossing from Rotterdam to London. They were fleeing homelands devastated by war and made desolate by the cruelest winter of Europe's mini ice-age. In Britain there was considerable sympathy for the people who rapidly became known as the 'Poor Palatines'. This identification associated them with the Palatinate of the Rhine, Britain's ally in the war against Louis XIV, and with Protestantism. 'The Palatinate groans under the Oppression of Popish Persecution,' Daniel Defoe wrote misleadingly, 'and we see the poor Inhabitants flying hither for the Liberty of Religion'. The Palatines never claimed to be escaping persecution, and around one in five of them

were Catholic. This paper examines the origins and unfolding of the humanitarian crisis, especially the role of the Whig ministry and the Naturalisation Act (March 1709) in facilitating and encouraging Protestant relocation from the Europe, and explores the range of responses, partisan and popular, to the plight of the Palatines in London. The focus is on the politics of representation and the practical issues of resettlement, and the significance of the episode in confusing issues of population policy and asylum claims and in shaping British attitudes to immigrants and refugees.

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Voices from the Periphery: *Translatio Imperii* and Russian Eyewitness Accounts of the Fall of Constantinople

In this paper I will explore the much-neglected Russian textual responses to the fall of Constantinople, firstly to the Crusaders and subsequently, to the Ottoman Turks. Whilst the extent to which, medieval Russia was tied to Byzantine cultural ocumene is a subject of ongoing scholarly attention, not as much work has been done in determining what kind of hermeneutic was deployed by the Russian literati to make intelligible, the gradual collapse of a world civilization. The only two known Russian eyewitness accounts I will analyse, each relating to Constantinople's respective falls, are unique in light of their explicit concern with depicting how, in terms anticipating Edward Gibbon, an empire has 'deserted' its own capital. In the first part, I will introduce an account by an anonymous author, Chronicle of the Capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders as a treatise intended to disengage Byzantine historical mission from the empire's actual state that was perceived to be incapable of maintaining it. In the second part, I will follow up this theme in another anonymous account, Chronicle of the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks wherein, the final collapse of the city was explained providentially as divine punishment for its negation of Constantine's heritage. And in the third part, I will argue that, these accounts are important due to their emphasis on Constantinople's de-globalisation from the rich cultural repertoire it has founded and which has survived its fall. Indeed, these accounts presupposed a process through which, Constantinople became peripheral vis-à-vis its own claims to temporal and religious authority, providing an opportunity to see how the Russian literati were able to question Constantinople's continuing global relevance and their own peripheral status by claiming some of its ideological content for their own homeland.

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Beowulf and Diplomatic Gift-giving in Anglo-Saxon England

In this paper, I will look at instances of gift exchange that take place in *Beowulf*, and demonstrate how the poet interrogates the social practice as an ideal of courtly relations. The poet explores various types of gifts and gift exchange, and how the process is necessary, idealised, but also inherently flawed. The examples show that gift exchange was integral to the poet's understanding of society, and also reflect the audience's understanding of, and interest in the subject. I will then analyse the poem in context of historical events that occurred during the reign of Athelstan (924-39), in particular his relationship with St Cuthbert. I will demonstrate how the pagan custom of giving gifts to the dead remained relevant to a Christian audience, and is included not simply as a relic of past pagan practices, but as an insight into contemporary Christian practices. Though the *Beowulf* poet offers a critique of gift exchange that is often negative, he is not arguing against the process itself. Even his harshest assessments serve to emphasise the power of this gesture in Anglo-Saxon society.

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Imagining the Space of Elsewhere: Monsters, Maps and Borders

'Here be dragons.' Imagining the space of elsewhere in maps and illustrations of travellers' tales from the late medieval period provided artists with opportunities to explore hybridity, monstrosity and the border between the human and the animal. It also necessitated the conception and visual construction of ideas of centres, edges, margins and spaces beyond frameworks. This paper will explore visual ideas of otherness, inversion and peripheral space in a series of works from medieval and early modern visual culture, drawing links between maps and page borders from illuminated manuscripts and early printed books. It will highlight how representing spaces of elsewhere reflected anxieties and constructions of identity of the

self and the centre. It will draw on aspects of spatial theory and critical discourses on maps, race and hybridity.

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The Identification of an Anonymous Dramatic Fragment and What It Tells Us About the Need for Scholarly Revisitation

Like countless other forgotten manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, the fragmentary MS Douce 171, misleadingly catalogued as ‘Alice and Alexis’, has undergone little analysis since cursory glances by the prominent theatre historians of the early 20th-century. Because it lacks a title page, authorship inscription, and ending, it has widely been deemed insignificant.

Not only have this unfinished manuscript’s peculiar features (such as a Plot that does not match the text) remained largely unexamined, but previous analyses have also largely neglected its context—appearing in a volume of miscellanies, some of which relate to the house payments of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex. My research shows that, far from being irrelevant, this manuscript may be a lost play of one of the semi-prominent playwrights of the seventeenth century, given the correlation of dates, contextual information contained within the volume of miscellanies, as well as internal evidence of stylistic correlation within the piece itself.

Through the most extensive analysis to date of the manuscript’s known (and unknown) elements, I reveal not only the previously undiscovered significance of the manuscript itself, but also the limitations of scholarly reliance on the great annalists of early modern drama—chiefly Chambers, Bentley, and Harbage—and the potential discoveries to be made by taking a closer look at their findings.

Gail Blick

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Biblical Waymarks: Following Langland’s Guidance in Piers

When Langland refers to Mark (B.X.275) but in the next line quotes Matthew, editors of *Piers*, as seen from their use of a colon, consider that Langland mistakes the Gospel from which the quotation comes. Yet

Langland has specifically urged the clergy to look more closely at the Bible: For Goddes word wolde nogt be lost – for þat wercheþ euere; / If it auailed nogt þe commune, it mygte auaille yowselue’ (B.X.271-72). If we follow Langland’s direction and compare the nuances of narration of Mark and Matthew in their passages on the Pharisees’ hypocrisy (Mc. 7.1-23 cf. Mt. 15.1-20), Christ speaks of: ‘Making void the word of God’ (L. ‘rescindentes’, Mc.7.13), words peculiar to Mark. Langland comments on the efficacy of God’s word: ‘þat wercheþ euere’ so when the poet writes: ‘Goddes word wercheþ no [wi]gt on lered ne on lewed / But in swich a manere as Marc meneþ in þe Gospel’ (B.X.274-75), Langland refers not forward to Matthew but back to what Mark says about ‘Making void the word of God’, ‘Goddes word wercheþ no [wi]gt’. Langland’s fear is that God’s word becomes unbelievable from the mouth of a hypocritical priest. Langland’s argument uses Matthew to endorse Mark: in his use of a waymark, the poet assumes an audience’s ability to differentiate between the Gospels.

This paper argues that in this instance of supposed mistaken Bible reference, Langland’s biblical accuracy needs to be trusted. Piers should be read more closely against the Bible: this example is not alone.

Adrian Boas

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New Archaeological Evidence for the headquarters of the Teutonic Order at Acre and Montfort Castle

Subsequent to its foundation following the Third Crusade, the initial activities of the Teutonic Order centred around Acre, the principal port city of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, and in the land to the north-east of the city where the order acquired considerable holdings. Until recently the quarter of the Teutonic Order in Acre was known only through brief references in thirteenth century documents and on contemporary maps. In 1999 and 2000 excavations were carried out outside the Ottoman walls of the coastal town of Akko by a joint team of the Deutcher Orden and the University of Haifa. These excavations have revealed for the first time archaeological evidence for the apparent location of the quarter in the east of the Frankish city.

A new research project carried out by a team from the University of Haifa and sponsored by the SSCLE is beginning to uncover the nature and design of the principal Teutonic castle in the Holy Land and the manner in which it developed in the years between its foundation in 1226 and its occupation and dismantling in 1271. Intensive surveys now underway in

preparation for renewed excavations at the castle, have cast light on the appearance and function of those parts of the castle which were dismantled by the Mamluks, notably the ceremonial hall, the domestic quarters, and the fortification system.

Archaeological finds from these two sites enlighten us on the day-to-day life in the headquarters and castles of the Teutonic Order in the Latin East.

Elizabeth Bonner

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Why was James VI so interested in resurrecting Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France in the 1590s?

The 'Auld Alliance' has generally been held to have ended with the death on 5 December 1560 of Mary Queen of Scots' first husband, Francis II, both of whom were the first and last king and queen of both France and Scotland. The origins of the Anglo-Franco-Scottish relationship were established in 1295 when the Scots formed their first formal alliance with France against the bellicose and hegemonic actions against Scotland of the English king, Edward I. But from its very shaky beginnings as a mutually offensive/defensive military alliance against England, the 'Auld Alliance' gradually developed other familial, personal, social, legal, educational and cultural associations which did not die with Francis II, nor entirely ever really disappear. Historiographically speaking, until recently, in-depth accounts of the 'Auld Alliance' have received very poor press from historians of British history who have acknowledged and made the necessary analysis of only the most obvious indisputable facts of the 'Auld Alliance' up to 1560; they are silent for the later decades, especially the 1590s during the personal rule of James VI. Therefore, this paper seeks to examine the abundance of excellent manuscript evidence of the 1590s, much of it published in Scotland and with full transcriptions of the documents in their original 16th-century French, which outline James VI's foreign relations with Henri IV, as seen in one example in the Calendar of State Papers relating to Scotland, specifically, vol. 13 (part 1), ed., J. D. Mackie (Edinburgh, 1969). There is also to be considered the role played by James' ambassador at the French court, Archbishop James Beaton, and that of Sir James Melville of Halhill who had gravitated to James VI's court in the 1590s and wrote his *Memoirs of his Own Time* from 1597 with many reminiscences of his own service in the French army in the 1550s. Finally,

some attempt will be made to understand James' rationale for his deliberate pro-French policies during the 1590s and to answer the question of why he was so interested in resurrecting Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France; and some speculative thoughts as to why this has been practically ignored by historians of British history.

Judith Bonzol

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An English Remedy for Witchcraft

In 1604 a cunning woman from Dorset, Joane Guppie, was assaulted by members of a local gentry family. In her plea to Star Chamber, Guppie claimed her assailants had thrust pins into her body and legs, and with some 'great overgrown brambles' they 'did rente and teare the flesh' from her face, saying 'they came for her bludd, and would have it before they departed'. In their defence the Gibbes family, said it was 'a comonly revealed opinion in the country' that to 'fetche bloud' from the person that had caused the illness would 'cure them that be hurt'. They needed a 'medicinable drop of blood' to give Judith Gibbes some relief from her terrible affliction. Scratching a suspected witch in pursuit of healing was a common therapy in England. It was frequently recorded and commented on, not only in court records, but also in witchcraft possession narratives, and scholarly treatises. Using the Guppie case as a starting point, my paper explores the prevalence of scratching witches in early modern England, and suggests some explanations for its popularity as a remedy for supernatural afflictions.

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Hans Prutz Revisited: On the Causes for the Suppression of the Templars

There are certainly many causes for the suppression of the Templars. Most explanations, however, are true not only for the Templars but for all military-religious orders in the early fourteenth century: the loss of Acre in

1291, the subsequent incriminations against these orders, the various plans for reforming them and for financing new crusades, individual cases of misbehaviour among the brethren and false accusations, the greed of individual rulers such as Philip the Fair of France and his court, the structural incompatibility of such “international” orders with the emerging “national states” in France, on Cyprus and elsewhere. Hans Prutz (1843-1929) published several studies concerning the suppression of the Templars. His works being written in German and now rather old, they are seldom read by modern scholars. Yet his theory remains interesting enough: The Templars continued the old practice of religious orders which permitted monks who were not priests to hear confession and to inflict penance, whereas the Hospitallers adopted the new practice that, except in cases of necessity for example when a person was dying, only ordained priests were allowed to administer the sacrament of penance and reconciliation. Other old orders such as Benedictines or Cistercians avoided conflict with the new ecclesiastical practice through the clericalisation of their members which made it possible that all their senior officers were ordained priests. In the Templar Order, however, the Master and the leading officers continued not to receive holy orders, necessarily so because they had to fight and to shed blood as a part of their profession. According to Hans Prutz this led to a structural incompatibility between the Templars and the Latin church, an opinion that deserves attention when scholars try to explain why Clement V suppressed the Templars.

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Seven Sonnets of Michelangelo – Benjamin Britten

Nicholas Brodie

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‘Rychard Gifford iiijd jd gone’: Exeter’s contributors to the poor in the 1560s

Four pence. One penny. Nothing. Such was the reality for the collectors for the poor in Exeter in the 1560s. Parishioners would promise one thing, deliver another, and then disappear. This paper examines the other side of

the urban and parish collection system. Historians have expressed considerable interest in the poor, both as recipients and agents, yet very little attention has been given to the charitable donors that sustained the parish and urban relief systems of early modern England. When donors have been the focal point of historical investigations, this has tended to be framed within attitudinal or motivational confines. This paper is more concerned with money.

Dauvit Broun
11.00-12.30

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3H, Keynote Address Wednesday

The Chronicle of Melrose: The Englishness of an Anglo-Norman Scottish Chronicle

The Chronicle of Melrose survives as the manuscript on which it was first composed in 1173/4 (running from AD 1-1171) and then updated from c. 1200 to c. 1290 (continuing its annals only as far as 1270, with occasional additions). It therefore provides an excellent opportunity to see how an annalistic chronicle was written. The lecture will begin with a palaeographical investigation of this process, and will use the insights gained from this to explore how a chronicle might be used not only for information about events, but above all as a source for how a monastery saw itself in relation to others in time and place. This will be used to shed light on the English identity of Melrose—a Cistercian monastery which was founded by the king of Scots in 1136, and saw itself as within the Scottish kingdom, but nevertheless continued to see itself as English or associate itself with England.

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3B

Medieval Pilgrimage to Corinth and Southern Greece

Today Christian pilgrims often travel to Corinth and southern Greece, following in the footsteps of Saint Paul. This modern pilgrimage developed only in the last century, however, following the development of archaeological excavations and mass-market tourism to Greece. The

Medieval Byzantine pilgrims who preceded these modern Christian visitors, however, are barely studied at all, though both textual and archaeological sources for them do exist. In this paper, I explore the scattered textual and archaeological evidence for Christian pilgrimage to Corinth and southern Greece from Late Antiquity into the Byzantine Middle Ages. Though southern Greece gave the Church few prominent saints, the Corinthian martyrs Leonidas and Quadratus each drew Byzantine pilgrims from outside the Peloponnese. Corinth and Athens also attracted attention among travellers as cities on Saint Paul's itinerary. Though Corinth and southern Greece could never compete with the Holy Land or Constantinople as a pilgrimage destination, local Corinthians and Athenians did successfully construct both churches and stories in order to attract Christian travellers over several centuries. The tangible results of their efforts deserve study, and shed new light both on the Byzantine cities of Corinth and Athens, and the understudied phenomenon of Christian pilgrimage to Medieval Greece.

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Descartes and Animal Souls

Descartes is often thought to have denied that animals have souls and in one sense of 'soul' he does. That sense, however, was by no means the only one common in his time nor the only one he considers. We argue that Descartes' position is best understood against the background of Galen and of Alexander of Aphrodisias and as having important similarities with the Alexandrian view in that the unity of an animal body requires its own principle prior to the reception of a sensitive or, in the case of humans, rational soul. Descartes' stance on the unity of animal bodies has consequences for how we are to interpret his remarks about the unity of the human body and its special relationship to the rational soul.

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Submission to whom: love and consent in *Cligés*

Love, in *Cligés*, is presented not only as an emotion but a domineering force.

Early scholarship regarded the story of Cligés and Fenice as one of mutual consent, in contrast to that of Tristan and Isolde. More recently, Joan Tasker Grimbert has argued that, although Fenice exercises choice with regards to her conduct in romance, she is effectively disempowered by Chrétien's characterisation of love as an assault upon free will. [Joan Tasker Grimbert, 'On Fenice's Vain Attempts to Revise a Romantic Archetype and Chrétien's Fabled Hostility to the Tristan Legend', in *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001), pp. 87-106.

This paper will examine the language of love and submission in relation to both Soredamors and Fenice. I will argue that Chrétien characterises love as violent and domineering, superior to any powerful suitor. In the early stages of each heroine's story, this characterisation seems to support a consent-based ideology of marriage: however, at the point at which each woman's relationship with her true lover is contracted, Chrétien's language shifts: he speaks no longer of submission to *love*, but to the *lover*. This change is present in both the positive exemplar of Soredamors and the troubled story of Fenice, but is presented in radically different contexts. I will look closely at the stories of both women, and ask if it is really consent which distinguishes Soredamors' positive example from that of Fenice.

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'Civic Religion' in late medieval Europe

The phrase 'civic religion' has enjoyed considerable currency in late medieval urban studies, especially since the volume edited by Vauchez in 1995 (*La religion civique*). Vauchez defined it as 'collection of religious phenomena – cultic, devotional and institutional – in which civil power plays a determining role, principally through the action of local and municipal authorities'. This paper will question assumptions behind the term, but will also seek to redefine it, with particular reference to the town of Bruges. Several assumptions are embedded in the term: that it was a tool of civic governments to assert their authority; that its manifestations (such as town processions) were an expression of social needs; that it describes a society that was becoming more secularised. These assumptions can all be questioned. Moreover, Vauchez identified 'civic religion' with the city-states of northern Italy: north of the Alps, princely and ecclesiastical control was too strong for civic governments to flourish autonomously. But a study of

religious practices in Bruges can counter this view. Even so, if ‘civic religion’ is defined carefully it may still be used to capture what was distinctive about religious practices in late medieval urban society.

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Panel organiser: Artists and Travel

Hannah Burgess

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The Art/Nature Debate in Anatomical History and Illustration

The relationship between art and nature has been a constantly changing one. The traditional Aristotelian view holds that art imitates Nature in its teleological form, yet the former’s ends are at odds with the latter’s. In this paper I will trace the relationship between Nature and art as it is manifest in the history of anatomy (specifically, the brain and the hand) and its visual representations. I will focus on two main case studies, Galen (c. 129-199 CE) and Andreas Vesalius (1514-1564). Firstly I will consider Galen’s account of the brain and the hand, the teleological framework that this takes place within, and the implications this has for the art/nature relationship. I will identify Hippocratic, Platonic and Aristotelian influences. Secondly, I’ll consider Vesalius’s thinking about, and illustrations of, the brain and the hand. On the one hand, his theory and illustrations are very much wedded to the ancient world view that generally sees art and nature as opposed. Yet on the other hand, his theory, illustrations and method make a significant contribution to the dissolution of the art/nature distinction and the ancient, teleological world view.

Hannah Burrows

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Educational and Fun: Old Norse Riddles in Literary and Popular Traditions

The thirty-seven Old Norse riddles preserved in *Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks* are generally simple in style and straightforward in solution, placing them into the category of ‘folk riddles’. Their subject matter is drawn from natural phenomena or items from Scandinavian life, and several make reference to Scandinavian mythology. Their interconnectedness to other Norse poetry makes them an important but largely unexploited resource for our understanding of Norse poetic tradition and oral culture. Moreover, they are preserved in the context of a contest of wits, in a fantastic ‘legendary saga’ primarily intended as entertainment. Yet one of the riddles is also preserved in a thirteenth-century treatise on poetics, modelled on Latin exemplars. A further three are added to a poetic ‘textbook’, in circulation amongst medieval Iceland’s intellectual communities. Their interest in word-play is also an important part of the elite skaldic poetic tradition, while other medieval European cultures composed riddles in a scholarly milieu. The Norse riddles’ later manuscript tradition removes them from their saga context and marries them to learned texts such as encyclopedic and computistical works. This paper will explore how the riddles fit in to popular and literary worlds in medieval Iceland, and what this tells us about poetic and social culture.

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Building International Digital Infrastructure: Is E-Research Merely a Slogan or a Realistic Goal?

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Islamic Dream Sciences and Catholic Censorship in Medieval and Humanistic Italian Miscellanies

This paper analyzes the connections existing between the Islamic divinatory sciences, Italian Medieval dream-books and early Italian vision poetry. More specifically, it will focus on the conquest of Islamic symbols related to dreams, their integration into Christian culture and the erasure of their

origins on the part of catholic censorship. My aim then will be to track the Islamic roots of these buried symbols in several Italian miscellanies of the Thirteenth and Fifteenth centuries.

The medieval *Somniale Danielis*, the dream-book of Daniel, is a popular and widely circulated manual, which guided the interpretation of dreams. It has its origins around the fourth-century Greek manuscripts, and thrived in the High Middle Ages primarily in Arabic, Latin, and the European vernaculars. The material aspects of the unstudied Italian tradition of this dream-book, reveal important factors about the influence of Islamic divinatory sciences in the use of vision or dream motifs by Italian poets. However, the catholic censorship constituted the major opposition to Islamic culture, and led to the oblivion of these dream-books as well as their connection to early Italian poetic production linked to dreams and visions. Therefore, the miscellanies bearing such dream manuals provide essential information about the ways in which popular culture, which is often so hard to describe specifically because it is often untraceable to written witnesses, influenced what we have traditionally identified as the 'high culture' of early literary Italy.

This research will focus on the specific ways in which the dream manual was materially bound with and utilized by early Italian visionary literature. To prove this point, I propose a new critical edition of the *Somniale Danielis* in its Latin, and vernacular Italian versions conserved in Thirteenth to Fifteenth century Florentine miscellanies. These codices bear the earliest known attestation of this kind of dream-book with literature such as Dante's *Vita Nova*, in which associations with 'high' and 'low' culture claim special significance.

The Islamic divinatory sciences were integrated in the catholic world, and even if their use remained controversial, their application into poetry confirm how these techniques were of common knowledge.

Hilary Carey

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Prince Arthur's Book of Astrology? Prophecy and Context of an English Royal Manuscript

This paper will provide an interpretation of the Arthurian prophecies which occur in one of the most important of all medieval English scientific manuscripts, BL Arundel 66, a book of astrology which was probably prepared as a gift for King Henry VII. The prophecies occur at the end of the manuscript and include four sets of prophecies by Geoffrey of

Monmouth, Robert of Bridlington, Merlin Silvestris, and others which are anonymous. What connection do these prophecies have to aspirations for the coming reign of Prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII?

Jennifer Carpenter

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Happiness in the Thirteenth Century: Some Insights from the Low Countries

This paper aims to examine some elements of the complex and diverse medieval understandings of human happiness. It will first explore various modern and medieval conceptions of ‘happiness’ – ranging from the idea of a transient positive emotional state to the ‘happiness’ of future (and hence unobtainable) eternal heavenly beatitude. It will then turn to the depiction of emotion and related topics in a number of saints’ lives written in the southern Low Countries in the thirteenth century, focusing on such areas as positive emotional states, pleasure (and pain), good ‘fortune’, the relationship between happiness and holiness, gender differences in the experience of happiness, and the joy of mystical experience. The prominence given to affective piety and mystical sanctity in this hagiographical corpus from the southern Low Countries, and the fact that the corpus includes lives of both men and women, make this group of texts a rich source for investigating the themes of this paper.

Megan Cassidy-Welch

4D

Monash University

Images of loss in medieval refugee narratives

This paper will explore the ways in which loss was represented in thirteenth-century sources relating to the aftermath of the Albigensian Crusade. I will focus on inquisitorial sources, particularly those from the Bibliothèque nationale de France’s Collection Doat; troubadour sources, especially the politically-charged sirventes lyrics; and sources relating to the dispossession of the Jews of southern France during the crusade. By looking at images of loss in a combination of legal, literary, theological and administrative texts, the ideas of ownership and dispossession that underpinned the experience of refugees from this Crusade are exposed. Overall, I argue that narratives

about and by refugees from the Albigensian Crusade simultaneously legitimised and resisted loss as a defining feature of the refugee experience.

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‘I braved the circles of Hell for you!’: Masculinity and the Medieval Lover in EA’s Dante’s Inferno

The male lover of medieval romance is a persistent and pervasive object of contemporary pop-cultural interest, and medievalist adaptations continue to engage with the specific gender roles depicted by this literary tradition. The purpose of this paper is to examine how the medieval lover, and the masculinities he represents, are re-imagined in Electronic Arts’s 2010 videogame, *Dante’s Inferno* (which spawned comic book and animated film spin-offs). I will examine not only how these medievalist adaptations integrate specific masculinities associated with the courtly lover into the reimagining of Dante (the character), but also how medievalist adaptations disseminate medieval gender-roles for contemporary audiences. The recent adaptations of *Dante’s Inferno* are gender-constructive cultural objects and, therefore, mobilise the medieval courtly lover as a masculine subjectivity for the reception and performance of the contemporary ‘reading subject’. By approaching the adaptations in this way, I aim to demonstrate that they effectively collapse the medieval/modern binary by providing spaces for the medieval and modern to collide and interact, not as history or culture, but as mutually-identifiable masculine subjectivities.

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A new monastic settlement on the Dra Abu el-Naga, Thebes

Known as the ‘Mountain of Jeme’ in the Late Byzantine and Early Islamic period of Egypt, the Pharaonic necropolis in Western Thebes was in this period home to thousands of monks, who made their cells and monasteries among the Temples and Tombs. Excavations by a team from the Macquarie University Ancient Cultures Research Centre in Theban Tomb 233 on the Dra Abu el-Naga have uncovered a hitherto unknown monastic settlement,

which was perhaps attached in some way to the nearby Deir el-Bakhit in the North of the necropolis. This paper will present an overview of the cell, and discuss the textual material in Greek and Coptic from the site which enable us to provide a first picture of the monks who lived there in the 7th and 8th centuries.

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Scribal Culture in the Eighteenth Century: A Case Study of the *Eumenes* Manuscripts

No scholar has previously noted the existence of the 1750 closet drama, *Eumenes*, which survives in two holograph manuscripts in the Bodleian Library. The manuscripts have never been identified, examined or described; they appear to have been entirely forgotten since they were catalogued by Dr. Bliss over two hundred years ago.

This is unfortunate because the manuscripts reveal a great deal about private theatricals and the genre of closet drama in the mid-eighteenth century and they bear witness to the continuation of a form of scribal publication long after scholars have traditionally argued for the dominance of print. The manuscripts of *Eumenes* circulated among a network of readers who continued to exchange texts in manuscript form; they thus challenge some of our most basic assumptions about the rise of print culture and suggest that print and scribal publication continued to comfortably co-exist well into the second half of the eighteenth century.

Though catalogued as anonymous, in this paper I will identify the author and several readers of this forgotten play and will trace its textual history. Through this close study of one play, I hope to draw attention to the value of working with unpublished eighteenth century texts.

Brandon Chua

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Roger Boyle's *Henry V* and the Politics of Friendship

The rhymed heroic plays of the early Restoration stage (1660-1675) have frequently been read by literary critics as political propaganda, sanctioned

and sponsored by the restored Stuart court, designed to cast the return of the Stuart monarchy in 1660 as a providential restoration of order to the chaos unleashed by civil war and republican experimentation. This paper proposes a different reading of this short lived dramatic genre, suggesting that the plays also functioned as vehicles for exploring and debating forms of political consent and obligation in a political realm grounded in instability rather than order. Treating Roger Boyle's 1664 adaptation of Shakespeare's Henry V as a case study, this paper argues that the play posits Ciceronian friendship as a potential solution to the problem of political obligation in a contingent and unstable political realm - a problem raised in unprecedented ways during the mid-century civil wars. Through a reading of the play's politicized treatment of friendship, this paper argues that Boyle conceives of political obligation as a bond of friendship demanding the selfless sacrifice of private interests on the part of both ruler and subject. In his turn to the passions as a potential solution to a political problem however, Boyle at the same time poses troubling questions on the possibility of rational consent to political authority, drawing attention to emerging theories of the passions and interests and their problematic relation to the early modern state.

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Prosopopoeia, Thomas Tryon, and Reading for the Birds

In *The Country-Man's Companion* (1684 and 1688), the influential social reformer Thomas Tryon combines practical advice on animal care with a passionate argument against the exploitation of animals and the environment. In the final chapter, Tryon uses prosopopoeia to imagine all birds as a collective self, challenging human claims to dominion over God's creation. But as Paul de Man notes, prosopopoeia is necessarily fictional and, thus, offers only a fantasy of speaking with the speechless. As the autobiographical figure, prosopopoeia both supports and challenges all linguistic claims to selfhood. Prosopopoeia, in short, brings us up against our limits as speaking subjects.

However, in this paper I argue that reading should, among other things, remind us of our limits. As Tryon attempts to displace himself as the speaking subject, he attributes his own words to the birds, who invoke their own suffering at human hands to urge readers to imagine their own frailty and, thus, to re-think humanity as a relationship with the rest of the natural world. Tryon argues that humans must identify themselves with animals and

birds before they can become properly human, and so urges us to read ourselves as others might read us.

Ross Coleman

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Digitization Projects at the University of Sydney and Beyond

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Matthew Paris as a Natural Philosopher

Matthew Paris (c.1200-1259), a monk at St Albans Abbey, is probably best known for his lively illustrated chronicles and saints' lives. He is also celebrated for his eccentric but ground-breaking maps, including some of the first recognizable maps of Great Britain and Ireland. These were not, however, his only works. He also illustrated a version of William of Conches *Dragmaticon Philosophiae* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 385), as well as compiling a collection of illustrated astrological and fortune-telling texts that is now housed in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. These works have been generally overlooked by both historians and art historians. In this paper I intend to focus on the evidence that these works and chronicles provide, in their use of diagrams and other innovative features, for Matthew Paris's interest and participation in contemporary intellectual developments in natural philosophy.

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Mélusine of Lusignan in the Upton House Bearsted Collection: little-known fragments of the prose romance

The prose *Roman de Mélusine*, written around 1392 for Jean, duc de Berry, recounts the tale of the fairy-serpentine Mélusine's foundation of the illustrious house of Lusignan. At least fifteen manuscripts of the romance were copied in the fifteenth century, and seven different editions of the text

were printed between 1478 and 1503. One of the fifteen manuscripts has survived in only a fragmentary form consisting of twelve pieces of parchment located in the Bearsted Collection at the National Trust's Upton House in Warwickshire. Mélusine scholars have turned their attention to the complete manuscripts with increasing regularity for art historical and philological insight over the last twenty-five years. However, despite at least two scholars having acknowledged the presence of the Upton House Bearsted (UHB) fragments in footnotes to published research, to the best of my knowledge, these later fifteenth-century fragments remain unstudied.

This paper begins the process of redressing this scholarly lacuna. By drawing attention to and outlining the nature of the UHB fragments, this paper argues for their significance among the corpus of prose Mélusine manuscripts in two ways. First, the UHB manuscript fragments bear an exceptionally close textual and iconographic relationship to the contents of the earliest incunabulum edition of the *Roman de Mélusine*, published by Adam Steinschaber in Geneva in 1478. Second, perhaps by virtue of their links with Steinschaber's edition, the fragments include several illustrations, the subjects of which are unique among manuscript versions of the prose Mélusine romance. In exploring these features of the UHB fragments, the paper will attempt to locate its discussion within the larger context of the possibilities for bilateral textual transmission between manuscripts and printed books in the post-Gutenberg period.

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The Philosopher Hobbes and the poet Homer

Until recently Hobbes's translations of Homer, his longest works have been little discussed. But Eric Nelson in his recent edition (Oxford, Clarendon Press) and Paul Davies in an important article have suggested that these are at one with Hobbes's anticlericalism and his sovereignty theories, and offer a systematic challenge to the established image of Homer as divinely inspired that had been made popular by Chapman's translations at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

This paper argues that Hobbes's translations may additionally be seen as consistent with his conception of what it is to be a philosopher and of the relationships between philosophy and poetry. In this light Pope's Homer is again a riposte and despite his dismissal of Chapman's 'fustian' language, an attempt to restore a more Chapmanesque elevated and allegorically potent conception of the epic poems.

The paper thus illustrates the often intricate fortunes of and the sometimes controversial reasons behind the transmission of ancient texts in early modern world; the range of arguments about the nature and responsibilities of philosophy; and it casts light on the re-opening of ‘the battle between ancients and moderns’ at the end of the seventeenth century.

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From allusion to illusion: the referential dilemma of Alfonso Parigi’s etchings for Salvadori’s and Gagliano’s *La Flora* (1628)

Before the painted sipario (curtain) was drawn aside for the first performance of *La Flora* - the favola based on Ovid’s version of the myth of Apollo and Flora bestowing the earth with flowers – associated allusion and illusion had already been established in the minds of the invited guests. The numerous political allusions and metaphors evident in Salvadori’s libretto, which Marco da Gagliano set to music for its 1628 performance in the Teatro Mediceo, are well established. Similarly, Alfonso Parigi’s five etchings of the scenery, published with the libretto, have been amply discussed in relation to the first performance. However, by their very nature, etchings, even by the scenographer as in this case, can never fully signify scenographic ‘reality’, given numerous restrictions in time, colour and dimension. Beyond referential meaning lies discussion of authorial intention and spectator expectation.

Parigi worked within a profession abounding in the practice of illusion, central to which was fixed-point perspective and machine-driven elevation. The practice of illusion (deception even), would have inevitably extended to the etchings in order to reinforce cherished assumptions. Thus, referential dilemma between the etchings and scenography may be further compounded. Given that Vasari and other artists embrace the concept of *inganno* (deception), the question is asked whether music is equally complicit in deceptive ends. Argument is forwarded that Marco da Gagliano’s musical setting supports not only the political and mythological allusions inherent in Salvadori’s libretto, but also the illusions of Parigi’s stage designs, and furthermore that it does so within a profound understanding that music plays the least significant role within the triumvirate of scenography, poetry and music.

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Thomas Nashe and *Dido Queene of Carthage*

The title page of *The Tragedie of Dido Queene of Carthage* (1594) says that the play is 'Written by Christopher Marlowe, and Thomas Nash. Gent.'. Dido is therefore often listed as a collaboration. One recent published article suggests that Marlowe wrote Acts I and II, and Nashe the rest. Several editors, however, have questioned the extent of Nashe's involvement. The paper will present evidence from a new computational-stylistics study that the play is in fact internally consistent in style and entirely the work of Marlowe.

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Community intervention in domestic disputes: Evidence from the King's Bench, 1350-1500

The ways in which medieval communities dealt with excessively violent domestic disputes generally passed by without interest from the ecclesiastical and civil courts. The intervention methods did not require written agreements and so the levels of community involvement in the regulation of domestic disputes have remained unknown. Cases of trespass from the King's Bench Court, however, highlight methods which were implemented by the community in order to protect wives from their violent husbands. These methods only appear in the court record because they are the defence used by some men against charges of ravishment. Community efforts to help women and children who were involved in these violent disputes were undermined by the legal system in which a good Samaritan who gave refuge to a fleeing woman could be charged with trespass by the violent husband. The cases involve adult sons, the clergy and family friends providing shelter to victims and families, guilds and churchmen deciding the appropriate course of action. Excessively violent domestic disputes put the stability of a community at risk and it is through these cases of trespass which passed before the King's Bench that community intervention in intra-familial violence can be clearly seen and investigated.

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6B

The re-decking of the altars: church fabric and parish conflict in early modern England

A Homily of the sixteenth-century Church of England denounced ‘excessive painting, gilding and decking’ of churches, and warned against ‘superfluous’ garnishing with the ‘colored cloaks of idolatry.’ But a later generation of English Protestants reintroduced altar coverings, canopies, and curtains, as well as painted images and elaborate rituals. A cultural war raged in the reign of Charles I between ceremonialist enthusiasts for ‘the beauty of holiness’ and more austere Protestants who feared that the Reformation was coming undone. This paper examines the conflict over church furnishings and the material accoutrements of religion in the 1620s and 1630s. It contributes to the social history of the ‘long reformation,’ to materialist accounts of religious culture, and to histories of parish conflict on the eve of the civil war.

The material environment for worship was transformed between 1536 and 1559, as sacramental sanctuaries were re-made as auditories for the word of God. State-sponsored iconoclasm purged churches of their statuary, images, paintings, and hangings, leaving them ‘bare and naked,’ or at best rudely furnished. Elizabethan protestants contrasted the purity and simplicity of their reformed worship with the ‘superstitious’ sumptuousness of Roman Catholicism. Though never as thoroughly purged as some enthusiasts would have wished, or as some historians have assumed, ornate altars gave way to plain tables, the polychrome fabric was stripped, and the theatrics of devotion were simplified.

In the 1620s, however, a movement began to re-beautify English churches, and to reintroduce elaborate rituals. Its proponents were anti-Calvinist protestant ‘ceremonialists who believed that the Reformation had gone too far. Referring to themselves as ‘priests’ not ministers, they repositioned communion tables as ‘altars’ and reintroduced elaborate sacramental furnishings. They sought to honour God by furnishing his house, so that every curtain and cushion, every embroidery and carving, had the quality of a prayer. The results can be seen in local accounts, inventories, and court records, as textiles, furnishings, and embroidered or painted images sprang up in parish churches. Most of these items, in themselves, bore little theological freight; but when parishioners revered them as sanctified objects they became incendiaries for cultural conflict. This paper

uses local administrative records to review the refurbishment, and sermons, tracts and pamphlets to trace reactions to it.

Whereas ceremonialists imagined the church as a bride, their enemies saw her tricked out as a harlot. The new deckings and dressings were allurements to luxury, lapses of faith, and inducements to sin. 'Adorned with purple and scarlet, as the woman in Revelation,' the church became a 'whorish church,' made gaudy with 'earthly ornaments,' charged the London puritan John Stoughton. His Norfolk colleague Edmund Gurnay railed against the 'profanation, pollution and prostitution' of God's church by 'lamentable gaudiness.' John Milton similarly denounced the 'rich furniture' and 'gorgeous altar cloths' of the 1630s as 'the gaudy allurements of a whore,' 'the new-vomited paganism of sensual idolatry,' accoutrements of a 'spiritual Babel.' This was a passionate debate, not just about furniture and textiles but about the kingdom's covenant with God. At stake in the materiality of paintings and gildings, needlework and fabric, was the nation's spiritual health and its commitment to maintain the Reformation

Glynnis Cropp

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Perspectives on Poverty in some Medieval French Literary Works

In the sense of destitution, human wretchedness and powerlessness, poverty is a permanent feature of medieval society, inescapable for many. Men and women suffer poverty. Some virtuous, self-denying people voluntarily choose a life of poverty, usually with a sense of thus advancing in Christian spirituality. In moral writing, poverty figures among the vices to avoid, and is often associated with covetousness.

The depiction of poverty and its victims occurs frequently in literary works. Some instances have acquired exemplary value in the history of poverty, for example Yvain's encounter with three hundred women silk workers in Chrétien de Troyes's romance *Le Chevalier au lion*, where the women's socio-economic situation has caught historians' attention.

It is proposed to examine in a few romances two different contexts depicting poverty: firstly, where poverty is a temporary condition, susceptible to change, that is improvement, by virtue of courtly-chivalrous action, and secondly, where poverty provides an effective means of disguise, despite possible dangers. While serving the narrative purpose, an ever-present aspect of reality is thus impressed upon the audience of the romance.

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Communication costs: Spain and the Philippines c.1600

Communicating with the Philippines across half the world cost Spain dear, but communication—or lack of it—also had costs for the people in the Philippines, both Spanish and Indigenous, and ultimately for Spain. There were many hazards: from shipwreck to duplicity, from lack of infrastructure to dishonesty.

Ships were lost, along with any letters being sent on the two-year round trip from the Philippines to Spain and back. Governors hid orders they had received from the king. Others, both secular and priests, simply ignored some orders, or twisted matters to suit their own ends. Checks and balances were often, but not entirely, missing. Bishops took issue with governors, especially about the treatment of Indigenous; Hernando de los Ríos Coronel, who was the representative of the Philippines in the Spanish court from 1608—1610 and 1618—1623, where he was forthright, took his responsibilities seriously, both in Spain and in his new home, the Philippines.

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Surviving the Dissolution: The Syon Community at Denham, 1539-50.

When England's only Bridgettine monastic community was dispersed after the suppression of Syon Abbey in late 1539, various groups of religious, both male and female, sought to continue their regular life in small household-based secular communities that eventually united to form the restored Syon Abbey under Mary Tudor's patronage in 1556. The most important of these households was that of the former abbess, Agnes Jordan, which established itself at 'Southlands' near Denham in Buckinghamshire very soon after the dissolution. It was this group of religious that later went into exile on the continent in 1550 and ultimately formed the nucleus of the Marian refoundation. Little is known, however, about the day-to-day life of this household or how it managed to perpetuate the distinctive lifestyle and liturgy of the English Bridgettines in its decade of quiet solitude at Denham.

New evidence will be used in this paper to suggest that an informal but recognisably monastic Bridgettine community existed at Denham under the leadership of Agnes Jordan (1540-46) and Katherine Palmer (1546-50) before its removal to the Low Countries in 1550. This small community seems to have observed as far as possible the basic precepts of the Bridgettine *Regula Salvatoris* and was thus able to preserve the pre-Reformation communal identity and monastic traditions of Syon Abbey. This paper will make use of data from the University of Hong Kong's Monastic Database Project [RGC Project No. HKU 7176/97H].

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Indigenous Religion and World Religion as Categories Through Which to View the Conversion of Early Medieval Germanic Europe

What is known about the interplay between Christianity and 'Paganism' in the early Middle Ages grows more problematic with every new scholarly contribution. Recently the dominant position has been to assert that nothing can be known of the earlier oral tradition of the Pagans, as all that remains are Christian texts written by Christian clergy; that these clergy were not sympathetic to Paganism, but rather were critical; that the most appropriate models for literary texts are found in the Bible and other Christian writings; that there is no hard and fast distinction between secular and ecclesiastical literary genres; and that the texts first and foremost provide scholars with material about ecclesiastical matters of importance at the time of their production. Extreme versions of this position deny the existence of pre-Christian religion or 'Paganism' at all, because all the texts are Christian and as Christians their authors knew nothing of paganism. In the encounter between literate, urbanised Christianity and non-literate rural Paganism in early medieval Europe, the historical issues which are at stake recall contemporary cases between 'indigenous' religion (e.g. native title land claims mounted by peoples who were non-literate at the time they were colonized by Europeans, and who struggle to have their way of doing things granted status), and 'world religion' (read colonialist enterprises) yet this is never mentioned. This paper argues that anthropologists would do entirely different things with early medieval Paganism, working as they do with living non-literate societies, and that the avoidance of labelling the medieval Christian evangelistic enterprise as the deliberate obliteration of an indigenous culture is a moral lapse on the part of modern historians.

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The oldest manuscript witness of the *First Life of Blessed Francis* written by Thomas of Celano

Until now, the oldest dated manuscript of the *First Life* was copied in 1253. A new examination of a manuscript of the *First Life* preserved in the Bibliotheque nationale de France allows to situate its copy at the beginning of the decade 1230, to date precisely the confirmation of the First life by Pope Gregory IX 1229, February 25, and to be sure that the text we read nowadays as *First Life* is really the text that Thomas wrote. This manuscript was produced in Southern France, likely in the context of the struggle against the heresy.

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Medievalist Farce as Anti-totalitarian Weapon: Dario Fo’s *Mistero Buffo*

Declaring himself the jongleur of the proletariat, Nobel Prize-winning playwright Dario Fo’s self-perception as a comedian-activist has long drawn unabashedly on tropes drawn from his extensive research into medieval comic entertainment. Fo’s lauded 1969 *Mistero Buffo: The Comic Mysteries*, which reworked medieval mystery plays to address contemporary politics, is arguably his most overt use of medievalist theatricality to serve his satiric purposes. This paper focuses on *Mistero Buffo* – both the text and the play’s performance history – as a fascinating instance of performance founded on an equation of populist humour and medievalism. The chapter will examine how Fo’s own distinctive, radical buffoonery was developed directly out of his conception of a Middle Ages in which anarchic humour had the power to expose the abuses and hypocrisies of those in power. Dwelling closely on his attempt to reanimate the peripatetic figure of the medieval guillare, which he saluted as the original anti-authoritarian humourist, the paper will argue for Fo’s medievalism as a key weapon in his satiric armoury against the violence of Italian fascist politics and his country’s corrupt government. It will also consider the vital role of Fo’s

intensely physical comedy, and in particular his adaptation of farce as an historical form, as an instrument of his satiric agenda. Fo's depiction of subversive medieval humour will also be read comparatively alongside Mikhail Bakhtin's mid-twentieth-century formulation of the carnivalesque Middle Ages, exploring their corresponding emergence out of contexts of social unrest and totalitarian rule.

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Vehicles and Vapours: Joseph Glanvill and conceptions of Spirit in seventeenth-century England

Seventeenth-century notions of the nature of spirit (and spirits) were varied and complex. The understanding of spirit influenced debates about witchcraft, ghosts, the nature of the soul and its state after death. This paper will explore the nature of spirit as presented by Joseph Glanvill, Rector of the Abbey at Bath, Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II and Fellow of the Royal Society of London. As part of this study, the paper will examine the influence of other prominent theologians, such as Henry More and Richard Baxter, on Glanvill's philosophy of spirit. However, the paper will also examine the relationship between Glanvill's interest in current scientific trends and his understanding of spirit. The paper will demonstrate that Glanvill's discussion of the nature of spirit was not only influenced by debates about new scientific methods, but that his beliefs about spirit also informed his attempts to develop scientific theories to explain various events and phenomena associated with witchcraft and the interaction of spirits with the physical world.

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Galileo as Forerunner: Experimental Natural Philosophy before Boyle

It is customary to regard Galileo as a pioneer of modern science. But in fact he is better thought of as a transitional figure, on the cusp between the late medieval and the early modern world. This is clearly the case with regard to both his physics and his astronomy. But it is also the case with regard to his scientific method: his natural philosophy both harks back to medieval ideals

and anticipates later seventeenth-century thought. While recognizing the late medieval antecedents of Galileo's scientific method, this paper will explore the ways in which it anticipates the experimental philosophy that would later be exemplified in the work of Robert Boyle.

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Typifying Difference: Human Variation and 'Wanted' Advertisements in Early Modern England

As the grouping of people according to perceived contrasts in bodily appearance, contrasts considered inherent and therefore marking disparities in physical, mental, or moral aptitude, race has an ambiguous place in early modern historiography. Historians frequently correlate the advent of modern racial paradigms with the earliest application of chromatic descriptors to groups of people and their skin. When did the English start to consider themselves 'white(s),' completing a racial binary which had denigrated Africans as 'black(s)'? Some accounts favour the mid-seventeenth century, others the mid-eighteenth. They tend to agree that humoralism was in decline. With its stress on the dynamic combination of four vital fluids, phlegm, cholera, melancholy, and the sanguine, humoral physiology is usually assumed to have made for unstable selves, impeding a bounded or innate personhood, which was durable in a manner that racial typology would itself seem to require. I will outline how we might revise our understanding of these developments. Rather than rely so much on the observations of elites, we should consider the view from below. Evidence for the somatic perceptions of ordinary folk can be found in newspaper notices for wanted persons. Though not solely reliant on skin pigmentation, advertisements suggest that, on the street, humoral physiology did indeed permit the typing of people as essentially different.

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Nostalgia and medievalism: conversations about time

Nostalgia has been so closely scrutinised over the last few decades across a range of disciplines—with, for the most part, the exception of medieval and medievalism studies—that any attempt to address it at this stage risks drowning in a sea of footnotes. This concept bears on a range of issues currently engaging the minds of medievalists: memory, the body, history and historicism, desire and enjoyment, time and temporality. All these fields of study which touch on our relation to the medieval past share some ground with nostalgia. It is therefore surprising that medievalists have hovered so long in its vicinity and taken so little notice of it. In this paper I will argue that it is time for a conversation between nostalgia and medievalism on the subject of time. Although, since Kant, nostalgia is usually understood as a temporal longing, the past itself is a disputed category. To take an extreme example, but one now familiar to a new generation of medievalists, not everyone accepts that time is irreversible and, if it is not, then is the past irrevocably lost? My paper pursues this question in and between discourses of medievalism and nostalgia.

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Seven Sonnets of Michelangelo – Benjamin Britten

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**Two Men and a Baby, Some Silkworms and Mulberry Trees:
Assessing the Forced Monachisation of Daughters of a Flemish-
Veronese Family**

The maintenance of noble family status invites analysis of the significant context of local power and the role of women. The case of two Flemish merchant brothers, who fled the wars of religion in 1580 for Venice, illustrates a realignment of values for those seeking stability and upward mobility in the Veneto. Their political refuge and descendants' rise to noble status coincided with late sixteenth century social and economic changes, making access to civic and religious duties for patrician recognition easier. In fact, mercantile wealth was given a new sense of worth as Venice sought to stabilise her power against the political crisis created by the transatlantic trade and emergence of the great states. In this history, women are openly

noted as pawns through marriage and monachisation. Forcing daughters to enter a convent was central to maintaining noble family identity. However, their underscored and silenced voices, and seeming collaboration evoke problems associated with noble family histories. This paper focuses on the contributions of 'religious' women to the Republic's threatened ideology and the problematic nature of noble family histories.

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**'His Body Badly Twisted and His Countenance Filled with Anguish':
The Physical Symptoms of Emotional Kingship in the Anglo-Norman
Period**

Historical texts from the eleventh and twelfth centuries are replete with descriptions of the emotional states-of-mind of contemporary kings and the bodily evidence that accompanies royal mental disturbances. This undoubtedly reflects, among other things, an emphasis on the performative nature of medieval kingship and the importance of gesture and outward emotional expression as markers of righteousness or sinfulness. Instances of emotional excess are often conveyed as having brutally physical consequences. For example, descriptions of French kings in a number of Norman texts are notable for the hostility of their representations and for the vivid physicality which results from unbalanced or uncontrolled emotional outbursts. Norman authors often emphasise the moral bankruptcy of unpopular regal figures (especially those engaged in conflict against Norman dukes) by using a startling wealth of emotional vocabulary to impress this lamentable condition upon their readers. Shame, anger and grief, along with their somatic symptoms, reflect the perceived depravity of certain monarchs. I shall examine a range of texts with reference to recent historiography on medieval emotions, as part of my project on the nature of 'emotional kingship' in the Anglo-Norman period.

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Henry's sore leg and anatomical knowledge in Tudor England

While on progress through Kent, Henry VIII called upon Thomas Vicary, an obscure local surgeon in Maidstone, to attend to his troublesome leg. Vicary subsequently rose to become Sergeant Surgeon to the King, Chief Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Master of the Barber-Surgeons. Importantly, he was author of 'The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man', which became the standard textbook of anatomy for trainee surgeons for the next 100 years. Vicary's influence with Henry was considerable, securing permission for anatomical dissection of the bodies of four executed criminals each year and, in 1540, Charter of Incorporation for the Company of Barbers and Surgeons – later to be painted by Holbein.

Although prohibited by their social superiors, the physicians, from prescribing for inner complaints, the surgeons were practical men who dealt with the more tangible problems of bodily disorders.

The text of Vicary's 'Anatomie' demonstrates the influence of Galenic physiology but also a considerable grasp of surgical anatomy. By analysing the content of Vicary's book this paper examines the state of anatomical knowledge in Tudor England, at a time when Vesalius was challenging the supremacy of Galen and the earlier philosophical approach to medicine.

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Innocent I's Appointment of Boniface as Papal Legate to Constantinople

E.G. Weltin stated that early in the fifth century the Roman bishop Innocent I sent his presbyter Boniface, who would become one of his successors, to Constantinople as a permanent papal representative, describing him as 'the first member of the nascent papal diplomatic corps.' (*The Ancient Popes*, 275). Papal legates are an important feature of the relationship between church and state in the Middle Ages and it is well known that the office grew out of the much more informal arrangement of *legationes* of Late Antiquity. Does the appointment of Boniface represent an important step in this development? This paper investigates Innocent's *Epistula 23* to Boniface in order to explore the question of Boniface's appointment and role. It will be set within the context of the more than decade-long break in communion between Rome and the major eastern churches of Constantinople, Antioch, and Alexandria that resulted from the second exile of John Chrysostom, the bishop of Constantinople, in 404. It shall be argued that while there are a number of references in Innocent's

letters concerned with this episode, we have no evidence upon which to reach the conclusion that Weltin did about Boniface's position being unique. Weltin no doubt depended upon the 1930 first volume of *Geschichte des Papsttums* of Erich Caspar, although without observing Caspar's qualification that this point was "mit ziemlicher Wahrscheinlichkeit" rather than proven. There is no reason to doubt that Boniface was sent to Constantinople, like his other contemporaries, to act as a letter bearer, spokesman, and negotiator, without it necessarily being a permanent post.

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The Crusades' Impact on the Sunni-Shi'a Relations

This paper hypothesises that the Crusades were not a universal war between Muslims and Christians but rather that they were a limited "clash of converts" — a conflict between the Franks who were relatively new Christians, and the Turks who were relatively new Muslims. The 'old Christians' and 'the old Muslims' (the Byzantines and the Arabs) were parts of the military scene, not participants in the war.

The Crusades accelerated the demise of Shi'ism in the southern and east Mediterranean, and enhanced the process of the long term shift of the Shi'a center of gravity from the Arab land to the Persian land. The key to this historic transformation was the full conversion of the Turkish tribes of Ghuzz to Sunni Islam. When they swept into Persia, Iraq, Syria and Anatolia, the Turks brought with them a new military tradition and religious zeal that filled a huge void created by the loss of the Arab elites of their military ethos and political energy. The Shi'a controlled areas in Syria such as Jerusalem and Tripoli were destroyed by the Franks, their rule of Egypt was taken over by Saladin, and their dream of controlling the Caliphate of Baghdad was scattered by the Saljuq Sultans.

The three Shi'a denominations of Syria and Egypt had different approaches and reaction to the Crusades and to the rise of Sunnism: The Shi'a Fatimids of Egypt tried to stand in front of the two enemies—Sunni and Frankish; but they had to face their fate as a dying empire at the hand of those who came to save them from the Franks (Shirkuh and Saladin); The Shi'a Nizaris (Assassins) followed a survival strategy. They assassinated many Sunni leaders and few Frankish leaders to deter the two parties from infringing into their affairs and territories, but they were flexible enough to serve the two parties when necessary. The Shi'a Imamis (represented here by the Banu 'Ammar of Tripoli) had a torn loyalty between the Sunnis of

Damascus and Baghdad, and the Shi'a Fatimids of Egypt. They tried, with no avail, to get help from the two Muslim powers against the Franks.

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Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the everyday

Milton's critics have given little attention to his portrayal of the everyday in *Paradise Lost*, perhaps because the notion of the everyday seems incompatible with an epic. The everyday seems not to change, but Milton's epic is about great change. This paper questions the perceived incompatibility and instead contends that Milton grounds his epic and its changes within a biblical notion of the everyday. Because of the ever new mercies of the Creator who has called the everyday into being the everyday itself is ever new. Milton portrays his understanding of the biblical everyday through his characters Adam and Eve and gives prolonged attention to depicting the couple's daily life in the garden: their work, their conversations, and their prayers. As demonstration and test of my proposed emphasis I consider the couple's evening prayer in Book IV; and then secondly their prayer of penitence in Book XI. Together these prayers vocalize Adam and Eve's experience and understanding of their everyday as they move from an unfallen to fallen but redeemed state.

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Gendering ambition in fifteenth-century England: Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester (c. 1400-1452)

Ralph Griffiths has written that the 1441 trial of Eleanor Cobham, Duchess of Gloucester, was 'the scandal of the age', noting that 'every fifteenth-century chronicle written in England mentions the episode.' Found guilty of felony and of treason, Eleanor Cobham was divorced from her husband, Duke Humphrey of Gloucester, sentenced to a public penance through the streets of London, and imprisoned for life. Contemporary sources made much of Eleanor's ambition, and her downfall. With a focus on the desire of ambition, this paper will consider how Eleanor Cobham has been portrayed

in both contemporary accounts and later writings. I suggest that these sources highlight some of the complexities of constructions of gender in this period, and how ambition was a particularly problematic attribute when ascribed to the fifteenth-century noblewoman. This paper represents the early stages of PhD research which will explore the idea of 'gendering ambition' in fifteenth-century England, with a focus on women in positions of power, and political ambition.

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Rock, paper, scissors: Conflicting authorities in the dispute between Baldwin of Forde and the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury

To his contemporaries Baldwin of Forde, archbishop of Canterbury from 1184-1190, seemed a classic case of someone promoted beyond his abilities. He was described by a contemporary as a better monk than abbot; a better abbot than bishop and a better bishop than archbishop.

Although his time as archbishop was taken up with a destructive dispute with the monks of his own cathedral about his plan to build a collegiate church in nearby Hackington this need not be attributed to a failure of his authority. More likely his lack of success was occasioned by the conflict of authorities - papal, regnal, archiepiscopal, episcopal, and conventual - implicated in the quarrel.

An examination of the dispute, based on hundreds of letters preserved by the monks of Canterbury, will showcase the complicated workings of authority, and illustrate how formal authority is only effective if accepted by the subordinate party. Such acceptance is often dependent on a judgment as to the moral authority of the person claiming it.

Close attention to the course of the dispute will cast further light on these themes and allow a more nuanced assessment of Baldwin's performance as supreme authority in the English Church.

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Medievalism in the Baltic: a strategy toward modernization

This paper sets forth some neglected aspects of an interface of extreme cultural difference in the Russian Province of Livonia in the 18thC. In a slow process to modernisation the Baltic German aristocracy and their illiterate Latvian serfs facing the demise of feudalism and imminent modernisation have been considered at a juxtaposition of a highly sophisticated ruling elite and a rare remnant of primordial civilisation unheard of in Europe at the time. Humbolt, Hamann, Herder, Sir Walter Scott, Mannhardt and others, retrieving the language, pagan customs and mythology of the Latvians give evidence of the value Enlightenment thinkers and the 19thC placed on this remnant of the vanishing old Europe.

My paper considers how these two groups negotiated the leap from feudalism and an agrarian way of life to modernity by recourse to a shared past history and increased missionary activity among the peasants. I argue that in a shared rejection of rational positivism, and particularly antipathy to the French Enlightenment by a strongly held Lutheran pietism (and Russian Orthodoxy), the two groups moved toward assimilation of each other's cultures. Furthermore, I wish to present some visual evidence of a growing cultural identification by the colonisers with the Teutonic Order and Crusader past as a strategy for differentiating themselves from Tsarist Russia and forging for an inclusive 'Kulturation' in the Province, a strategy 19thC Latvian Nationalists overturned in the 19thC by reinventing themselves out of the negation of that medieval past.

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Developing your Career: Publications and Major Funding for Collaborative Research Projects

The first half of the session explores the role of academic publishers in developing individual careers and what the researcher should expect from a publisher. It will touch on issues of copyright and the role of university presses versus commercial presses, and the relevance of printed publications in an online world.

The second half of the session looks at the work of the CARMEN global network of medieval centres. The network was established in 2007 to help institutes for medieval studies to come together to construct collaborative research projects on an international scale. Since then two such projects have each been awarded over 1 million euro. A further two dozen projects are in various stages of development. Some are small-scale and envisage

book series or conference series as outcomes; others focus on seeking funding for doctoral and postdoctoral research training programmes; others are more ambitious and seek to produce transformational projects that involve not only medieval partners or partners in the humanities but 'cross-faculty' partners. There is ample opportunity here for universities, centres or individuals in New Zealand and Australia to participate; or to lead projects. The session will also share details of the Research Strategy Document produced by CARMEN in the light of a recent European funding application.

Prof. Simon Forde is Publishing Manager at one of the world's leading publishers in the humanities, Brepols. He is also Executive Director of CARMEN, the world's main network of medieval centres and national associations. He is a Visiting Professor at the Centre for Medieval Studies at the University of York.

The Politics and Economics of Electronic Publishing

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Hildegard of Bingen's treatise on Laybrothers and the development of the lay brother institution in the twelfth century

The religious reforms of the twelfth century saw the expansion of many forms of corporate religious life, including that of monastic lay brothers. It was not always clear during the twelfth century just what the life of the lay brother entailed – there was change and development in the lifestyle, and also significant debate concerning the merits or otherwise of this form of religious life. In around 1169 a prior (of Eberbach the German Cistercian abbey?) wrote to Hildegard of Bingen, asking her to 'send us the treatise which we have heard that...you wrote concerning those secular and unlearned people who have taken up the spiritual way of life, those that we call conversi', to which request Hildegard sent a letter-cum-treatise in reply. In this paper I will examine Hildegard's treatise, examining what it can tell us about the status and role of lay brothers in the twelfth century, and placing it within the context of wider European developments concerning both lay brothers and lay sisters. The focus will be on the Cistercian order. The fact that the prior asked Hildegard's advice in the first place will be also studied, as a means of examining twelfth-century uncertainty about the relative positions of lay brother and monk within monastic society, and also

as a means of studying the extent to which medieval monks were on some occasions prepared to seek the guidance of medieval nuns with respect to important matters of institutional religion at a period of great religious change.

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The Death of Llywelyn and the Writing of Vernacular History in Wales

In 1282, Llywelyn ap Gruffudd, the last prince of north Wales, was killed in battle against the army of Edward I and Wales lost its political independence. While this event can certainly be seen in retrospect as a major turning point in the political and social history of Wales, it was also marked at the time as an apocalyptic event for native Wales. Poets expressed a sense of national devastation, and in the monastic houses, particularly those of the Cistercians, scribes set about commemorating the loss of Welsh independence. This paper considers the vernacular histories of Wales which were produced in the aftermath of 1282 and interprets them as elegies for the lost hopes of a return to Welsh sovereignty.

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Female Models of Penitence and Faith in Romanos the Melodist

There are two female figures who recur in Romanos' kontakia as models of penitence and faith: the haemorrhaging woman and the harlot. Romanos devotes a hymn to each of them, and returns to them in other hymns. They provide a benchmark for himself and his congregation: models of Christian behaviour in the period before the eschaton. This paper will examine Romanos' portrayal of these two women and investigate why they are more useful to him as models than some of the male disciples of Jesus.

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'Till Death do us Part?': Family Life in the Byzantine Cloister

Byzantine families survived in the context of monastic life and found ways in which to remain united even when their members entered monastic institutions. Double monasteries played a role in this, especially those that were deliberately established to be institutions to house family members of either sex. As well as utilising hagiographical texts to explore the topic I make particular use of typika, monastic foundation documents, as evidence for studying the Byzantine family and its interests. I also consider the expectations of family members on joining such institutions and the ways in which family concerns prevailed within them, with particular regard to the multigenerational women who became nuns in the female establishments of the Theotokos Kecharitomene, Constantine Lips, Anagyroi, Philanthropos Soter and Bebaia Elpis.

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Hunger: Man's Best Friend in *Piers Plowman*

Details of Hunger's presentation in passus 6 of the B-text suggest that Hunger is being conceptualized as Piers's watchdog. The paper examines the evidence for the canine nature of Hunger and considers why Langland would have chosen such a visualization.

The dog is such a common animal in the medieval experience that it accrued a wide range of traditional associations and symbolic associations, both good and bad, that can be seen in medieval literature generally. The dog can be associated with the demonic and the carnal, especially a gluttonous appetite. The trope of the dog returning to its vomit represents backsliding into sin after confession. The dog nonetheless has many positive associations: it can be symbolic of rationality, the relentless pursuit of Christ, and the practice of Christian virtue. The dog's tongue was reputed to possess the marvelous ability to heal wounds, a link to the interpretation of the Dives and Lazarus parable in which dogs lick the wounds of Lazarus. The dog and its healing tongue thus allegorize the priest and the healing power of the sacrament of penance.

The connection between the canine and the clerical elsewhere in medieval literature is intriguing because the link certainly appears in *Piers*

Plowman in Clergy's accusation that bad priests are 'dourbe houndis' (B.10.287-87a). Many of the familiar canine tropes, such as the dog returning to its vomit, also appear in the text and there is likewise a persistent link suggested between the clerical and the canine in the text. This link is key to understanding why Langland makes Hunger out to be Piers's watchdog. Hunger is not only hunger, the literal consequence of too few labourers working in the fields, but Hunger is Piers's watchdog is clergy is Christ, a chain of associations that take the resonance of the passage far beyond the simple message of work or starve, or the ethically problematic illustration of the principle of unintended consequence, or even a strictly allegorical reading. Hunger's homiletic advice on moderation and begging, wonderfully ironic in light of the rapacious clerical canines found elsewhere in the text and Hunger's own voracious dog-like appetite, foregrounds the profound ambivalences of this passage and its importance to understanding *Piers Plowman* as a whole.

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**Ancient Rome risen again in her beloved daughter Florence?:
symbolism and spirituality in early modern Florentine spectacles**

Florentine public spectacles – the elaborate festivals staged for the arrival of foreign princes and for the weddings, funerals and baptisms of the ruling Medici family – constitute an unparalleled entry point into the study of early modern culture. They also bring together research in diverse fields, from the history of drama to musicology. However, for all their importance in Renaissance civic life, these public spectacles present considerable problems of interpretation to historians. Scholars in this field have long been aware of the wealth of allegorical imagery within festival symbolism, but before we can begin to 'read' Renaissance pageantry we need to understand the cultural contexts within which spectacle representations were crafted. This entails an engagement with both the Renaissance predilection for mystery and with the spiritual prerogatives of medieval and Platonic interpretive traditions.

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Scottish Philosophical Societies and the Experimental Method

This paper considers three Scottish Philosophical Societies of the Eighteenth century: The Aberdeen Philosophical Society, The Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, and the Select Society of Edinburgh. I intend to show that they were planned, constructed, and carried out according to the experimental method of natural philosophy, and that it was this factor that enhanced the influence they had in the development of the country. An examination of the minute books, discourses, abstracts and question lists of these societies, along with some notes on newspapers of the time, and excerpts from correspondence from the members will provide evidence to support my claim that experimental philosophy and its method were the decisive factors for the developing and huge success of these societies.

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The Jesuits' Double Mission in Colonial Brazil from Nóbrega to Vieira: Postcolonial Critiques of Spiritual Conquest as Colonial Utopia/Dystopia'

My on-going research on cross-cultural encounters in early-modern Iberian expansion here focuses on the colonial discourses and postcolonial critiques of the Jesuits' double mission along Brazil's frontiers. From 1549 to 1697 in Brazil there emerge two important stages of adjustment of mission strategies by Jesuit leaders Nóbrega and Vieira. In both eras utopian missionary ideals are adjusted to the pragmatic interests of global religious politics and local colonial rivalries. In each era different leaders come to emphasise diverse rationales for what prove to be similarly contradictory colonial discourses. Both Nóbrega and Vieira must deal with problematic developments in the conversion of diverse indigenous groups (along the east coast from Salvador to São Paulo in the 1550-60s and in the northeast from Bahia to Maranhão-Pará? in the 1640-80s), while at the same time they must compromise with expanding colonial settlements that lead to political struggles and violent confrontations. Underlying the Jesuits' double mission to reform Christianity (via the Catholic Counter-Reformation) and expand Christendom (via spiritual conquests from Asia to the Americas), in its colonial contexts, is the fundamental identification of the ideals of Christianising and civilising indigenous peoples, as well as the radical challenge to European and mestizo colonists by way of the utopian

communities of new Christian converts. What this paper aims to show is that both aspects– the convergence of spiritual and cultural values, and divergence of utopian and dystopian models– evolve in interrelated ways at key moments in the expansion of Jesuit missions and Portuguese colonies in Brazil.

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Aelred of Rievaulx – the doctor of friendship. In what way?

In the beginning of the last century, contemporary thinkers – scholars of theology and history of Christian Europe – dubbed Aelred of Rievaulx, one of the greatest saints of twelfth-century England, a per excellence Doctor of friendship. They justified it with the fact that the Cistercian monk was the first one to compose a work on friendship in the Christian spirit. He borrowed extensively from an ancient work by Cicero, adopting not only the title, but also its dialog(ical) form. However, despite the many borrowings from Cicero, Aelred’s work is original. Most of all, it is a theological work, written in the spirit of Augustinian tradition, i.e. it was not only dressed up in the theological robes characteristic of the Augustinian theology, but provided a thorough explanation from the Christian perspective, where Christ: God – man, became the central point of reference for any friendship. This is exactly why the scholars ask to call Aelred a doctor of the Church.

However, in the light of the idea and then an institution of the doctor of the Church, which developed in the Middle Ages, a question becomes as to the character of the Aelredian doctorate. Until now, the Church proclaimed 33 of her doctors and there is no mention of Aelred’s name. Hence the problem: what kind of doctors represent Aelred doctorate proclaimed by the scholars? This presentation is intended to explain the subject.

John Hale

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The Presuppositions of Milton's Theology De Doctrina has key assumptions, axioms or presuppositions, not many of which he discusses

Truth about the infinite is recoverable from revelation. Scripture reveals it in a sufficient and clear way. The holy spirit will guide Milton into all further truth. His faith should be set out systematically. Systematic theology is not in tension with scriptural theology. Systems can be written in the usual Protestant Ramist way. Binary division in the Ramist way, and avoidance of inconsistency in the logician's way, are prime needs of the system-building. The logic for his theology matches that of his own Art of Logic. Particular postulates, like the categories of Number and Identity, work universally, thus (contrary to Aristotle's axiom in the Ethics) work the same for theology as for other enquiries. One can change any opponent's views by reasoning. One need not dwell on one's own changes. Advocacy, to the point of demolition or conviction, is the right way to persuade. Doing so is one's right and duty, and is 'assembling the mangled limbs of truth.' Taken together, they show what mattered to him and how his mind worked; and why his Christian Doctrine is so strange, and has a problematic relationship to *Paradise Lost*.

Marcus Harmes

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English Bishops and the Salvation of Protestantism 1660-1700

The English episcopate of the so-called 'Long Eighteenth Century' has long been presented in scholarly writing as pastorally ineffective and institutionally irrelevant. The bishops of the late-seventeenth century are normally recounted in modern scholarship as unresponsive to criticisms and as the somnambulant predecessors of the quintessential 18th century bishops. Yet these same bishops emerged from an episcopate at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that sympathisers presented as a dynamic force actively defending Protestantism from domestic and foreign enemies. Contemporary evidence reinforces this alternative reading of episcopal actions and of reactions to the episcopate, showing how bishops interacted with the major currents of political and social thought to validate episcopacy as suitable agent of reformed religious authority. This paper surveys a range of commentaries on episcopal responsibilities by Gilbert Burnet, William Sancroft, Thomas Tenison and other late-seventeenth century writers who endeavoured to neutralise contemporary arguments for the invalidity of episcopal authority in reformed religion by showing episcopacy as an agent of anti-Catholic security.

Lisa Hawes

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Arnulf and Christina: a Case for Reassessing Historical Categories

Felice Lifshitz notes the unbalanced division of male and female heroic religious within the developing literature of the litany. While multiple categories were created for male heroes, female heroines were ‘ghettoized into a single category...virgines.’ This desire to categorize is one mirrored by modern historians of mysticism and mystics. While female religious heroines are more often than not labelled mystic, their male religious counterparts fall into a number of different categories. This paper stems from chapter three of my doctoral research; my thesis sets out to investigate how gender shaped medieval perceptions and representations of male mysticism and how these may have been misrepresented by modern scholars.

In order to investigate the problems created by and associated with categories, I would like to consider in tandem the Cistercian lay brother, Arnulf of Villers (d. 1228) and the ascetic lay woman, Christina Mirabilis (d. 1224). Despite the similar somatic focus of their spirituality, Arnulf and Christina have assumed remarkably different positions in modern historiography. Their lives were, of course, by no means similar but I want to investigate this disparity as I believe it has some bearing on their final epitaphs: Christina the mystic; and Arnulf the ‘curiosity’.

Lindsay Henderson

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Humanism in Welsh Culture and Historiography

During the Interregnum (1649-1660), humanism in Wales began to take the place of the traditional bardic culture that had, until then, been the primary expression of Welsh culture. This transition between what was, essentially, medieval Welsh culture and its early modern form has been subject to contesting interpretations, as humanism – and correspondingly, governance and scholarly pursuits – have typically been viewed as part of Anglicisation. However, little analysis has occurred on how popular historians have incorporated this general cultural affiliation into their histories of Wales with varying impact on their depiction of Welsh cultural identity from the

seventeenth century onwards. A significant change in the way popular historians presented the growth of early modern humanism and Welsh cultural identity is evident in the 1980s and 1990s, when Gwyn A. Williams and John Davies both published popular histories of Wales that incorporated the latest research into the reasons behind the abandonment of bardic culture and the corresponding Anglicisation of Welsh culture. This altered the popular historiographical interpretations of Welsh cultural identity available to the Welsh public, and began to rehabilitate the English language as one historic expression of Welshness.

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The Role of Chaos in Lokasenna

Scholars often forget that the Pagan Norse culture was based on a model of order vs. chaos that was distinct from the Christian view of the world which is based on the dichotomy of good vs. evil. In a culture that focuses on the distinction between order and chaos, gender ambiguity poses a threat to the world of order. In the Old Icelandic poem Lokasenna, Loki uses insults aimed at attacking the gender of the male gods in order to demonstrate the physical weaknesses of the gods by comparing them unfavorably to women. However, these insults also remind the gods that they themselves, who represent the world of order, are still subject to the forces of chaos. Loki shows the gods that they are doomed to be defeated by the forces of chaos not only because of their physical weaknesses, but because they cannot destroy the chaos within themselves and so have no hope of destroying the external forces of chaos. By looking at the associations between gender and chaos present in Lokasenna, scholars can hope to better understand how this poem functioned in its original context and how the medieval Norsemen understood gender roles and their connection to chaos.

Katherine Hermes

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Moses, Jesus and Indians in the Early Modern Atlantic World, 1610-1690

This paper will look at the nature of philo-Semitism in Scotland, England and North America, the transatlantic missionary effort to the Indians, the evolution of legal reform and church polity based on an idea of a Hebraized Christianity, and how these ideas shaped the Early Modern anglicized world.

The writings of the seventeenth-century Scottish philo-Semitic theologian John Wemyss presented an ideological basis for the incorporation of Mosaic law into seventeenth-century Puritan ideas about legal reform that eventually sparked arguments across the Atlantic about the relationship between Moses' laws and Jesus' new covenant. In the Atlantic seaboard colonies, philo-Semitism took a different urgency from than in England, because in the colonial environment law could be invented and reshaped in the first decades, from 1610 in Jamestown, Virginia, to 1636 in Plymouth, New England. A view about the Native Americans as lost tribes of Israel, promulgated by a Dutch Jew named Manoel Dias Soeiro aka Menasseh ben Israel, launched a transatlantic debate about the nature of Christian missions to the Indians and how one might establish truly authentic Judeo-Christian churches among the indigenous peoples of America. Wemyss' 'tolerationist' views of the 'Other' affected the colonial Puritans' views of themselves as rulers and subjects of a nascent primitive church. The Puritan law codes and the mission praying towns did not last, but Wemyss' philo-Semitism had a lasting, negative impact in North America, when his views of the 'Other,' both Jew and Indian, remained without the millenarian context for which they were designed.

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Book, Bard, and Candle; or, Why We Need Electronic Editions of Renaissance Drama

Anne Holloway

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Verbo et exemplo: Humbert of Romans' *Liber de Eruditione Praedicatorum* and the Order of Preachers

Humbert of Romans' *Liber de Eruditione Praedicatorum* (On the Formation of Preachers or Treatise on Preaching), written towards the end of his life

around 1263, was a general handbook for preachers. One which has been provided primarily as an example of *ars praedicandi* which focuses not solely on the construction of the nature and method of preaching, but on advice for how the preacher should preach. Although a general handbook there has been much discussion within Dominican studies about whether the *Liber* can be used to understand the spirituality of the Order of Preachers. This paper will explore whether the *Liber* can only be proffered as a practical example of the how and what a preacher should be like, or whether we can also see not just the spirituality, but also a unique identity for the Order of Preachers.

Georgina Hooper

6A

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Spreading the Word of Chinese Aesthetics: Jesuit Missionaries and Their Role in Instigating the Influence of Chinese Artistry in Europe

There is a wealth of evidence revealing how Jesuit missions to China during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became a catalyst for new artistic explorations and developments in Europe. Missionaries such as Matteo Ripa, Matteo Ricci and Jean-Denis Attiret yielded a rich harvest of accounts of Chinese artistry in the form of engravings, sketches and written descriptions of traditional Chinese landscapes and landscape architecture. Records and copies of Chinese artistry that found their way back to Europe have arguably inspired a fascination and great interest in Chinese aesthetics. New developments and approaches to painting and landscape architecture in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflect this cross cultural fertilisation between China and Europe. There is much owed to the Jesuits' passionate exploration of China: this paper will discuss numerous instances reflecting how their travels birthed change and new directions of artistic growth and development in Europe.

Julie Hotchin

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Female founders and communal identity at the Augustinian monastery of Heiningen, c. 1500

Monastic founders occupied a prominent position in the historical traditions and commemorative practices of the institutions they established. The ways in which founders were remembered and portrayed can reveal how a community imaginatively engaged with and recreated its past, preserving its traditions whilst also responding to contemporary concerns. I draw on material surviving from the Augustinian monastery of Heiningen (south of Brunswick) to examine how this community of nuns employed images of their female founders to express their communal self-understanding and identity. Heiningen was founded by a noble widow Hildeswit in 1012; her daughter, Walburgis, was its first abbess. These female founders are depicted in narrative legends, figural sculpture and embroidered textiles surviving from the first half of the thirteenth to the early sixteenth centuries, enabling us to examine how the nuns at Heiningen imagined and reshaped the images of their founders over time. The latest and most sophisticated of these in conception and design is the so-called Sybil embroidery, completed by the nuns in 1517. Hildeswit and Walburgis are portrayed in this together with figures of Sybils, prophetic women from ancient and classical tradition, and Old Testament women in a learned theological program concerning the birth, Passion and resurrection of Christ. The manner of the depiction of the foundresses in this textile, as well as their relationship to its overall visual program, illustrate how Heiningen's nuns refashioned existing traditions to articulate their spiritual sensibility and communal self-understanding. This image of Hildeswit and Walburgis is central to a compelling expression of female communal religious identity, above all the efficacy of their intercessory prayer, on the very eve of the Protestant Reformation.

Mark Houlahan

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Why Editing Early Modern Playtexts is the New Cool

This paper draws on my experiences in co-editing *Twelfth Night* for the *Internet Shakespeare Editions*, and editing *Selimus* for the *Queen's Men Editions*. A section of my paper will be entitled 'Who was Selimus and why was Robert Greene saying such mean things about him (c.1590)'.

Gillian Hubbard

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The Journey to the Bower of Bliss and Augustinian exegesis of Genesis

The journey of Guyon and the Palmer to the Bower of Bliss in *The Faerie Queene* Book II is often read in terms of the sea journeys of the Odyssey and the Aeneid. Christian exegesis of the first days of creation, such as that of Augustine in the final book of the Confessions may also contribute to this allegory. As Guyon and the Palmer journey towards the Bower of Bliss Spenser creates an impression that they are approaching land for the first time. As well as roaring seas and whirlpools the pair encounters creatures of the deep and birds that suddenly appear as if just created. The Palmer masters these sea creatures and birds with a raised staff. When he steps onto the 'sacred soile' of dry land, he similarly subdues bellowing beasts. These acts are reminiscent of the Genesis promise of human dominion over the fish of the sea and the birds of heaven and cattle and creeping things. In Augustine's exegesis of Genesis 'the sea' represents people filled with bitterness, 'the dry land' a Pauline 'living soul' of people whose affections are disciplined through self-control (XIII.xxiv (37)). Seen in this Augustinian light the conquest of the Bower is accompanied with strong overtones of Pauline ministry.

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Keynote Address: Thursday

The 'Decline of Magic': Confrontations between Sceptics and Believers in early Eighteenth-century England

This paper offers a fresh approach to the vexed issue of the 'Decline of Magic' by considering instances when those sceptical about occult phenomena orally encountered others committed to their reality. One such episode in June 1712 and its background will be scrutinised in detail, and from it more general conclusions will be drawn about the affiliations of scepticism and belief in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England.

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The 'Miles Christi' and 'Militia Christi'

Concepts such as the 'miles Christi' and 'militia Christi' have a long history as they originated in the first centuries A.D. The image of chivalry in the form of a moral allegory became prevalent in early Christian literature. The pontificate of Leon IX (1049 - 1054) is considered a breakthrough period leading directly to the idea of crusades as the highest level of embodiment of the 'miles Christi' concept. Crusades became the best field of action and a test of military prowess and moral qualifications of a 'Knight of Christ'. The subordination of an armed fight of the knights to the Church, justification of its activities thanks to religious sanction was to bestow a completely new value on it.

The influence of the Church can be observed more and more clearly in the knighting ceremony in the 11th and 12th century. Modesty, devoutness and asceticism constitute important components of a 'Knight of Christ' figure. The medieval chivalric ideal was a kind of an amalgam of sacrum and profanum but during the centuries the religious element gained an increasing importance.

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Saviours of Pious Ladies from Notorious Fornicators - or Seducers of Deranged Scandalous Women? The role of Friars Preachers as confessors for lay women in medieval society and how this role was perceived by the Dominicans themselves and by their secular critics.

Right from the beginning, ideas and ways of the Dominican Order had a special appeal to pious women. Even before founding the Order of Friars Preachers, St. Dominic established a convent for religious-minded women, and as Dominican priories began to spread all over Europe, the pastoral services of the black-caped friars were not least enjoyed by the female side of lay society. Recent studies have indicated that for many medieval families, the religious activities were often to a large part administered by its female members, and apparently this was also noted by the mendicant orders, whose preachers and confessional fathers soon attracted a lot of feminine attention. Whereas many religious-minded women joined the Franciscan order of St. Claire, the Dominican order seems to have appealed to many of those, who preferred to stay in lay life, but with a wish of more religious and

devotional content than what could be offered by the local parish priest. This growing female preference for Dominican preachers and confessors inevitably became part of the on-going conflict between the mendicant orders and the secular church, with turgid accusations of indecent behaviour and intentions on both sides. My paper will try to present the role of Dominican confessors as seen from all the involved parties.

Diana Jefferies

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Purposeful Violence: Bors' Road to Martyrdom in Malory's Sangreal

Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* ends with a statement that the knights who remain alive, Bors and three others, travel to the Holy Land where they fight against the Turks and die on Good Friday. Suddenly the action of the *Morte Darthur* has left the pages of romance and has leapt into the pages of history. This leap enables critics to investigate how historical events, such as the Crusades, have influenced the ideological direction of the text.

This paper argues that the sixth book of the *Morte Darthur*, the *Tale of the Sangreal*, is influenced by crusading ideology. To establish this claim, Bors' journey through the Grail landscape examines how decisions about the use of violence reflect Bors' later decision to become a crusader and how his death as a martyr is foretold during his Grail journey.

Critics have also puzzled over Bors' role in the last two books of the *Morte Darthur*, when he makes questionable moral decisions in support of his kinsman, Lancelot. If his decisions are read through his role as a crusader and a martyr, this change in characterisation becomes easier to explain.

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Guy of St-Denis and Aristotelian tradition

By the time Guy of Saint-Denis came to compose his compendium of music, the *Tractatus de tonis*, after 1301, evidence of familiarity with Aristotle's natural-scientific writings abounded in music theory. The way Guy evokes Aristotle in his *Tractatus* is highly unusual, however. While many music theorists were influenced by natural scientific learning, Guy draws on

reflections and commentaries on Aristotle in such a way as to suggest a distinct lack of first-hand familiarity with Aristotle's natural-scientific corpus. This paper considers Guy's sources of Aristotle in the *Tractatus de tonis* and what they may reveal about attitudes towards Aristotle's writings in Paris during the early fourteenth century.

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Women and the Opportunities of Epistolary Exchange: An Examination of Late Eleventh- and Early Twelfth-century Latin Love Letters

A number of Latin love letter exchanges or collections, written wholly or partly by women, survive from the later half of the eleventh century and the beginning half of the twelfth. These writings can all broadly be seen to be participating in a literary discourse, inspired by the writings of Cicero and Ovid, examining and exalting the nature of friendship and love, that had, until then, chiefly been engaged with by men. This paper seeks to examine how the medium of epistolary exchange provided these women not only with a means to participate in this discourse, but also an opportunity for them to adapt and change traditions to allow for the inclusion of their own unique thoughts and reflections both on general themes of love, friendship and honourable conduct, and the intimate dynamics within their own private relationships. The focus of this survey will be on four love-letter collections and will examine this topic from three perspectives: the initial engagement with this literary discourse by these female writers; their use of the epistolary format to present scholarly and philosophical reflections on the general nature of love, friendship; and their specific definitions of the intimate relationships they have with their recipients.

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Plague and the Poor in an Early Modern City: the Case of Aberdeen in the 1540s

This paper discusses how plague affected the bureaucratic treatment of the poor by focusing on the usually affluent Scottish city of Aberdeen during

the prolonged outbreak of 1545-1547. While the poor within the burgh, whether native or not, could quite easily be supported during times of stability, the epidemic created mass local unemployment and a massive strain on common funds. Non-native paupers became regarded as an unacceptable burden, as the need to sustain them diverted funds away from natives (apparently whether deserving or not) who required support. While scholars such as Brian Pullan have highlighted the changing moral attitudes towards poverty concurrent with religious reform in many parts of Europe, the case study of Aberdeen indicates that financial concerns were paramount in dictating its bureaucratic treatment of the poor.

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Is the Devil really an Ass?

One of the most intriguing devil plays of the Renaissance was Ben Jonson's *The Devil is an Ass* (1616). Arriving in London fresh from hell, the devil Pug possesses the cadaver of a freshly-hanged criminal in order to win over souls to enlarge his master's kingdom. He is, however, so foolish and ineffectual that after 24 hours he finds himself incarcerated in the same jail from which he extracted the body in the first place.

Rather surprisingly, in his dramatization of the devil Jonson conforms to the same laws which govern the workings of Mephistopheles, Coreb, Friar Rush, and other stage devils, reflecting a post-Reformation understanding of demonology which severely restricted the devil's ability to affect the material world.

In this paper I will demonstrate how the display of Pug and his hellish predecessors on the early modern English stage interrogated the supposed workings of demonic magic, depicting it not as fraudulent but instead exposing the natural mechanisms by which it could work. Jonson's play in particular not only merges the boundaries between hell and earth, it also more closely aligns the natural abilities of their inhabitants, humanizing the devil as much as demonizing the human.

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Marsilius of Padua and his Parisian Context'

The fourteenth-century thinker Marsilius of Padua is often considered the product of a purely Italian environment. His key work, the *Defensor pacis*, is frequently considered marked by the heavy imprint of the political culture of the Italian city-states. Yet Italy was only one of the environments that shaped Marsilius's thought. Prior to the appearance of the tract which made him infamous in the mid-1320s, Marsilius spent much of his time in Paris. Here he rose, at one point, to become rector of the university. While not unaware of Marsilius's involvement with the University of Paris, historians have tended to downplay the importance of the Parisian environment in the formation of his ideas. This paper will argue that it is highly probable Marsilius spent considerably more time in Paris than is traditionally assumed. It will further suggest that both the Arts Faculty and the political controversies that swept the French kingdom in the early fourteenth century left a profound mark on Marsilius's thought, one that has been essentially neglected. Understanding Marsilius's Parisian context will also enable us to understand the unusual degree of interest that was taken in his work and his career in France. As this paper will demonstrate, a re-evaluation of Marsilius's thought that takes full account of the formative role of his Parisian experience will establish a fuller understanding of the contribution of this key medieval thinker.

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Early printing practices and the influence of the sonnet sequence on the development of narrative fiction

The origins of the novel are seen to lie in narrative and compositional techniques which can be traced back to early European genres ranging from the classical epics, adventure narratives and satires to Medieval and Renaissance romance and drama. Despite occasional acknowledgment of the influence lyrical poetry exerted on some elements of the narrative (for instance, depth of characterisation), the influence of the sonnet sequence genre on the development of the novelistic discourse remains largely unexplored.

This paper will examine Italian and English sonnet sequences in the form of incunables and early printed books (1450-1680) in order to propose that early modern printing practices and genre conventions

demonstrate strong links between the sonnet sequences and narrative fiction, coeval as well as later.

I will argue that Petrarch's manuscript and incunables of his *Rime* and *Trionfi*, as well as early editions of Petrarchan sonnet sequences published in Italy and England show that the early modern reader had a more fluid, flexible perception of the genre than we do today. Books of sonnet sequences share characteristics with books containing narratives, such as first-person prose accounts of love interspersed with poems (the Dantesque model of a sonnet sequence based on *La Vita Nuova*), first-person genres concerned with the experience of love (amorous visions, prose or verse romances) and third-person verse and prose narratives; and eighteenth century works, recognized as the beginning of the novel in England (*Moll Flanders*, *Daniel Defoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, *Pamela* and the works of Fielding) make direct use of some techniques found in the early modern editions of sonnet sequences

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Towards a Model of Evangelical Female Martyrdom in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*

This paper seeks to explore the representation of female martyrs in the works of sixteenth-century Protestant and Catholic martyrologists including John Foxe, John Bale, Thomas Harding, John Mush, and Robert Persons. Contrary to the readings of Megan Hickerson and Susanna Monta—that Foxe has one overarching strategy to portray the disorderly women, I have identified several tropes that Foxe utilizes to reconcile the contemporary expectations of women's behaviour and the threat that these women pose to the patriarchal society.

In the case of Perotine Massey, one of the most controversial female martyrs in Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* due to the cruelty involved in her burning, I trace the development of the arguments over Massey's sexual continence from Foxe's 1563 *Acts and Monuments* to Thomas Harding's 1567 refutation of Foxe to Foxe's 1570 edition and finally to Robert Persons' 1603 indictment of Massey. Her case becomes more complicated when the Catholic Harding questions Massey's sexual reputation, and Foxe, with some indignation concerning Harding's inappropriate and unrelated accusations, publishes for Harding proof of Massey's sexual continence.

When John Mush's account of Margaret Clitherow, one of the three English Catholic female martyrs of the Reformation Period is read

side by side with Foxe's accounts of his female martyrs including Anne Askew, Alice Dryver, Elizabeth Young, and Rose Allin, we can read in the lines the martyrologists' unease in describing these subversive women who dared to retort male religious and secular authoritative figures. However, what each does to reconcile the conflicting ideals of a martyr and a woman reflects their religious beliefs and what they deem 'appropriate behaviour' for women. While Mush would often praise Clitherow for her obedience to her priest, i.e. Mush himself, Foxe's female martyrs quote the Scripture and engage in theological combat with Catholic priests with a strong sense of spiritual superiority.

In this paper, I seek to investigate how Protestant and Catholic martyrologists present their female martyrs and how contemporary assumptions about female weaknesses come into play in such presentations. I also examine how Foxe, while accepting the premises of his Catholic opponents, plays with such assumptions and moulds his female martyrs with key elements from traditional hagiography with such fluidity and flexibility so as to make these women more palatable to his readers.

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Incunables at the University of Otago

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Beyond the West: 'Atheism' in Late Medieval to Early Modern Travel Writings

This paper investigates travel writings from the European Middle Ages as a way of critiquing the conceptualization of the West as 'Latin Christendom,' a community bounded by religious identity under the discursive regime of the Church. The meaning of 'Latin Christendom' and writers working within it in relation to the modernity of the present has been the basis of discussions on medievalists' historicist projects for eminent scholars such as Jill Mann and V. A. Kolve. My paper examines the assumption of the European Middle Ages as 'Latin Christendom' by asking, could Europeans from the medieval past imagine a functioning community that does not practice religion? Could they imagine one without the worship of god and in

this sense an ‘atheistic’ society as lived normal reality? I examine and compare the reports of Marco Polo, Christopher Columbus, and Franciscan William of Rubruck who tell of foreign peoples who do not believe in god, who worship no god, or who have no religious faith. Such reports indicate the Western theistic bias in constructing the category of religion and point to the political agenda behind European interest in the religious identity and institutions of foreign communities. I suggest that these reports steer readers away from the centrality of theistic discourse and contribute to a new and modern conceptualization of history that is humanistic rather than god-centered. They call into question and challenge the established medieval Christian tradition of god as an innate concept and god as the basis of religious authority. These medieval and early modern accounts of ‘godlessness’ or ‘no religion,’ then, identify with the break from total religious control that is conventionally ascribed to modernity. Such an identification has implications for the conceptualization of history in these travel accounts. Instead of god as the sole actor and maker of history, travel writers from Marco Polo, to Christopher Columbus shift focus onto the different ways human beings make and act in history.

Catherine Kovesi

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Wealth and Wisdom: Pinturicchio’s Pavement Panel in Siena’s Cathedral

In 1504 Pinturicchio designed a panel for Siena’s cathedral pavement variously called ‘Allegory of Fortune’, ‘The Reward of Virtue’, the ‘Pursuit of Wisdom’ or the ‘Hill of Knowledge’. Probably commissioned by Alberto Aringhieri, and laid by Paolo Mannucci, this panel is well known, but remarkably little analysed as to its content. Dropped by Fortune on a rocky outcrop, a group of seekers after wisdom climb a hill at the pinnacle of which sits Wisdom flanked by Socrates and Crates, the latter ostentatiously emptying a basket of jewels and money into the sea. This paper will focus in particular on the characters of Socrates and Crates; their use as advocates of contempt of wealth as the apogee of wisdom, and their depiction as Magi from the east. Contextualised within the broader discussions concerning wealth, greed and the appropriate attitude to worldly goods in the period, this pavement panel, it will be argued, is an important contribution to the visualization of such debates, placed at the heart of a mercantile city’s most sacred space.

Stephen Lake

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Gallic Bishops and the Papacy in Late Antiquity

In the surviving collections of synodal canons and of episcopal letter collections, as well as in other contemporary sources, there is little evidence for any significant relationship between Gallic bishops and the papacy (4th-7th centuries). If we were to form a picture of the Gallic church solely on such evidence, it would appear that bishops took little or no cognizance of papal policy and decisions, and that even the role of papal representatives in Gaul was very limited. Surviving papal letters, however, suggest that there was traffic between Gaul and Rome, particularly in cases in which Gallic clergy appealed to popes to intervene against political and ecclesiastical decisions in Gaul. This presentation will outline this unequal picture, and suggest that papal influence in Gaul remained limited, and that the attitude of the Gallic bishops was essentially pragmatic.

Edel Lamb

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Playing girls on the early modern stage

This paper explores the construction of girlhood on the stages of early modern England. It focuses on Robert White's *Cupid's Banishment*, a masque performed in 1617 for Queen Anna at Greenwich by the pupils of Ladies' Hall, a girls' school in Deptford. This masque foregrounds the young females in the context of their schoolroom and interrogates the relationship between sexual, gendered and aged identity in relation to this schooling. In its representation of young female characters and performers, positioned in the liminal spaces between childhood and adulthood, *Cupid's Banishment* makes a case for the benefits of female education and it demonstrates the ways in which schoolgirls might use their education and youth to produce gendered and sexual identities that challenge typical uses of the term 'girl' in the period. By considering dramatic representations of schoolgirls and the experiences of schoolgirls on the early modern stage side by side, this paper will examine the ways in which young women engaged with the concepts of girlhood emerging in the early seventeenth century and

demonstrates one way in which feminine youth might be usefully located within the male-dominated realm of early modern drama.

Sarah Lambert

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Sleeping with the enemy: populist views on crusading practice

This paper will address some of the many instances in what is loosely definable as the 'popular' (populist) literature of the middle ages in which sexual relations between Christians and non Christians take place in the context of the crusades. It is part of a larger project to investigate popular understandings of crusade ideas and ideology amongst the medieval European public, the supposed audiences of crusade sermons and potential participants in the crusades. These stories reveal complex ideas about gender, ethnic identity, sexuality, reproduction and the transmission of religion by 'blood'. Investigating vernacular expression of these ideas can help to elucidate issues concerning the transmission of ideas from elite to popular registers, and the 'translation' of these ideas not only between languages but between registers and genres. By taking into account translation and reception theories, these texts can therefore make a significant contribution to our understanding of the 'mentalite' of the crusading public, the reasons for the continuing popularity of the crusading cause, and the cultural construction of difference.

Irena Larking

5B

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The Symbolic Ties That Bind: Exploring Faith Through Things'

The history of how England transitioned from Catholicism to Protestantism has traditionally been told as a history of doctrinal change or the triumph or survival of one creed over another, using such prisms as economics, politics, and social changes/developments. In this paper I propose a new approach to a well-known story. This approach draws on the discipline of cultural history as a methodology, rather than an object of analysis, and brings to the forefront the importance of 'things' – object, space and ceremony – in the analysis of the past. Such seemingly insignificant paraphernalia can tell historians much about the ways in which individuals interacted with their

parish church, and with one another, in the expression of their faith. Here I speak of faith rather than religion, as faith encapsulates the entire lived religious experience explored at a grass-roots level. To demonstrate this methodology, I will draw on the two parishes of Boxford, Suffolk during the sixteenth century and Stockton, Norfolk during the seventeenth century and ‘unpack’ the contents of their respective churchwardens’ accounts to see what we can learn about how each of these parishes experienced their faith.

Sienna Latham

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Lady Alchymia: Elizabethan Gentlewomen and the Practice of Chymistry

Historians have traditionally downplayed Elizabeth I's interest in and patronage of chymistry, but it is no coincidence that the queen who so carefully managed her iconography drew comparisons to 'Lady Alchymia'. We first find significant evidence of female chymical practitioners in England during her reign. This paper examines precedents for feminine involvement in alchemical writings, imagery and legends, arguing that the dominance of male practitioners was rooted in cultural norms rather than a function of the art itself. Representation of concepts like 'Lady Alchymia', 'Sapientia' and 'Dame Nature' as female — in contrast to the male natural philosophers who wished to uncover their secrets — lent themselves to chymistry's portrayal and function as a creative act suitable only for men. Elizabeth I's influence allowed English women, particularly Protestant gentlewomen, to encroach upon this previously forbidden realm in a manner consistent with both their accepted social roles and strongly held religious beliefs. To illustrate this point, I explore evidence that Margaret Clifford, Lady Cumberland, engaged with the chymical world by means of patronage, the accumulation of knowledge and its implementation in her charitable medical practice, bringing to light new details about the so-called 'Margaret Manuscript'.

Armelle Leclercq

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The BN fr 12569 manuscript, a description of the crusade

In the ms BN fr 12569 (13th century), we can see a complex description of the crusade, illustrating a quite historical *chanson de geste*, *La Chanson de Jérusalem* (song of geste of the First Crusade Cycle, dating back to the 12th century). Which episodes are there illustrated? Which vision of the crusade is given through these illuminations, a crusade of knights or a crusade of the poor, a heroic fight or a religious encounter? Which comparisons can be made with another ms of the same period illustrating the same work (BN, fr 12558)? What are the differences with another manuscript choosing to illustrate the complete First Crusade Cycle (with inside *La Chanson d'Antioche*, *Les Chétifs*, *La Chanson de Jérusalem*), the ms BN fr 786? We will try to uncover the choices which lay behind the iconographic program of this BN fr 12569.

Megan Leitch

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‘Alas! Who may truste thys worlde?’: Treason, Truth, and Pragmatism in Malory’s *Morte Darthur*

Malory’s *Morte Darthur*, written at a time when English civil strife and instability made the volatility of social bonds an ever-present preoccupation, perhaps unsurprisingly dwells upon treason almost as much as it does upon treason’s antithesis, the chivalric ideal of fellowship. Criticism that has sought to analyze Malory’s attitudes towards treason has left unaddressed the ways in which Malory’s representation of treason contributes to processes of community formation both diegetically and in fifteenth-century England. This paper, by reading the *Morte’s* representations of treason alongside other fifteenth-century English prose romances, chronicles, and correspondence, seeks to produce an understanding of how the text’s failures of divine providence contribute to its didactic promotion of a secular ethical code of conduct in a way that would be particularly resonant for a contemporary audience. To make their world, local and national, function, Malory’s contemporaries knew and were increasingly beginning to act upon (and write about) the fact that it was not enough to place all of one’s faith in the supposed role of the king in generating stability, let alone in divine providence – and the *Morte* engages with such attitudes. The *Morte Darthur*, while rife with deeds and accusations of treason, presents this prevalence in a disillusioned and yet not unambiguously pessimistic light by offering its contemporary readership negative social commentary entwined

with an admonitory and practical didacticism designed to counteract such behaviour.

Wei Chun (Rara) Li

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Gender Competition? More objections to Hobbes's Social Contract Theory

Classical social contract theorists tried to replace patriarchy with nature equally. But it is worth asking whether physiological gender differences which nature gives us no longer have any meaning at the present day? And we can say that, sadly but obviously, the answer is no.

Classical social contract theorists are either suppose directly men are superior to women without any reason, or feign the concept of social into the natural being, by suggesting that there are fundamental differences between men and women due to the exits of the intrinsic masculinity and femininity. Not merely Rousseau and John Rawls, but even Thomas Hobbes, who emphasizes natural equality and did not elaborate too much on the inconsistency of this problem.

I will analyze three contradictions that involve gender issues in Hobbes' theory, and will show that Hobbes not only used the same dichotomy as the patriarchalist, Robert Filmer, but also used the word “individuals” to restrict the scope of social contract that edge women out of public sphere. So, social contract theories describe a revolution where brothers defeats the father; it involves emancipatory power to emancipate men from the father, but women from beginning to end are objects to be dominated.

Andrew Lynch

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Nostalgia and critique: Walter Scott's 'secret power'

This paper considers the co-existence of nostalgia and critique of the past in the medievalist historical fictions of Walter Scott, including his verse romance Marmion, and the novels The Monastery, The Abbot, The Talisman, The Betrothed, and Ivanhoe. It argues that in these texts Scott's medievalism exhibits a 'reflective nostalgia' which blends creative 'nostalgic

memory' with 'critical memory', and which stages the containment of private chivalric enthusiasm within a respect for political and military realities. Nevertheless, Scott's view of historical change as largely effected by military power also refuses to underwrite history as providential or inherently progressive. His distinctive nostalgia asserts the lost potential of the past as a missing presence in the here and now.

James MacGregor

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Saint Alban vs. Saint George: Challenging the status quo of Patron Sainthood in Late Medieval England

Around 1400, the monks of St Albans abbey embarked on a campaign to keep the cult of their patron saint relevant in the late medieval world. To do this, they emphasized Saint Alban's role as England's proto-martyr and revised his hagiography in an effort to attract new patrons from among England's elite. The results of their efforts were renewed pilgrimage to the saint's shrine and the growth of the abbey's confraternity roll. While this was certainly the desired outcome, there is another consequence of the monk's actions that has gone largely unnoticed: the emergence of the notion that Alban was England's patron saint. The proposed paper will show how this idea likely originated among the St Albans monks and to what extent it was disseminated outside of the abbey. The chief conclusion is that even though the monks were able to revive the fortunes of their house by appealing to the spiritual sensibilities of the kingdom's elite, neither they nor their supporters were able to appeal to the patriotic sentiments of the same people. This is because the idea of Saint George as the kingdom's patron saint was too deeply entrenched in patriotic mentalité of fifteenth century England.

Philippa Maddern

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Playing emotions: associations of emotions and childhood in late-medieval English plays and processions

Evidence for emotions either felt by, or associated with, late-medieval English children is sparse at best. Yet the mystery plays and processions of

the later middle ages provided, in an urban context at least, opportunities for the public presentation of intense emotions associated with, and expressed by, child characters (as in, for example, ‘Abraham’s Sacrifice’, or ‘Joachim and Anne’s Presentation of Mary at the Temple’). They also depended on the participation of children in affective performance of plays and pageants. This paper will explore the nature of the emotions expressed and recreated in these venues, and the possible interactions between the players, the role, and the audiences.

Estelle Alma Mare

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The mystical visions of El Greco’s backturned figures

When we look at any picture it does not seem that there is a fictional personality mediating our access to the fictional world, nor are we presented with someone’s conception of it; we ‘see for ourselves’ what goes on in the picture-world. However, in various of El Greco’s paintings the viewer’s access to the fictional world is mediated by an anonymous figure inside the picture who views the mystical world of the picture with his back turned to the beholder who is situated in real space.

The theme to be pursued in works by El Greco is that of the ‘backturned’ viewer who encounters the represented world of the painting from inside its virtual space, and who parallels a beholder who engages with the painting from a stance in real space and experiences the displacement from reality into the image-world. What the backturned figures witness are the heavenly regions represented in the selected paintings. In mystical terms these regions are explained by as spiritual regions, representing an expansion of consciousness, leading to a state of super-consciousness. The backturned figures witness their own inner visions in a space of expanded consciousness.

Simone Celine Marshall

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Samuel Bagster’s 1807 Chaucer and its Early Modern Predecessors

The Poetical Works of Geoffrey Chaucer, published in 1807, is an edition of Chaucer's works that has been overlooked by scholars until recently. The work is noted in Hammond's *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual* as a reprint of John Bell's 1793 edition of Chaucer's works, but in its introduction, the unknown editor of the volumes states clearly that he has re-edited the poems, making some substantial changes to previous editions. In particular, the editor states he has 'consulted, but not implicitly followed, Tyrwhitt's *Account of the Works of Chaucer*, as a guide in rejecting or retaining articles of suspected authenticity', and has 'adopted a reading from Thynne, wherever it seemed more eligible than the texts of Urry.' This paper will examine the editor's claims by comparing parts of the 1807 edition with the Early Modern printed editions of Chaucer's works, to determine the extent to which this edition is indeed an important addition to the publishing history of the works of Chaucer.

John Martyn

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Pope Gregory, the only Pope who did all he could to help women

Pope Gregory wrote thirty-six letters about nuns and convents, and several others about secular women at risk. A sheet will be circulated with these letters and the recipients. Only two of these letters have ever been discussed by scholars, whether working on Pope Gregory or on Nuns, and in no case has a chapter on them been included in either category, although a chapter on monks is normal. In this paper the reason for the Pope's special interest in women will be explained, a concept unknown to scholars working on the Pope, and examples will be given to show how he did all he could to help women, especially when they were the victims of male aggression. Some letters will reveal the brilliance of some of these women, although they left no writings and unfortunately letters in reply were not preserved.

Peter Matheson
12.30

Keynote Address: Friday 11.00-

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'Let the muck give out a good old stink'. Encountering Early Modern Writers

Over the past two decades letters, autobiographical writings, diaries and family chronicles have grown in prominence as cultural history has come to complement socio-political and intellectual analysis. But what are we to make of these often intimate writings, how should we steer our way between naïve replication and impenetrable theory? Is it helpful to describe such writings as ‘Ego-documents’ or ‘Self-representations’? What did early modern writers such as Erasmus, Cardinal Contarini, Luther, Thomas Müntzer, or Argula von Grumbach, think about genre, identity, processes of communication? What actually happens when thoughts, events, emotions are distilled into writing and when scratchings of quill on paper are transmogrified into print? What balance should today’s readers strike between respect for early modern social context and intellectual content, and the ineluctable grid of their own interests and perspectives? What rituals should we academics observe when crossing the threshold into these distancing worlds?

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Bernard, Friendship and Scandinavia: The Case of Archbishop Eskil of Lund

One of the key participants in a book on friendship I published in 1988 (reprinted with a new preface by Cornell University Press, autumn 2010) is Bernard of Clairvaux, who managed to be everywhere in the twelfth century and who scattered the seeds of his thoughts and emotions wherever he came. It can be asked if Bernard could be a friend, for he had so many other agendas in his life and work. But in looking at his bond with two churchmen, Malachy the archbishop of Armagh and Eskil the archbishop of Lund, I have become convinced that for Bernard it was not just a question of winning friends and influencing people in order to gain power in the Church. Bernard's expressions of friendships to these churchmen are more than the oil of flattery in order to get what he wanted: the visits of Malachy and Eskil to Lund reveal the stunning presence of Bernard, his words and hopes in spreading his Cistercian Order but also in sharing himself with his friends. In this way Bernard becomes more than a participant in twelfth century growth of religious institutions. He bears witness to a lived cult of friendship.

Una Mcilvenna

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Shaming the ‘Cabal of Cuckoldry’: the Parlement de Paris and Catherine de Medici’s ladies-in-waiting

In September 1577, Pierre de L’Estoile, a Parisian notary, described in his journals the recent scandalous murder of Françoise de La Marck, lady-in-waiting to the queen mother Catherine de Medici, stabbed in the royal palace by her husband, the king’s chief adviser, for alleged adultery. L’Estoile included twelve verses commenting on the honour killing, that paint La Marck as a prostitute, her husband as a pimp, and the King as one of their clients. He claimed that the verses ‘fell into his hands.’ But L’Estoile was no mere impartial recorder of events: as a member of the vast workforce serving the powerful Parlement de Paris, France’s highest legal court, he was one of many highly literate, politically active men circulating satirical literature that portrayed the women of Catherine’s court as whores. Nicknamed the ‘flying squadron’, Catherine’s entourage has since been historically linked with scandal, her ladies portrayed as sirens distracting politically significant men with their licentious court. Looking at fake epitaphs, imaginary libraries and spoof manifestoes, this paper exposes the magistrature’s collective attempts to shame politically influential noblewomen, the motives behind such misogynistic behaviour, and how their ridicule has led to the historical perception of the Valois court as debauched.

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Kingly Excess and Parliamentary Restraint: the Voice of the People in Troilus and Criseyde

During the so-called Merciless Parliament of 1388, English parliamentary practice in late fourteenth century England collided head on with the authority of kingship. Though the Appellants were attempting to rectify what they regarded as deplorable kingly actions by curbing the excesses of the Ricardian court, Chaucer’s depiction of the Trojan parliament in *Troilus and Criseyde* seems to imply a criticism of such restrictions upon the king’s authority. Hector’s lone voice of support for Criseyde is subsumed under

the fierce ‘noyse of peple’ (IV.183) in a characterisation of the anonymous crowd that is also deployed by Chaucer elsewhere: ‘cherles rebellyng’ in the Knight’s Tale (I.2459); and the ‘shrille shoutes’ of ‘Jakke Straw and his meynee’ in the Nun’s Priest’s Tale (VII.3394-5). A contrasting portrait of the crowd can be found in the ‘meeke preyere’ and ‘pitous cheere’ of the people appealing to marquis Walter in the Clerk’s Tale (IV.141). Chaucer suggests that the constraints placed upon monarchs by parliaments not only restrict abominable behaviour by king and court, they can also hamper good leadership. This paper examines the constraints imposed by the Trojan parliament upon the princes of Troy, and the resulting prevention of Hector enacting the ‘right’ decision regarding Criseyde’s exchange for the Trojan prisoners, within the wider context of the harsh and deadly restrictions imposed upon Richard II and his intimates by the Merciless Parliament. By way of comparison, it also briefly considers the absence of the people’s voice in the Knight’s Tale’s Athenian parliament, and the quite different approach adopted by the people in the Clerk’s Tale in order to influence their recalcitrant ruler.

Ailish McKeown

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‘And I now will baptize thee’: Violence and Conversion in Medieval Cornish Saint Plays

This paper considers the two surviving medieval Cornish saint plays, *Beunans Meriasek* and the recently discovered *Bewnans Ke*, with reference to the three Middle English plays that constitute the other British representatives of the genre. None of these plays present the martyrdom of the saint, yet all contain violence, and in the plays of *Meriasek* and *Ke*, it is particularly spectacular. The playwrights depart from or embellish upon the saints’ legends, interpolating seemingly unrelated legends to increase the violence. In the case of *Ke*, the well-known story of King Arthur and his battles with Lucius and Mordred adds to the element of physical violence. There is a close relationship between violence and conversion in the plays. *Teudar*, a terrifying tyrant in the legend of *Meriasek*, for example, threatens the saint and tries to force him to convert from his faith, and in a comic inversion, *Meriasek* threatens *Teudar* with baptism, a fate so terrible that *Teudar* takes flight – baptism itself is seen as a violent act. The treatment of violence serves not only to provide spectacle for the audience but works with the theme of conversion to explore questions of justice, divine mercy and human freedom.

Anne McKim

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Coming on to Bannockburn, and looking back

‘Come on to Bannockburn:... [Here no Scot can pass uninterested. I fancy to myself that I see my gallant heroic countrymen, coming o'er the hill and down upon the plunderers of their country, the murderers of their fathers; noble revenge and just hate glowing in every vein ...]’

Robert Burns recorded this patriotic and impassioned response to the battlefield of Bannockburn (1314) in a travel journal begun during a Highland tour in August 1787, and later expanded. His visit also inspired the famous poem “Bruce's March to Bannockburn” (known to many as “Scots wha hae”), published a few years later (1793). Early in the same century, other travellers – Scots, English and European – had recorded their responses in journals and letters, both published and unpublished, to historical sites and memorials associated with Scotland’s Wars of Independence. Of particular interest are accounts by “site-seers” who toured Scotland in the period following the 1707 Union when the new British state was established, though subsequently challenged, most notably in the Jacobite risings of 1708, 1715 and 1745. Leith Davis (1998) and Murray Pittock (1997) have identified a tendency among some Scots in the decades following the Union to glorify Scotland’s medieval past and to view Scottish history as a struggle for liberty. This paper examines some of the ways the medieval past is imagined, and Scottish national heroes commemorated, in a range of eighteenth-century travel narratives with a view to testing Rosemary Sweet’s observation that eighteenth-century attitudes to the Middle Ages were complex, shifting and ambivalent (2004).

Amanda McVitty

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‘The impulse of his will’: Gendering tyranny in the deposition of Richard II

This paper contends that a fundamental opposition in late medieval Western thought between masculine reason and feminine concupiscence resulted in

the construction of tyranny as the pejoratively gendered epitome of both political misrule and default of masculine self-governance.

Using the deposition of King Richard II of England as a case study, I will show how gendered discourses formed the conceptual grounds for this pivotal conflict over the exercise of political power. My approach connects discourse to social reality by anchoring gender in sexed bodies - both individual bodies and the body politic of the realm. Drawing on sources including the parliamentary rolls and the official Record and Process of the king's deposition, I argue that an ideal of masculine self-governance that was grounded in the control of wilful fleshly desires by reason, produced tyranny as an inherently feminine deficiency.

While much valuable work has recently been done on the causes and process of Richard II's deposition, the richly detailed primary sources have not previously been subjected to sustained historical analysis from the perspective of gender and sexed embodiment. This paper will therefore offer fresh insights into both Richard II's fall, and into enduring entanglements between gender, sexuality, and political power.

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Love of God or Hatred of your Enemy? Emotions from the Holy Land in the First Crusader Period

In an inaugural lecture delivered at Royal Holloway College (10 May 1979), Jonathan Riley-Smith argued: 'The crusade was in this sense, a blood-feud waged against those who had harmed members of Christ's family.' He also elaborated on the problematic relationship in Christian thought between the love of God and 'love your neighbour,' on the one hand, and the crusades, with all their acts of violence perpetrated against the Moslems, on the other hand. Riley Smith's pioneer lecture hints at a crucial aspect in the study of the crusades; namely, the wide spectrum of emotions that the movement aroused among different social strata in medieval Christendom. The crusades and the Latin States of the *Outremer* offer a precious source of research on the rich spectrum of emotions, one that in many aspects still remains terra incognita. The pioneer work of Riley Smith elucidated one aspect - love, or more specifically, love of God - in the multifarious emotional baggage that the Christian enterprise overseas aroused among contemporaries. The present paper attempts to investigate the first stages of the crusader ethos from a wider range of emotions. To this end, we will focus on the emotions aroused by three cornerstones of the history of the

crusades and the Kingdom of Jerusalem; namely, the conquest of Jerusalem, the fall of Edessa and, subsequently, the Second Crusade and its outcomes, and the Christian defeat at the Horns of Hattin. These episodes will reveal the gamut and also the essence of emotions raised by the crusades and subsequent developments in the Latin East. An attempt will be made to discern discrepancies of approach among the different sources, which perhaps evince different emotional attitudes among the various social strata.

Constant Mews

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Guy of St-Denis and his reading of the ancients, the Bible and the Fathers

Monastic intellectual life in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries tends to attract much less attention than that of the mendicant religious orders, or that of secular clerics. My paper is one of three issuing from an ongoing project to translate the *Tractatus de tonis* (c. 1300) of Guy of St-Denis, a music theorist who was a monk at the abbey of St-Denis in the late 13th and early 14th centuries. My paper introduces Guy and his desire to re-interpret core monastic musical traditions in the light of recent Aristotelian thinking by focusing in particular on his awareness of the writings and imagery of classical antiquity, the Bible, and the Church Fathers. In particular, Guy accepted the traditional notion that plainchant had originally been composed by Pope Gregory the Great, but he was acutely aware of the difficulty of finding out what Gregory had originally written. This paper introduces the potential significance of Guy's attempt to relate monastic musical tradition to the intellectual world of Paris in the late thirteenth century.

Charlotte Millar

10F

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The Witch's Familiar in Sixteenth-Century England

In 1566 a sensational pamphlet was published in London detailing the crimes of three women executed for witchcraft in Chelmsford, Essex. Elizabeth Francis, Mother Agnes Waterhouse and Jone Waterhouse all

confessed to possessing a familiar spirit whom they identified as ‘Sathan.’ This creature, first identified as a ‘whyte, spotted Catte,’ then a toad and, finally, ‘a thyng lyke a blacke dogge with a face like an ape, a short tail, and a peyre of hornes on his head,’ was said to ‘require a drop of bloude’ which he sucked from the accused witches. In return for this blood Sathan brought his mistresses riches and revenge. He killed children and made several men impotent. He also forced the accused witches to ‘say [their] pater noster [and all other prayers] in laten.’ After performing these acts, the familiar spirit betrayed his mistresses to the authorities. The familiar spirit is pivotal to our understanding of 16th century English witchcraft. Traditionally, English witchcraft has been viewed as primarily malefic in nature. However, a detailed analysis of the role of the familiar (an analysis which James Sharpe believes is ‘one of the most urgent items on the agenda for future research into English witchcraft history’) shows us that English witchcraft narratives were deeply concerned with the Devil’s influence upon the world. In this paper I will discuss the role of the familiar in 16th century English witchcraft and how our understanding of this creature must lead us to view English witchcraft as inherently diabolical.

Anna Milne

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Ideological or Insubstantial? Political Prophecy in John of Paris’ Tract on the Antichrist

From somewhat of a footnote to traditional studies of medieval eschatological thought, political prophecy has undergone a significant transition in recent years. Re-constructed firstly as an independent genre, it is now considered to be a ‘discourse’ that is integrally connected to the entire social, political and religious fabric of late-medieval thought. Political prophecy’s general purpose was to provide social and political commentary of the author or adaptor’s ‘world’ and it linked past and present tribulations with the End Times. As an important component of medieval chronicles it gave meaning to historical events and, importantly, worked as a device that orientated the entire narrative within the divine process. As part of a broader project that explores the way that prophecy informed the public sphere, this paper considers whether the socio-political functions embedded within prophecy maintain their ideological meaning if taken from their natural context of historical narrative. Focussing on the fourteenth-century Dominican theologian John of Paris’ Tract on the Antichrist I explore the ways in which the social and political messages of established and

widespread prophecies survive, transition or are negated by the scholastic compiler's 'knife'.

Alastair Minnis
3.30-5.00

3H, Keynote Address Saturday

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The trouble with theology: Ethical poetics and the ends of Scripture

The thirteenth century witnessed a major turn within the history of Biblical exegesis. The different styles and didactic modes deployed in the various books of the Bible were formalized at considerable length, the 'poetic', 'affective' and 'imaginative' nature of various types of scriptural writing being described and justified. But this trend brought with it several troubling questions. Given that secular poetry – the work of merely human (uninspired) authors – was generally categorized under ethics, did this imply that theology and ethics had a lot, maybe too much, in common? They shared many stylistic means, so were their ends the same? Was theology moving too close to poetics? Was the 'queen of the sciences' being reduced to the level of her most unreliable servant? I will investigate the proportions of this problem with special reference to the exegetical theories of Alexander of Hales and Bonaventure, proceeding to consider how and why the Averroistic version of Aristotle's Poetics found favour with the schoolmen, and concluding with the ways in which Petrarch and Boccaccio drew on 'Biblical poetics' as they sought to defend and valorize secular poetry. This proto-Humanist trend incurred the wrath of Girolamo Savonarola, whose fulminations make quite clear what was at stake: opposing claims to truth, competing negotiations of authority and desires for authorization. All of which marks the fraught transition from the medieval to the early modern.

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Science and Witchcraft in the work of George Sinclair

It had long been assumed that witchcraft beliefs were thoroughly at odds with the early natural sciences, the only interactions being scientific

scepticism over the existence of witches, and the eventual overthrow of witchcraft beliefs by science. Over the past few decades various studies have shown how and why many scientists were actually supportive, rather than sceptical, of witchcraft beliefs. It is now generally accepted that early modern science and magic had a closer and more complex relationship than was previously acknowledged and that they fitted together into one cohesive worldview. A useful example for exploring such a worldview is the largely unstudied Scottish natural philosopher, George Sinclair. Sinclair wrote texts on mathematics and experimental philosophy, becoming the first professor of mathematics at the University of Glasgow, but he is mainly known for a book defending the existence of witchcraft, entitled ‘Satan's Invisible World Discovered’. The depth of connection between these two fields for Sinclair was such that he actually included what he claimed was a verified story of demonic intervention, an attempt to convince people of the truth of such phenomena, into ‘the hydrostatics’, a book which otherwise dealt with experimental and mathematical topics. This episode provides an interesting case study to be situated within the wider context of the relationship between science and magic.

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A ‘Friday Knight’ in *Arcadia*: Hain Friswell’s 1867 edition of Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*

Hain Friswell (co-founder of the ‘Friday Knights,’ a nineteenth-century social and literary club) began to edit Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia* in 1866, and in 1867 published the text as part of a series called ‘The Gentle Life,’ or ‘Essays on the Formation of Character.’ Nearly 300 years after *Arcadia* was written, then, the last full-length redaction can also be seen as the first of the modern editions of *Arcadia*. While Dorothy Stanley is the only other writer to take on and rewrite the whole text (in 1725), Friswell’s edition is quite different. What differentiates Friswell’s text from Stanley’s and makes it feel more like an edition is the self-consciousness of the text. From Friswell we get an introduction, notes and paratextual commentary. The signs of the edit are not only evident but they are articulated. Part of a broad nineteenth-century concern with expanding literacy and education beyond the middle-classes, Friswell clearly saw Sidney’s work as recuperable for contemporary times. This paper begins to explore the significance of Friswell’s work both in its own right, and in relation to Sidney’s humanist assumptions about the role of reading in the development of productive global citizens.

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Susanna and the Elders (1652): Artemisia Gentileschi's 'Endpiece' Rediscovered

In 1652 Artemisia Gentileschi painted *Susanna and the Elders*, considered her last documented work, and believed lost by scholars. The painting has recently reappeared in the Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna with an attribution to Elisabetta Sirani, and identified as by Artemisia Gentileschi by the present author. The paper will explore the circumstances of this rediscovery, placing the work within the context of Gentileschi's oeuvre, tracing its provenance and proposing a possible patron(s).

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Erotomania and its Remedies: Love and Medicine in Early Modern Europe

Focusing on Jacques Ferrand's magisterial medical text *On Lovesickness* (1610, 1623), this paper analyses the early modern notion that sexual desire was a physical disease, arising from material causes and subject to medical treatment, including surgical intervention. Debated and elaborated in medical texts, the idea that love was a physical sickness also permeated the literature of the period, including the plays of Shakespeare and the *Essais* of Montaigne. This materialist, medical approach to desire was often at odds with both theological notions of love as a moral choice, and the popular sentiment that love was primarily emotional. It also foreshadows modern debates about whether sexual preference is a matter of choice or of biology.

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The Fate of Church Plate during the English Reformation

The material outcomes of the English Reformation demonstrate how ideological and political changes could be experienced by worshippers in English parishes. How do attitudes to church jewel and plate change during the various Tudor Reformation policies? Detailed studies of 16th century inventories, indentures and other parish records provide snapshots of the objects in churches at various points during the Reformation and can help answer questions about the physical worshipping environment. Were all parishes equipped for lavish Catholic worship during Henry VIII's reign? What effect did the national inventories and confiscations of Edward VI have on worship? Did the Catholic policies of Mary reaffirm or challenge attitudes to religious objects? Were the Elizabethan policies and Book of Common Prayer clearly or widely received with regard to church furnishings?

The presence or absence of particular objects informs our understanding of how religious worship was expressed. Material culture can be accessed through documentary evidence. Of all the objects used in churches throughout England, items of church plate such as chalices, paxes and pyxes connected with the Mass of Catholic worship and the Holy Communion of Protestant or Reformed liturgy, are a suitable focus for a study of material outcomes of ideological change.

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Women's Words: How did women's letters come to be written in 13th-century England?

This paper proceeds from the assumption that to write a letter in late medieval Europe was a powerful act, demonstrating in a physical form the sender's participation in a dominant (and literate) cultural mode. What, then, were the conditions of production and the material facts that shaped the possibilities and outcomes of letter writing by women? These issues will be addressed with reference to a sample of letters written to the royal

chancellor by a range of women in thirteenth-century England: from queens and great ladies, to humble supplicants and distant relatives. How did each of these women come to write to the chancellor: why did they write, and what formulae governed how they did so? Can any link be demonstrated between the circumstances and form of their letters and the success of their requests? What features were common to the letters of all these women, and what separated them? Finally, in writing, did these women demonstrate power, and what was its nature? Were their letters gendered 'feminine', or were they indistinguishable from men's letters of this type?

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Crisis and Wealth in the Early Byzantine Period

Crises such as natural disasters, population displacement, poverty, religious disputes, violence, and social abuses necessitated swift and decisive responses on the part of bishops. One basic but neglected source for such episcopal crisis management is the corpus of bishops' letters in Greek and Latin, the letter being the most significant mode of communication and information transfer in this period.

To date there is no comprehensive treatment of crisis management in the early medieval/early Byzantine period, and no existing survey of episcopal letter-writing in the first millennium AD. This paper offers a survey of the types of crisis management strategies that were employed by bishops throughout the western and eastern halves of the Roman empire in the fifth and sixth centuries. By comparing episcopal letters with other sources I draw some positive conclusions about the social and economic status of those whom bishops helped throughout various crises, as well as noting who or what failed to register in the episcopal record. By studying Greek and Latin epistolary sources, I hope to determine whether class, or to put it more simply wealth, was an influential factor in episcopal management of crises in Byzantine Rome.

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Watched by Woodwoses and Deeply Confused: Gawain's Objectification in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*

Sir Gawain and the Green Knight subverts the power of looking in unexpected ways. Characters who according to Middle English poetic convention ought to hold the power of the gaze do not, or at least not for long. In addition, those who manipulate the power of looking to their own ends would normally not even possess it. Gawain, as a man and the protagonist, expects to hold the power of the gaze but he does not for very long, if at all.

Power and expectations regarding it are subverted and twisted in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, commenting on Gawain's moral standards. In addition, characters are initially portrayed in a very conventional fashion, at distinct odds to their later actions.

In this paper I will argue that this incongruity results from the following: Gawain has entered a world in which things and people do not appear as they really are, including himself. This is used by the poet to comment upon the unreality of courtly romances, even as Gawain himself, supposedly a 'real' knight, is also apparently from such a courtly romance.

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Billing and Killing: Treason Texts in Mid-fifteenth Century England

My interest is in the construction of treason in a political culture that turned intensely partisan, especially in the spate of short poems that issued from the hostilities associated with the Wars of the Roses, but also, I suggest, in *Le Morte Darthur*. My exemplary text is B.L. MS. Cotton Rolls ii 23, a composite work that preserves a good deal of polemical verse anchored by the record of charges laid in parliament against William, Duke of Suffolk. It includes one poem where Truth itself is responsible for the accusation and 'tale' of treason: 'Yt is much lesse harme done to bill that to kylle.' Treason takes on a peculiar force in such circumstances, related, like truth, to solidarity and legitimacy, rather than social or political virtue. If the proceedings against Suffolk articulate deep suspicions of the Lancastrian regime, the polemical verse bills of this period also contribute to a reconstruction of the political body around the royal Yorkist person of Edward IV, whose repeated arrivals demanded this vigorous textual support. In that sense, the fragmented body that proves to be the common representative of treason in both chronicle and romance narratives, gets reproduced here with phantasmatic, rather than symbolic force. Michel

Serres speaks of Rome's history as a history of recurrent foundations: 'History kills ... history feeds on murder.' In fifteenth-century England, likewise, the partisan poem typically functions as a document of foundation or sedition according to whether the poet's party proves victor. I suggest, finally, that it is in this context that Malory rebalanced his large political romance so that dynastic change is stabilised, paradoxically, by the peculiar dynamic of treason as action and as accusation.

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Using text-recognition software to expose new layers of meaning in medieval writing

This session will demonstrate some features of text similarity detection software developed by David Squire with view of application in historical studies. The software, founded on the techniques used in the Damocles plagiarism detection system, identifies several categories of textual borrowing and allows for side-by-side comparison of similar passages in different texts. Apart from saving time and improving the precision of source identification (e.g. Biblical references, major scholastic texts), the historian is provided with a powerful tool to contextualize and analyze medieval texts which often depend on heavy borrowing of sometimes unacknowledged sources.

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Descartes and Animal Souls

Descartes is often thought to have denied that animals have souls and in one sense of 'soul' he does. That sense, however, was by no means the only one common in his time nor the only one he considers. We argue that Descartes' position is best understood against the background of Galen and of Alexander of Aphrodisias and as having important similarities with the Alexandrian view in that the unity of an animal body requires its own principle prior to the reception of a sensitive or, in the case of humans, rational soul. Descartes' stance on the unity of animal bodies has

consequences for how we are to interpret his remarks about the unity of the human body and its special relationship to the rational soul.

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'Women Saints of our Contrie of England': Anglo-Saxon Female Saints' Lives and the Development of Englishness

In the search for an emerging English identity in the centuries following the Norman Conquest, scholars have studied the vitae of male saints for elements of Englishness. However, the Anglo-Saxon female saints' vitae have been largely overlooked. This paper begins to redress the imbalance, approaching the vitae of Sts. Æthelthryth of Ely, Edith of Wilton, and Eadburh of Nunnaminster as potential sources of English identity. It further considers the effects which a female audience may have had on reading Anglo-Saxon saints' vitae, and how this may have helped disseminate a sense of Englishness among the educated women on post-Conquest England.

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Medieval Irish troscad: hunger strike, ritual fast, or both?

Medieval Irish law includes a practice called troscad, a ritual of public fasting in front of a perceived injurer to gain recognition of an injustice and compel the injurer to offer justice by following the law. Parallels have frequently been drawn with the more recent practice of hunger-striking, continual refusal of food until death or capitulation, deployed by the modern Irish in their struggle against the perceived injustices of English sovereignty. The parallel is taken to its extreme in W B Yeats's play *The King's Threshold*, set in medieval Ireland, in which a poet engages in a hunger-strike before the king, but is this an anachronistic conflation of two different practices, or an accurate presentation of an historical phenomenon? This paper compares and contrasts medieval Irish troscad and modern Irish hunger-strike, assessing the extent to which they may be attributed to the same impulse or tradition.

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Queen's Men Editions: Texts and Performances

The idea behind the *Queen's Men Editions* is to present, in as complete a collection as possible, the texts (original spelling and modern) with annotations and production notes, including performance clips, or (where feasible) complete productions, and direct links to pertinent content in our up-and-running website, *Performing the Queen's Men*. The contents of QME will include the 9 plays identified by McMillin and MacLean, plus other plays adopted by the company, such as Wilson's *Three Ladies of London*, and plays possibly written for or performed by the company, identified tentatively by Knutson and others. Each play correlates the original-spelling transcription with a modern critical text, including the usual apparatus of print-editions, and references to or transcriptions of source or analogous materials from the period. Special features will allow users to see dubious or alternative readings of specific lines in visually exciting formats. Editors will discuss generic connections to other histories and romances of the period to demonstrate the influence exerted by the Queen's Men in shaping the theatre of the day. We hope to launch the *QME* site at ANZAMEMS, with a demonstration of *King Leir*.

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Madness, Murder and Shakespeare's Catholicism: the Arden Somerville Case Reconsidered

In the last decade claims that William Shakespeare was a convert to Counter-Reformation Catholicism have multiplied in both academic and popular media. Often these claims are based on a simplistic assumption that Shakespeare's writings express his assumed biography and internal beliefs, rather than historical evidence. This paper examines one episode which has been held to support the contention that Shakespeare was a Counter-Reformation Catholic - the arrest and condemnation for treason of Edward Arden and John Somerville in November 1583, and Shakespeare's

subsequent allusion to Somerville in 'The Third Part of Henry VI. Rather than relying on biographical inference from Shakespeare's writings, the paper reviews new archival evidence that helps to situate the Arden-Somerville episode not only in the context of Shakespeare's Warwickshire, but in Court and ecclesiastical politics, and especially the legal and political ramifications that followed from the condemnation and execution of Edward Arden. It concludes that reconstructing Shakespeare's religious and political beliefs must begin from careful archival reconstruction of the world he shared with his audience, and with which his writings actually engage.

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Right Compassion in Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs

In her biography of her husband, Lucy Hutchinson sharply describes the sufferings of Royalist women as 'unfortunate but deserved.' This is an arresting comment not simply because it seems rather harsh. Hutchinson's observation is conflictive in ways that reflect seventeenth-century debate about right compassion and the nature of the universe. What kind of compassion is appropriate, especially in the case of one's enemies or those who are not elect? In what sense can Hutchinson see suffering as both merited and misfortunate? How might her response reflect conflict between an understanding of the universe as ruled in every respect by divine providence or by random fortune?

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'A worme most abjecte:' *Sermo Humilis* as Reformation Strategy in Katherine Parr's *Prayers or Medytacions*

Katherine Parr's reputation as the wife who 'survived' Henry VIII was secured, in part, by the spectacular performance of obedience and submission she staged before the king and his councilors when, in 1545, she became the latest target of the conservative Bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner. Pleading that as a wife and woman, she submitted absolutely to her husband and king, Parr put into physical practice the *sermo humilis*, or

humble style, that characterized her publication in the same year of *Prayers stirring the mynd vnto heauenlye medytacions*, usually referred to by its 1547 title, *Prayers or Medytacions*. Translating the third book of Thomas a Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, Parr presented the monologue of a generic "creature" in place of her original's dialogue between man and God, and in doing so established a unique space for private feminine devotion in the emerging vernacular literature of the English Reformation church. By employing humility *topoi* that referred obliquely to contemporary cultural discourses of women's weakness, moreover, she presented the devout woman's relationship to God as the most humble, and therefore most appropriate approach to 'heauenlye medytacion.' Parr takes this reformation of continental Catholic precedents one dramatic step further, when in her 'Praier for the king,' one of several original prayers Parr appends to her translation, she constructs her position as Henry's wife as the palimpsest for the subject's relationship to the sovereign. In doing so, I will argue, she articulates a radical reformulation of responsibility for the newly proclaimed head of the Church of England.

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Cassiodorus' *On the Soul* and its dependence on the Latin sources

This paper is dedicated to the study of Cassiodorus' *On the Soul* (6th c.) and its sources, the analysis of structure of Cassiodorus' treaties, its composition and contents. It is shown that it is possible to trace textual and semantic parallels between texts of Cassiodorus and the authors of Late Antiquity, among which are Augustine (4-5th cc.) and Macrobius (5th c.). The discrepancy in their key terms and also in some basic elements of their teaching on the soul is also demonstrated. For instance, ethical approach in Cassiodorus' teaching on the soul with a strong Christian element and their connection with antique ethics are considered. The conclusion is made that Cassiodorus accepted those aspects of Platonism that had been absorbed not only by Augustine but also by other 5th century authors, both Christians and pagans. It is shown that Cassiodorus shaped the doctrine of soul in rhetorical form and made it a part of already established Christian intellectual tradition.

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Other Bodies Before Race, On and Off the Silk Route

A number of travellers to the distant 'East' (east, south-east, south and central Asia) produced accounts of places visited and cultures encountered. One interesting feature about these items of travel writing from a modern perspective is that they make little recourse to standard typologies of Asian somatic features that have become familiar to us. This paper discusses the post-medieval development of 'race' before examining a number of descriptions of the faces and bodies of Asian peoples in European travel narratives of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, focusing on John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, John of Monte Corvino, Jordanus of Sévérac, Hetoum of Armenia, Odoric of Pordenone and Nicolò dei Conti. It queries whether bodies matter in medieval descriptions of Asian peoples, whether any common bodily types can be identified, and what surprises lie in store for modern readers used to a predictable range of 'oriental' stereotypes.

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Deadly Sympathies: The utilization of occult forces in the construction of the vampire as sentient corpse during the vampire debate of the 1730s

The vampire debate of the 1730s has received little scholarly attention within English-language research. Klaus Hamberger's detailed and thorough sourcebook, *Mortuus non mordet*, now widely considered the definitive analysis of the vampire debate in the early eighteenth-century German-speaking world, makes the link between the debate on the existence of vampires in the eighteenth-century world and the parallel debates over substance dualism. Johanna Geyer-Kordesch has demonstrated that a central concern within intellectual circles in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German lands was precisely how to define science in a context stretched between Mechanism on the one hand, and Animism on the other. In this paper, I would like to draw-out several links between what Geyer-Kordesch refers to as a 'spiritual' interpretation of science in relation to the body and Hamberger's discussion of dualism as it pertains to the vampire

debate. I suggest that the utilization of occult forces, in particular sympathetic attraction was of paramount importance in the construction of the vampire as sentient corpse within both traditional scholastic-Aristotelian circles and radical Pietist thought drawing on neo-Platonist ideas. The vampire debate reflects well a central question present in Geyer-Kordesch's study: what did science mean, and how did the debate(s) over dualism serve to define it in the early eighteenth-century German-speaking world?

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The Mirror of all Christian Kings? Shakespeare's Henry V and the Machiavellian Ideal

Never was monarch better fear'd and loved
Than is your majesty', Henry the Fifth.
So says the Earl of Cambridge soon to die,
Who truly fears the King, yet loves him not.
His compliment's a lie but yet 'tis true,
For Henry is both feared and truly loved
(Unlike King Dick, that ranting Machiavel,
Who has no friends but are his friends from fear)
Which being so, King Hal succeeds thus far
In living up to Niccolo's idea
Of what a new-made prince would have to be
If he aspires to greatness. My claim is
That Shakespeare's mighty King exemplifies
The virtues of a Machiavellian Prince –
A Machiavellian NOT a Machiavel.
Greatness not evil is the King's chief good
And he who would be great must manifest
A certain kind of virtue, but a kind
That cannot with true virtue be combined.
You cannot be a Machiavellian Prince
And still remain a truly Christian King.
This, I submit, is Master Shakespeare's theme
The King cannot be what he needs must seem.

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Ecclesiastical currency: pilgrimage in the fifth century and the politics of sacred space

The late-antique church presented itself as a steadfast harbour, a place of anchorage amidst a churning sea of temptation and certain damnation. This representation was founded upon a carefully constructed idea of unity and universality that is at odds with the significant and multifaceted disputes evident throughout the church at the time. Ecclesiastical politics, theological controversy and fierce competition between the patriarchates provoke an image of the fifth century as a litany of division, schism and conflict. Despite this, the Christian world retained communication and affiliation.

By examining pilgrimage in the fifth century this paper will show that the Christian community was in large part held together through competition rather than positive unity. Competition between the geographically vast Christian communities increased contact between them as well as dissemination of common practices. By establishing popular sites of pilgrimage, the local church was able to procure the many benefits of increased wealth, ecclesiastical standing and sanctity. Such self-promotion provoked fierce competition between local ecclesiastical enterprises. This competition between sites of sanctity, as well as dispute over the validity of the practice itself, had the effect of forming a common dialogue across large expanses of the Christian world.

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Caring for pubertal daughters in early modern drama

In Jane Sharp's midwifery manual, *The Midwives Book* (1671), she reminds her readers that the stages of life are measured in seven-year stretches, and that fourteen marked a particularly vulnerable stage of female development. Sharp warns her readers that once the courses flow at fourteen 'maids will not be easily ruled' and that 'lustful thoughts draw away their minds, and some fall into Consumptions, others rage and grow almost mad with love.' Puberty heralded a time of physiological and behavioural changes in a daughter which could challenge parental skills, threaten domestic harmony and, worse, culminate in the tragic death of a daughter by suicide or by disease.

This theory is endorsed by several early modern dramatists, including Shakespeare, whose representations of teenage daughters on the brink of sexual maturity, turn the focus on how fathers handle-or more often mishandle-this vulnerable, emotional period of development. Crucial to most of the cases in drama are prevailing medical theories on the health risks of sexual frustration in young girls and the need for a re-evaluation of the 'chaste, silent and obedient' paradigm of the ideal daughter. This paper will suggest that the rise of the Puritan movement from the 1580s onwards, with its intense focus on penitence and piety as a means to salvation left many young girls from godly families facing unbearable conflicts between body and soul.

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Student Numbers at the Early Modern Inns of Court

We all have reason to be keenly aware that changes in student numbers can significantly affect the fortunes of individual academic disciplines and institutions. But since Lawrence Stone's account of 'The Educational Revolution in England, 1560-1640' (PAST AND PRESENT, 1964), little attempt has been made to disaggregate his influential picture of the rise and fall of enrolments at the universities and inns of court between the mid-sixteenth and later seventeenth centuries.

This paper explores the distinctive membership profiles of the four inns of court between the early sixteenth and late eighteenth centuries. Particular attention is given to the eclipse of Gray's Inn after the civil wars and interregnum, and the subsequent emergence of the Middle Temple to reach a position of dominance which would not be seriously challenged for another century. An attempt is made to explain these hitherto largely unnoticed fluctuations and continuities in terms of architecture, ethnicity, fashion and politics.

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Love service and battle scars: Jesus the lover-knight in Julian of Norwich

In *A Revelation of Love*, Julian of Norwich famously asserts that Jesus ‘is very courtesy’. This paper explores the relationship between her presentation of Jesus and the medieval trope of Christ the lover-knight, to which previous studies have given insufficient attention. The focus in studies of Julian on several key words associated with this trope, particularly ‘courtesy’ and ‘lordship’, have tended to disguise how these words do not function alone in the text, but rather are interlinked through their association with the figure of Jesus the lover-knight. The trope very rarely appears explicitly, remaining just behind the fabric of the text. Yet, as this paper shows, a reading of *A Revelation* with attention to this elusive lover-knight brings a new degree of clarity to several of Julian’s central arguments, among them her theology of the Passion and her famous statement about the behoveliness of sin.

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Medievalism in Antarctica: the sledging pennants of the early Antarctic explorers

Photographs of the explorers on Captain Robert Scott's expeditions to Antarctica show men posed with heraldic pennants displayed on poles stuck into the snow, attached to sledges, hanging from the ceiling at dinner, decorating individual tents or suspended above bunks. These pennants, many of which still survive, are of medieval form: swallow-tailed silk standards embroidered with personal devices. Their use on the Antarctic voyages of discovery, and also on some earlier Arctic expeditions, demonstrates a conscious and overt medievalism. This paper explores the ways in which these artefacts tangibly invoke ideas about the medieval past, nationalism, colonialism and masculinity in the Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration.

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The Creatures of Vanity in Early Modern Europe

Early modern Europeans feared outward manifestations of inner-corruption. In the case of female vanity, vice was predominantly expressed through appearance and had immediate social implications. The vice of vanity was thought to have divine consequences. These consequences included the transformation of the offender themselves into the grotesque creatures their manipulated silhouettes suggested. Sin could be imprinted on the next generation resulting in vain women giving birth to monsters or bringing misfortune to the society at large through purging epidemics such as plague or syphilis. Reproachful sermons, sumptuary laws, exemplary tales of saint's revelations, rumours spread by midwives, cautionary allegorical poetry and visual images provide evidence for analysis of the concept of monstrous forms taken by inner-corruption. This paper will examine the cultural contexts in which this concept thrived and will identify significant social and religious factors which may have contributed to the proliferation of the idea, the manner in which warnings were expressed and the primary materials and people targeted.

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The Sponsa Christi and the Identity of Female Religious: The Penitent Prostitute and the Virgin in Fra Filippo Lippi's Coronation of the Virgin, 1439-47

Fra Filippo Lippi's altarpiece of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, now in the Uffizi Gallery, ranks as one of the Carmelite friar's most beautiful paintings. The altarpiece, which was commissioned for the high altar of the venerable female Benedictine convent of Sant'Ambrogio, Florence, is dated 1439-47. The subject of this painting, the *Coronation of the Virgin*, had become a popular theme in Florentine art in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The moment when Mary was received into heaven by Christ was understood theologically as a metaphor for the mystical union of Christ with his bride the *Virgin Ecclesia*. The trope of *sponsa Christi* held particular resonance for the Benedictine nuns of this ancient monastery, for they too imagined themselves as 'brides of Christ.' In this paper I argue that for the nuns of Sant'Ambrogio the image of bride included not only the Virgin, but also Mary Magdalen in the role of *dilecta sponsa*. In examining the relationship of the Virgin as *Queen of Heaven* to the Magdalen, the paper will explore how her role as penitent prostitute helped to shape the identity of the nuns of Sant'Ambrogio.

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Medieval Papal Legation: Early Categories and Uses

The history of representation does not begin with the Middle Ages. For Western society, its origins and uses date back to the frameworks and conventions of ancient diplomacy, first established and exercised in classical Greek and Roman civilizations. Our ability to comprehend papal representation in early medieval Europe requires at least a rudimentary knowledge of diplomatic practices and offices between the ages, if only to identify existing precedents or trends. This paper seeks to define the categories and uses of papal representation in the Early Middle Ages, going further to suggest some administrative, bureaucratic, and legal continuity after the Western Roman Empire's political collapse in the late fifth century.

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Yolandian Epistolary Discourse: For the Good of the 'Firm'

Yolande of Aragon, queen of Sicily & Jerusalem, (1381-1442) was the mother-in-law of Charles VII of France. Her mother was Violant of Bar, queen-dowager of Aragon (her father was John I of Aragon). In contrast to their northern European sisters, Iberian queens were more likely to be openly implicated in the governance of the kingdom. They possessed more legitimate authority and exercised it more publicly and directly than their peers elsewhere in Europe. Their considerable epistolary activities are preserved in the largely un-mined treasure trove of the Aragon Crown Archives held in Barcelona. A detailed and eloquent letter is preserved in the Aragon Crown Archives (reg. 2055, fols. 26r-28 from Pedralbes dated 26th April, 1410). In it Violant takes her daughter to task for not defending vigorously her claim to the throne of Aragon. She contends that her daughter and her son-in-law, Louis I of Anjou, are duty bound to fight for the Aragonese crown. The letter sets things into motion and Yolande's response triggers further (very frank) correspondence from the Aragonese royal council during the interregnum (31st May 1410 - 28th June 1412). The

period in question is set against extensive and determined trans-Mediterranean geo-political manoeuvring involving the kingdoms of Aragon, France and Naples-Sicily. This episode illustrates the power of an Iberian queen's epistolary arsenal, and the paper itself argues for a closer examination of the vast unedited extant archive of queens' letters in the Aragon Crown Archives.

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**Did Hester Pulter read Jane Cavendish (who read George Herbert)?
Royalist women's poetry and communities in the 1640s**

Two of the more recently-recognised women poets of the mid-seventeenth century, Jane Cavendish and Hester Pulter, offer new insight into royalist women's poetry in the 1640s. Cavendish and Pulter wrote politicised occasional and devotional poetry in manuscript and, I will argue in this paper, it seems likely that they knew each other's verse. Pulter's 'The invitation into the Countrey' appears to echo Cavendish's 'A Sonnet', which is in turn a rewriting of George Herbert's 'Dooms-day'; and the two women's paths are likely to have crossed in rural Hertfordshire in the 1640s. This may constitute the earliest example that we have of a woman reading another woman's poetry in manuscript in seventeenth-century England, and a mutual aesthetic points to a nascent tradition of women's political poetry in manuscript in the 1640s. Katherine Philips' entry into print in the 1650s and 1660s dominates critical paradigms of the emergence of women's political poetry, but Jane Cavendish and Pulter refocus our attention on women's poetic culture in manuscript, offering a deeper context in which to understand royalist women's political poetry and communities in the mid-seventeenth century.

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**The perpetual scholar: masculinity and learning at a 17th century
Protestant Latin school**

Sociological methodology has been applied intermittently to the field of intellectual history since the 1970s, but the seemingly all-embracing hold of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus is a recent phenomenon. This approach has to be lauded for introducing the detailed analysis of scholars' behavioural patterns to the discipline, but does suffer from varying degrees of determinism. Based on extensive primary source material drawn principally from the Latin school of Zwickau/ Saxony, this paper investigates how patterns of male behaviour were transferred from one generation of the educated Protestant elite to the next during the 17th century. The socialisation of pupils into academic culture took place in the classroom and during private lessons, but also among the pupils themselves. From their teachers, they acquired the humanist tool kit they needed to proceed to university studies, and it was they whom they needed to emulate in their dress, polite manners and work patterns if they wanted to be accepted into the Republic of Letters. Pupils' behaviour, however, also mimicked student culture, where swords were part of the dress code and duels occurred frequently. While the masculinity of the learned elite was distinctly different from that of the majority of early modern men, it too was not of one piece, and bore internal contradictions. Nonetheless, many features of this scholarly masculinity – specific household forms, patterns of work, relationship to the body – remain familiar to this day. How can the longevity of these behavioural patterns be explained? What is their relationship to the changing ideal of what fruitful research consisted of in the humanities between the 17th and 19th centuries?

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Trading Places: Mercantile Readership and the Writing of the World in Medieval Romance

The audience of medieval English romance changes dramatically during the span of the Middle Ages. Initially a literature of the royal and baronial courts, romance gains a wider currency as literacy rates increase and a mercantile middle class expands in later medieval England. The increasing connection between the mercantile classes and the reading of romance in medieval England give rise to new reading practices and expectations: a mercantile readership brings into focus a different range of social discourses and expectations of romance.

This paper examines the implications of these changes in audience for our understanding of romance in fourteenth- and fifteenth-

century England. In particular, I wish to explore the way in which these romance contribute to the ‘writing of the world’ for their audiences: the type and nature of the geographic, ethnographic and cultural information that they convey about the world outside of England. Within this context, *Guy of Warwick* is an important romance both for its inclusion in the Auchinleck manuscript and within wider fourteenth-century English mercantile culture more generally. Representative of the type of romance that was becoming the reading matter of the expanding gentry and mercantile classes – the vogue for such material which is critiqued both in romances such as *Sir Launfal* and *Sir Amadace* and in narratives such as Chaucer’s *Franklin’s Tale* – the narrative can be seen as being increasingly subject to new modes of reading. Melissa Furrow, in her *Expectations of Medieval Romance*, reminds us that ‘[h]orizons of expectation change as readers change’ (Furrow, 58): thus, with new audience expectations and preconceptions of geographical meaning, texts such as *Guy* can ‘write the world’ in new and challenging ways.

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Shades of Solidarity and Tools of Fiction: Sociohistorical Linguistic Perspectives on T/V Pronoun Use in Fourteen Epistolary Novels by Women, France and England, 1670-1770

T/V pronoun use in fourteen women’s epistolary novels from France and England, 1670 to 1770, sheds light on solidarity as a factor in pronoun choice and raises questions about how these findings compare with non-fiction use. Both the French and English sources link ‘I’ choice to solidarity. This solidarity includes an intimate—not necessarily romantic—relationship. Emotional distress increases ‘I’ choice, as does low social rank. ‘I’ can also be associated with secrecy: an illicit love interest, a more sinister scheme or a discussion of such questionable matters. An additional issue is pronoun use for fictional effect, a point more apparent in specific sources. While the seven French novels suggest diachronic trending vis-a-vis pronoun choice, with only the last of them clearly utilizing pronoun choice as a characterization differentiator, the two English novels in which ‘I’ occurs appear to use the pronoun primarily as a fictional tool, rather than as typical contemporary use. Only the first and last English novels—which purportedly tell ‘French’ stories—include ‘I’, and ‘I’ is used in addressing the abstract. The French examples more likely approximate contemporary

use, although non-fiction examples would clarify this point as well as the other findings.

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Love's Victory, Pastoral, Gender, and As You Like It

In this paper I compare Mary Wroth's pastoral tragicomedy *Love's Victory* to *As You Like It*, in order to explore how Wroth dramatises female desire, and how she uses a genre that had become highly politicised by the early seventeenth century. I argue that Wroth is writing back to the all male, crossdressing theatre of Shakespeare, and that she creates an alternative theatrical space that allows women to act, and to re-act to attempts to write them out of playing spaces and public spaces. This consideration of *Love's Victory* adds to current scholarship that has offered us a far more complex account of acting, theatre and gender in early modern England.

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Letters of friendship – letters of compassion. The writings of the Benedictine nuns in Lüne between daily life, amor Dei and politics in the 15th–16th century

The Benedictine nunnery in Lüne belonged, together with Ebstorf and Wienhausen, to a circle of medieval convents in Northern Germany for which a wealth of material and written sources survive. Of special interest are 1500 letters, dating to 1485–1535, that survive in three copybooks in the nun's archive in Lüne. These were written and collected by the generation of nuns that followed the reform of the monastery in the late fifteenth century. This correspondence gives us a lively insight into questions concerning the nuns' acquisition of knowledge and education, their networks with other religious institutions (male and female), religious rituals and into aspects of their daily life. Composed by the abbess and her nuns in Latin or in a characteristic mixture of Latin and German, these letters show us that these women communicated in the language of learning with high-ranking clerics, with the Carthusians, as well as with the city council of Lüneburg. They thus

demonstrate how the nuns of Lüne formed part of the broader community of church reformers in the fifteenth century. They participated in literary circles, book exchange and the shared struggle for a new form of religious life. Above all, female monastic communities in this region formed their own community of knowledge that reflected the requirements of cloistered life, their religious functions and their particular ascetic-mystical devotional literature.

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Need, old age and Will's reaction to Antichrist

The final passus of *Piers Plowman* dramatizes an old man's view of his own life and his place within a society whose moral compass has gone askew. The need that Will experiences in his old age is expressed in these final stages of the poem by an encounter with the strangely ambiguous character, Nede, who has been interpreted as being a justification for theft in time of need, an expression of the neediness of Christ, and a harbinger of all the ills associated with Antichrist. Antichrist's forces burst on the scene in a loud and satirically drawn procession of corrupt clergy and laity that rally for the siege of Unity Holy Church at the end of the final passus. The professional practitioners within the organised church are portrayed as deeply flawed. Antichrist behaves like a false plowman,

Antecrist cam þanne, and al þe crope of truþe Torned it [tid]
vp-so-down, and ouertilte þe roote, And made fals sprynge
and sprede and spede mennes nedes. In ech a contree þer he
cam he kutte away truþe, And gerte gile growe þere, as he a
god weere. B.20.53-57

I will argue that, far from allowing himself to be beaten by the siege that threatens to overwhelm the Barn of Unity, or disillusioned by the repeated failures he perceives in the organised church, Will draws on his experiences recounted throughout the poem – of the seven deadly sins, of the sacraments of penance and the eucharist, of the behaviour of the friars, clerics and the powerful in church and state. With a lifetime's knowledge and understanding achieved by hard and bitter encounters, Will sets his sights on the goal specified by Holy Church: 'Lerne to Love'. With his feet firmly on the earth, undaunted by the possibility of yet more failure, he sets out to continue his spiritual quest in search of Piers the Plowman. The final passus is arguably one of the most compassionate portrayals of the human condition to be found in Middle English Literature.

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Chaucer's *Tale of Sir Thopas* and the Mystery of Thopas's Lancegay

It is now a commonplace of Chaucer criticism to sneer dismissively at the lancegay carried by the farcical Flemish knight, Sir Thopas, the eponymous protagonist of the failed romance narrated by Chaucer's pilgrim persona in *The Canterbury Tales*. Yet there is a great deal more to be said about this weapon than the current critical consensus allows. This paper discusses a range of documentary evidence showing that the lancegay flourished in England for approximately 100 years, in which time it earned for itself a fearsome reputation and the disapproval of a succession of monarchs, before suddenly disappearing towards the end of the fifteenth century. It will be argued that such contemporary records throw a completely different light on *Tale of Sir Thopas*, and on our understanding of the range of comic techniques employed by Chaucer in this tale.

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'Thieving had been her trade from infancy and her Mother often Condemn'd': Theft and Motherhood in Seventeenth Century England

Usually persons implicated in acts of group theft claimed not to know others accused or that they had been unwittingly manipulated into helping. This easy route of explanation is obviously impractical if the accused are mother and child. Women and their children were common accomplices in early modern theft cases, acting either as partners in crime or assisting each other with hiding and selling stolen property. How did mothers and children explain their actions?

Using the depositions of the Northern Assizes, information from the Middlesex and Westminster sessions, and the proceedings of the Old Bailey, this paper will look at the examinations of mothers and children accused of theft and the information given by witnesses. These stories offer a rich insight into questions about motherhood at the lower levels of society often left out of the discussion due to the paucity of sources. Does the large

number of grown children and mothers participating in theft together evidence a significant continuing mother child relationship? Does the involvement of young children in theft evidence a lack of social imperative to shield children from corrupting influence or merely a practical need?

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Tierney, Ockham, and Origins of Papal Infallibility

Brian Tierney has been widely known as a leading expert of medieval legal and political thought since 1950s. His voluminous scholarly output has revolved around three key themes: medieval conciliarist tradition and its relationship to early modern constitutionalism; medieval ideas of papal infallibility; and the medieval ideas of natural right and their early modern developments. These three topics generated three monographs respectively: *Foundations of Conciliar Theory* (1955), *Origins of Papal Infallibility* (1972) and *The Idea of Natural Rights* (1997). The first and third books were favourably received by, and remain influential among, intellectual historians, whereas the second provoked stormy controversies which died down after two decades.

Whether Tierney narrated the history of medieval conciliarism, papal infallibility or natural rights, William of Ockham (c.1285-1947) has always been a central figure he explored. Yet Tierney's interpretations of Ockham have not been consistent. In particular, Ockham in *Origins of Papal Infallibility* was a notoriously subjective and destructive ecclesiologist, while Ockham in *The Idea of Natural Right* made a constructive contribution to moral and political thought. The proposed paper revisits Tierney's views of Ockham in the history of political thought and ecclesiology, and reappraises his interpretation presented in *Origins of Papal Infallibility*.

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Nuremberg: the Making and Marketing of an Icon

Underneath the East window of St. Laurence's, one of the two main parish churches in Nuremberg, stands the Krell Altar. Endowed by the priest

Jodocus Krell before 1480, it depicts the Virgin Mary with the Christ Child and two saints. Behind them is the oldest known view of Nuremberg. The location of the altar and within it the cityscape signals, much like a billboard in Piccadilly Circus, a city at the height of its political and spiritual importance. Indeed, the altar, model for many subsequent representations of Nuremberg, constitutes the first step in what could be read as a campaign to establish a brand image for the city – not that Nuremberg required much marketing. From its first mention in 1050 to its elevation by Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II to the status of Free Imperial City in 1219 to the relocation there in 1424 of the imperial coronation insignia and relics to its adoption, as first city in the German-speaking territories, of the Lutheran Reformation in 1525, Nuremberg occupied a key political, spiritual, economic and cultural position at the heart of the Holy Roman Empire. This centrality was used in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern period by the immensely wealthy, powerful governing Patrician elite and by artists and authors active in Nuremberg to fashion a textual and visual icon of such symbolic power and resonance that it was adapted and exploited for cultural/political ends by subsequent generations, most noticeably the Romantics, Wagner and the National Socialists. Today Nuremberg's mediaeval charm constitutes a prime marketing tool for the Tourist Office and major source of revenue for the city. Using a variety of visual and textual sources – the Krell Altar (1480); Hartmann Schedel's *Liber chronicarum* (1493); Erhard Etzlaub's map of roads to Rome (c. 1500); Konrad Celtis's *Norimberga* (1502) and Hans Sachs's *Lobspruch der statt Nürnberg* (1530) – this paper will examine a) the visual and textual strategies employed in the iconization of Nuremberg; b) their political, economic, cultural and spiritual agenda; c) the use of Nuremberg as icon of the mediaeval in subsequent political and economic strategies.

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Morals and Politics in the Chronicle of Magister Vincentius

The *Chronica Polonorum* poses serious difficulties in grasping its subject matter. These are mainly due to the form employed by the chronicler, i.e. stylistic peculiarities of Magister Vincentius' Latin and the dialogic form of more than half of his work. But the contemporary understanding of the Chronicle's substance is also not made easier by what modern reader knows about the author. On the one hand, Vincent is seen as a beatified bishop and strictly clerically-minded writer. On the other hand, it is often

emphasized that he wrote his chronicle utilizing the categories of the Roman law and classical moral theory. The proposed paper will show that the main topic of the *Chronica* is a problem of practical morality. For Vincent, the politics is shaped by the rulers, but can these rules – as the Chronicler asks – be solely Christian or should the code of conduct maybe be limited to the secular moral ethics as proposed by the ancient philosophers? These deliberations can be best traced in Vincentius’ account of the recent familial struggle for power between Mieszko the Old and Casimir the Just, whose strife is depicted in terms of disagreement between holders of two different political ideologies. Nevertheless the problems of practical morality in politics are considered in the *Chronica* from early on in the successive series of reigns. The first one is the story the legendary ancient Krak, that can be read as Vincentius’ rejection of political theories put forward in the Latin rendition of Plato’s *Calcidius*. Another important point in this series is the instruction on proper ruling given to Bolesaw the Brave, the first Christian ruler in the *Chronica*, by a bishop, St. Adalbert. These rules are fulfilled – according to Vincentius – only in the reign of Casimir the Just, but between the first Christian king and Casimir there were others who encountered serious political problems requiring careful solution. Modalities of interest arise in case of rulers being admonished by bishops. Bolesaw the Bold and Mieszko the Old both act against the respective warnings and consequently they lose. Another modality is presented in the story of Boleslaw the Wry-Mouthed who solves the conflict with his brother Zbigniew in the court of law. Magister Vincentius does not accept the sentence and the different standards that he instead proposes are the topic of the proposed paper.

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Virgins, Adulterers and Useless Kings: Gendering the Scottish Monarchy

This paper considers medieval and sixteenth-century gendered ideas around Scottish kingship, and how these influenced the narratives outlining the successes and failures of specific sovereigns. By examining themes which highlight a variety of gendered stereotypes, ideals, and contradictions encompassing the subordinated and useless rule of John Balliol (r. 1292-1296) and Henry Stewart (r. 1565-1567), the virginity of Malcolm IV (r. 1153-1165), and adultery of David II (r. 1329-1371) and James IV (r. 1488-1513), this paper argues that the monarchy encapsulates more than a single hegemonic ideal. Primary evidence illustrates that a range of masculinities

and femininities existed alongside one another, giving a multifaceted view of those at the top of society, and proving that not all kings were considered equal. Therefore, by moving away from the normative and performative processes of kingship and examining kings who sit outside of the perceived norm, I aim to demonstrate that a deeply contested and gendered nature of monarchy existed in the embellished narratives of the chroniclers. Analysing Scottish kings through a gendered lens not only informs our understanding of Scottish rule but also enhances our appreciation of the way in which gender influences ideas about kingship and Scottish identity.

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‘Her painted wordis’: women, complaint and the canon

This paper examines the genre of complaint in relation to historical early modern women writers and the emerging canon of their writing. John Kerrigan's seminal critical anthology of Renaissance complaint, *Motives of Woe*, contains no examples of female complaint written by historical women writers, omitting a number of available examples including poems by Isabella Whitney, Elizabeth Melville and Lady Mary Wroth. Even more recent criticism characterises complaint as inimical to early modern women's textual subjectivity, in Katharine Craik's terms a ‘phobically-imagined female vocality.’ Yet complaint was practiced in diverse sub-genres and across secular and spiritual divides by a number of women writers, and the genre itself provides a rich and diverse set of examples for women's lyric subjectivity that were circulated, read and imitated by women writers. This paper seeks to reinstitute complaint as one of the genres available to and practised by early modern women writers, and examines the literary history that has led to its neglect.

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‘The Hours that They Ought to Direct to the Study of Letters’: Learning in the Institutiones for Dominican Nuns

The place of study, reading and writing in the lives of Dominican nuns has, in recent years, been the focus of significant scholarly study. This research has examined the means through which religious women engaged with, and contributed to literate cultures. In the early thirteenth century, St Dominic established his monastic order for women. He chose the Augustinian Rule as the basis for their religious life, and wrote an institutiones that shaped their particular vocation and enabled their spirituality. In his institutiones, he specified that the sisters should undertake the study of letters as part of their monastic praxis. After his death, the sisters' institutiones were modified several times, culminating with the General Chapter of 1259 that formulated the institutiones that shaped the sisters' lives until 1930. This paper takes as its focus the modifications to the expectations for scholarly and devotional reading and writing in the institutiones, and their potential consequences for the lives of the Dominican sisters.

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Using text-recognition software to expose new layers of meaning in medieval writing

This session will demonstrate some features of text similarity detection software developed by David Squire with view of application in historical studies. The software, founded on the techniques used in the Damocles plagiarism detection system, identifies several categories of textual borrowing and allows for side-by-side comparison of similar passages in different texts. Apart from saving time and improving the precision of source identification (e.g. Biblical references, major scholastic texts), the historian is provided with a powerful tool to contextualize and analyze medieval texts which often depend on heavy borrowing of sometimes unacknowledged sources.

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Subjective Rights: The Role of Religion in Tierney's Account of Permissive Natural Rights

Professor Brian Tierney posits an origin for ‘permissive natural rights’ in twelfth-century canonists’ understanding of the Latin word *ius* (‘law’ or ‘right’). That is, he argues that these medieval canon lawyers understood the term *ius* not just in the objective sense, as meaning something that was right or just, but as well a subjective understanding of *ius* as providing an entitlement or a right, or a sphere of individual autonomy or choice.

Tierney’s thesis occupies a somewhat ambivalent place. It is largely accepted by specialists in legal history, but less so by political scientists and human rights theorists, who fail to provide his theory a significant place in more general accounts of the history of human rights. Many of these narratives favour the seventeenth century (McPherson) or even the fourteenth century (Villey) as the locus of the origin of such notions of individual rights.

Although Tierney’s account of the origin of what we might refer to as ‘human’ rights has much to recommend it, the role of religion in his narrative is much underplayed. It is the purpose of this paper to investigate the importance of biblical and theological sources in Tierney’s twelfth-century canon lawyers’ accounts of permissive natural rights. Indeed, while the mid-twelfth-century saw the emergence of the ‘Father of the Science of Canon Law’ in the person of Gratian and his treatise, as well as the rediscovery of the Roman law texts compiled by Justinian, it also witnessed singular developments in the methodologies employed in teaching theology and biblical hermeneutics—the sentence-collections of Peter Lombard providing the textbook par excellence of this genre of intellectual life. It is not surprising then that a recent generation of scholars has begun to look afresh on the interaction of law and theology in this period, with insights that the differences were not so great as the similarities in genre and subject matter. It is with these perspectives in mind that I seek to look anew at Tierney’s twelfth-century canon lawyers and interrogate the possibilities of cross-fertilisation in ideas with theologians of the time.

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Why flies are born from vegetables and other tales: uniting communities against evil in Vandal North Africa

Resident in a North Africa subject to Vandal rule, Fulgentius of Ruspe (c.507-533) devoted much of his career to combating Arian beliefs. Concerned about the influence of heresy on his monastic and lay communities, Fulgentius took care to emphasise frequently the unity of

nature in the Catholic Trinity in contrast to Arian division. With Catholic clergy and laity converting to Arianism, Fulgentius vehemently denounced division as evil, connected to the devil and contrary to scripture.

The bishop explained complex theological ideas with a constant focus on the ‘truth’ of unity in contrast to diabolically-authored divisions. What emerged was an image of the Trinity as a reflection of a Christian community in the universal Church; all entities that possessed one nature and multiple persons.

Although Arianism was his primary target, Fulgentius’ emphasis on unity resounded in his explanations of other aspects of theology, in which ‘true’ Christian belief in continually cast in opposition to ‘divisive’ and ‘evil’ heresies. Fulgentius sought to unite his community in belief and practice in against the evil lord of this world, ‘Prince of the Flies’.

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The omission of Claudius’ war in Britain in the Old English Orosius

The Old English translation of Orosius’ *Historiarum adversum paganos libri VII*, while not likely to have been penned by Alfred the Great himself, is agreed to have formed part of his educational plan to translate those books which he deemed ‘most needful for all [English]men to know’. It is curious then, that a Roman history translated for the English people should omit a campaign against the inhabitants of Britain which is discussed in the original, and which Bede apparently felt no pain in including in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The Old English Orosius states that in the fourth year of his reign, the Emperor Claudius ‘searched for war, and could find none.’ However, both the original text and the account given by Bede report a revolt in Britain, after which the greater part of the island was subdued by Claudius without bloodshed. Scholars have proposed as many explanations as there are additions and omissions in the texts of the Alfredian canon. Some scholars propose practical causes, such as lack of time and the editorial responsibility of selecting material relevant to a ninth-century Anglo-Saxon audience. Others suggest more intentional adaptations that reveal something of the conditions of Alfred’s court and its place in the world. This paper will explore possible explanations for the omission of Claudius’ war in Britain.

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The Actress and the Female Sectary in Lording Barry's *The Family of Love* (1608)

Long viewed as one of the earliest plays of Thomas Middleton, the Jacobean comedy *The Family of Love* has been argued by Gary Taylor, Paul Mulholland and Macdonald P. Jackson to be the sole work of the theatre entrepreneur and playwright (later pirate), Lording Barry, acknowledged author of the boys' company play, *Ram-Alley: or Merry Tricks* (1608, pub.1611). Both external and internal, stylistic evidence supports the new attribution. The title *The Family of Love* suggests a satire on the contemporary religious sect the Familia Caritatis, but the play's most emphatic satire is directed against the uncaring city husbands, Masters Glister and Purge, while Rebecca Purge, an 'Elder in the Family' asserts her right to spiritual and sexual freedom. Meanwhile, in the romantic plot, the hero Gerardine invites his lover Maria 'to be an actress in the comedy'. There is more to Barry, I will argue, than the 'sectarian bigotry, scatology, and literary parody' highlighted by Jackson, Mulholland and Taylor. My paper will explore the conflation of the spiritual and sensual in the plays' two plots, and venture some observations about dramatic parody, baroque drama, and theatrical pleasure. Barry's play prompts the question of what it means 'to be an actress' in the context of a juvenile, transvestite theatre.

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Crucifigat omnes (CB 47): Philip the Chancellor and the third Crusade

The stirring poem *Crucifigat omnes* (Carmina Burana 47), which urges a crusade to win back Jerusalem from Muslim control, has long been dated to the Third Crusade (ca 1187). Musicologists Ernest Saunders and Thomas Payne, however, have recently argued that the poem better suits the circumstances of the Fifth Crusade (1213-21) and date the poem ca. 1220. Payne also argues, on musicological grounds, that Philip the Chancellor is the author. This paper supports Payne's view that Philip is the author drawing on arguments based on linguistic usage. However, it argues for the traditional dating to the Third Crusade. The reference to the loss of the

True Cross (stanza 1) clearly confirms this date, for the True Cross was carried by the Crusaders into battle at the Battle of Hattin (July 1187) and lost to the Saracens. Two months later Jerusalem itself fell to Saladin. The urgent tone that pervades the poem suggests a date shortly after this.

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Shakespeare and Skill

What were the categories through which skill was evaluated and understood in early modern England? How is skill inculcated, appraised, valued, and evaluated cross-culturally/historically? I am particularly interested in performative acts of skill, or 'feats of activity,' as they were termed. For example, apparently players in Shakespeare's time entered contests of acting skill, in which wagers were placed upon the players expected to give the most skilled performance of a speech. How were such contests evaluated? I'm also interested in inset skill displays in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries -- feats of wrestling, fencing, dancing, and tumbling. I will draw upon some of the current work in the cognitive sciences on skill and expertise 'enskillment' in sketching the parameters of a history of skill in the early modern period.

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Faces that Talk: Chaucer, Nature and Female Beauty

Chaucer's celebrated description of the expression on Criseyde's face — as she lets her glance fall a little to the side, as if to say, 'What, may I nat stonden here?' — raises some intriguing hermeneutic questions. How can words represent facial expression and emotion? Is the idea of a face that appears to speak best read as a form of natural expression or as a more or less conscious, or performative act? This essay examines a number of Chaucerian texts that describe the speaking faces of men and women, and the rhetorical tropes that sustain this idea. It pays particular attention to the trope of describing female beauty as expressing the best work of Nature, the artisan goddess, who is often similarly said to 'speak' through her creations.

Chaucer uses this trope to different effect in *The Book of the Duchess*, *The Physician's Tale*, and in *Troilus and Criseyde*. In these descriptions, Chaucer treads a delicate line between affirming these women's facial expressions are natural (that is, not countrefete) and commending the artisanal aspect of Nature's work in producing those expressions. These examples allow us to chart Chaucer's changing representations of emotion, and female interiority and subjectivity.

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Interpreting Medieval Papal Infallibility

The publication of Brian Tierney's *Origins of Papal Infallibility* in 1972 initiated a spirited discussion that still dominates interpretation of the subject. Before *Origins*, most historians who dealt with papal infallibility maintained that the essence of the doctrine was implicit in ancient texts asserting papal power, the indefectibility of the local Roman church, and the infallibility of the universal church. A full understanding of the consequences of these ideas was supposed to have slowly emerged among theologians and canonists, with the full implications realized by only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In contrast, Tierney contended that papal infallibility was both absent in early texts and contrary to the juridical notions of papal authority developed by medieval canonists. Rather than evolving from ancient premises over the life of the church, infallibility was conceived at a specific moment in the late thirteenth century to defend controversial doctrines embraced by factions within the Franciscan order. Only in the early fourteenth century did mainstream theologians adopt the idea.

Origins drew significant praise, but also much criticism. Tierney responded vigorously, sparring with critics continued into the 1980s and after. Gradually, the debate over *Origins* has died down, though without substantive agreement. A kind of uneasy truce abides on the subject. This paper will examine the debate, the somewhat asymmetrical positions of the disputants, and the way in which certain basic approaches to the problem have hindered resolution.

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Experimental Philosophy in Eighteenth Century Germany

The history of early modern philosophy is traditionally interpreted in the light of the dichotomy between empiricism and rationalism. Yet this distinction was first developed by Kantian historians of philosophy in the late eighteenth century. Many early modern thinkers who are usually categorized as empiricists associated themselves with the research program of experimental philosophy and labelled their opponents speculative philosophers.

What prompted Kant and his followers to obliterate the historical distinction between experimental and speculative philosophy and formulate the historiographical distinction between empiricism and rationalism? To answer this question, my paper determines to what extent the distinction between experimental and speculative philosophy was known in Germany between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the publication of Kant's first Critique in 1781.

I argue that German thinkers in the first half of the eighteenth century had ample access to the works of British experimental philosophers, but developed their philosophy in a way which was orthogonal to the experimental- speculative distinction. Experimental philosophy and its opposition to speculative philosophy went to the foreground from the 1760 to the 1780s. Kant and his followers were well aware of experimental philosophy. Their choice not to focus on the experimental-speculative distinction must have been a deliberate one.

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The *Chronica Polonorum* by Magister Vincentius - Issues of translation and interpretation

Magister Vincentius, also known as Wincenty Kadłubek, was Bishop of Kraków (1208–1218) and the first native Polish chronicler. His work, the *Chronica Polonorum* was the second work to chronicle the early history of Poland and its rulers, both mythical and historical. The first three books of the *Chronica* are written in the form of a dialogue between Archbishop Jan of Gniezno (1148–1165) and Bishop Mateusz of Kraków (1143/1144–1166), while the fourth is a narrative. Among the sources used by Vincentius are oral tradition, the *Gesta* of Anonymus Gallus, and Vincentius' own experiences. The language and composition of the *Chronica* reflect

Vincentius' erudition and literary style probably acquired during his studies in Western Europe and show various influences; chiefly Cistercian. There is no English translation of the *Chronica*. Work on a translation, has been underway for some time and been challenged by various problems of interpretation. This paper will present some of the issues related to the translation of the *Chronica* into English and provide the context of Master Vincentius' vision of Polish history.

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Mercian texts and West Saxon scribes in the reign of Edward of the Elder: the case of Bodleian Manuscripts Tanner 10 and Junius 27

Various theories have been advanced to account for the mixed dialect of some text-copies from the reigns of Alfred and his son Edward the Elder, including copies of 'classic' early West Saxon texts like the Pastoral Care. In particular the political alliance of Wessex and Mercia has been invoked as a driver of dialect accommodation in court circles. This paper examines evidence from the copying of the Mercian text of the Old English Bede in Bodleian MS Tanner 10, which hitherto has not been considered from this point of view. I aim to demonstrate how the original dialect lexis is carefully preserved in this early manuscript copy, and I compare and contrast scribal procedures with those practiced in Bodleian MS Junius 27, a copy of the Psalter with Mercian gloss (also found in BL MS Cotton Vespasian A.i, the Vespasian Psalter). To the hitherto well-known resemblances between the early-tenth-century Tanner 10 and Junius 27 in their script and lively decoration can be added their related practices in transmitting Mercian texts.

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Milton's 'Radicalism'

Many leading Miltonists have recently argued that Milton is a 'radical' and that his political thought is fairly described by the term 'radicalism.' Many leading historians, however, have over the last twenty years argued that it is highly misleading to use these terms to describe Milton and his allies. The

historians are right. For in Milton's major political prose from 1649-1654, he attacks those who represent him, the parliamentarians, and the godly as rebels, revolutionaries, and radicals. He claims to be a champion of all that is good in English law and the ancient constitution. And he represents himself as one who is defending the old, orthodox Christian church, one that had been restored by the Reformers but perverted by 'innovations' imposed upon it by Charles I and archbishop Laud. One reason Milton adopts this stance is that he knew he had to in order to have any chance of achieving his polemical aims within a traditional society. Another is that he believes much of what he says, and he wishes to bear witness to that belief.

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Bede, Bryhtferth, and the Borders of Time

Throughout his works the Venerable Bede pondered not only the beginning but the end of time. Though he looked to the seventh and eighth ages of the world to come, he also tried desperately to counter a growing belief in millennialism and the apparently imminent end of the sixth age of the world. Bede was most concerned with computus and the calculation of the date of Easter as not only liturgical time, but a manifestation of divine time. Bryhtferth of Ramsey wrote his *Enchiridion* in the early eleventh century, while the sixth age of the world was still in progress and the Apocalypse had not yet come to pass. This paper will examine what changed in computus and chronology between Bede and Bryhtferth, and the differences between how each man conceived of both the beginning and end of time. Their relative understandings of time encapsulate the wider conception of time in Anglo-Saxon England.

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Una and the satyrs: a reinterpretation of *The Faerie Queene* I.vi

As I see it, Una's history is that of the City of God (i. e., the true Church). Thus, in canto iii, we observe its reception by (in the persons of Abessa and Corceca) Judaism and pre-Reformation Catholicism. With the slaughter of

Kirkrapine by Una's lion, we reach the dissolution of the monasteries—the Henrician reformation. But the lion is killed defending Una from the would-be rapist Sans Loy. The story is continued in canto vi, which begins with Una's salvation from Sans Loy by the appearance of a band of satyrs, who more or less immediately worship her as a goddess. On the grounds of their idolatry, these satyrs are usually identified with Roman Catholics. But this identification seems to me unlikely, given that Spenser has already dealt with the Catholic phase of the history of the true Church in canto iii. Furthermore, it makes nothing of the satyrs' extremely positive role. My paper will suggest that the reception of Una by the satyrs (and the reception of the satyrs by Una) embodies the relationship between Christianity and the paganism of classical antiquity. Spenser's perspective approaches that of Christian humanists (and writers of 'satyrs') like Erasmus. Sylvanus, the God of the satyrs (I.vi.14-17), is closely related to the satyr Silenus. I draw on Erasmus's notion (broached in *The Sileni of Alcibiades*), of Christ himself as 'a marvellous Silenus.'

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Hypotheses and Newton's First Optical Papers

Newton's famous pronouncement, *Hypotheses non fingo*, is controversial. Some writers, such as Sabre and Dear, argue that Newton is merely 'paying lip-service' to the dominant methodological tradition. Others, such as Janiak, argue that Newton's antihypotheticalism is a polemic device, designed specifically to oppose his Cartesian and Leibnizian critics. I argue that we should take Newton's pronouncement as a genuine account of his methodology. I take a fresh look at Newton's anti-hypothetical stance in light of the role of hypotheses in the Baconian-experimental tradition in which Newton's early research was conducted. I examine Newton's earliest publications: his first papers on optics. I argue that Newton is working with a rough but genuine distinction between hypothesis and theory. This distinction is consistent with both the Baconian-experimental method and with his later anti-hypothetical pronouncements.

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Chaucer's unlikely courtly lover

When one thinks of a Chaucerian male who swoons one thinks, almost inevitably, of Troilus. His swoon just prior to the physical consummation of their love has been the focus of much critical debate, and of a tradition of scornful questioning of his manliness that begins immediately with Pandarus. Jill Mann has very properly reminded readers that Troilus swoons just once, and she notes how easily that one dramatic moment has been generalised to the extent that it seems to be read as an index to Troilus's whole character, at least in the first three books of *Troilus and Criseyde*.

In this paper (part of a larger examination of swooning in Middle English narrative), I propose to look briefly at other instances of swooning in Chaucer's poetry, but to consider in particular the swoon that forms part of the farcical conclusion of the Miller's Tale, and suggest that Chaucer may be, somewhat mischievously, inviting us to think of John as yet another manifestation of the aberrant courtly lover.

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Francis Bacon and the 'Old Quarrel between Philosophy and Poetry'

This paper will explore Francis Bacon's conception of poetry in relation to his natural philosophical project. It is concerned with defining the essence of 'poesis' as an epistemic source equivalent in authority to reason, and questioning whether Bacon located this essence in divine inspiration or the human affections. On this basis it will discuss the extent to which Bacon viewed poetic knowledge both as a threat and a possible aid to natural philosophical investigation.

In *The Advancement of Learning* and *De Augmentis Scientiarum* Bacon makes a fundamental division in all understanding between divine and human learning. This distinction ostensibly demarcates the separate boundaries of theology and philosophy, allowing them to coexist in harmony. However, an examination of Bacon's definitions of poetry and the imagination reveal this distinction to be problematic, for it is unclear exactly how poetry understood as 'feigned history' differs from divine revelation. The paper will propose that an explanation of this dilemma may be located in Bacon's account of parables in the preface to *De Sapientia Veterum* (The Wisdom of the Ancients), which constitutes the common ground between divine and human learning.

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What do Vikings Mean?

Images of Vikings are ubiquitous in contemporary popular media. These images often bear little relation to the historical reality of medieval Scandinavian culture, much to the dismay of some medievalists. It has become commonplace, for example, to complain that Vikings never wore horns on their helmets and yet those horns persist, if anything becoming increasingly intricate and unwieldy. Rather than see this repeated anachronism as infidelity to the truth, can we instead conceive of it metaphorically as a kind of Darwinian evolutionary modification to allow Vikings to adapt to and survive in contemporary culture? Adaptation theorists suggest that the moments of the most transgression against source material are the moments of most cultural interest. This paper seeks to apply this idea beyond specific adaptations of source texts to the wider field of medievalism studies. Whatever Vikings ‘mean’ in contemporary culture, their horns (and their barbarism, hardiness, northern-ness, and so on) are part of that meaning, and part of the reason that they are represented more frequently than other medieval cultures such as Saxons and Normans. Using some divergent points on the contemporary Viking spectrum (children's film, rock music, popular vampire fiction), this paper aims to suggest some answers to the question ‘What do Vikings mean?’

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Transforming monastic tradition: Guy of St-Denis, music and learning in Paris c. 1300

In his *Tractatus de tonis* (c. 1300), Guy of St-Denis reflected on the nature and emotional power of plainchant by drawing on a wide range of authorities, including classical authors, medieval theorists of music, Aristotelian philosophy as theorized in his own day and the Church Fathers. Under the guise of appealing to tradition, above all that of Guido of Arezzo, Guy of St-Denis explains plainchant theory in a way that is very contemporary while

also seeming to be quite traditional. The vitality of Benedictine monastic culture and openness to Aristotelian thought at this time is often forgotten, most attention being given to the mendicant orders or secular clerics. The presentations issue from a project to translate Guy's *Tractatus* and extend earlier research into the *Ars musicae* of Johannes de Grocheio whose Aristotelian reflections on music were well known to Guy. They show how Guy's writing about music can shed significant light in revising traditional assumptions about the distinction between 'old' and 'new' forms of cultural activity in France at the dawn of the fourteenth century.

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Power and Society on the Verge of the 12th-13th. Multiple Approaches in Interpreting the Chronicle of Magister Vincentius

The *Chronica Polonorum* by Magister Vincentius is a compilation of several different stories. The images of the past he presents show an evident influence of classical mythology and historiography as well as narrative plots commonly occurring in the European culture of the high Middle Ages. Some of these stories were brought unchanged into the work. They served as carriers of the values considered by the author as important in the social life of his times and thus intentionally transferred to the readers. Others comprising notions different from those praised by Vincentius were significantly altered by him. In consequence, modern historians regard both kinds of narratives as elements of ideologically coherent messages, coded in the entire chronicler's narration. Nevertheless, diverse backgrounds of the stories comprised in Vincentius' chronicle raise questions about whether they could: 1. shape the meaning of the chronicle as a whole, irrespective of the political and cultural conditions existing at the time of its creation; 2. maintain their function as carriers of notions and values originally comprised in them, while remaining contradictory to the ideas reflected in Magister Vincentius' work. For the historian the main question is under what conditions Vincentius' work can be validly employed to construct specific visions of the past. Hence, the key question refers to relations between the text of the chronicle and the past. On the basis of the idea of power presented in the chronicle, the paper will characterize the change in methodological approaches to the analyses of this work. To what extent the diverse research perspectives relate to the internal diversity of the work? To what extent they comply with its meaning? Can the multiplicity of the chronicle's plots and its dependence on the specific environment of 12th

century Poland be ignored when reading it as a literary piece of art? And what then is the reality that can be discovered through an analysis of the work?

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Embedded in the *Speculum morale*, an encyclopedia ascribed in the fourteenth century to the Dominican Vincent of Beauvais, are a number of Franciscan references. These range from more visible ones, like the addition of Franciscan and elimination of Dominican references, to more subtle references like the use of the *Sentences* commentary of the Franciscan Richard Middleton or the rearrangement of a text by the Dominican Etienne de Bourbon to convey a more Franciscan sensibility. Building on the seminal 1708 study by Jacques Echard, this session will further explore the *Speculum morale*'s Franciscan voices.