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ABSTRACTS

Mickey Abel – University of North Texas (session 5F)
"Building a Strategic Identity: Geography, Landscape and Architecture at Maillezais Abbey"

The western coast of France in the 9th C. was geographically configured quite differently than it is today. The Gulf of Picton extended inland at least 60km further than the modern coastline. One island, within its waters, near the mouths of the Autize and Sevre rivers, came to be the site of Maillezais abbey. Founded by William IV, Duke of Aquitaine and his wife Emma of Blois this abbey played a significant role in the political and ecclesiastical world of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Integral to this was the exploitation of the abbey's strategic setting and its natural resources. Chronicle evidence indicates that in building an intricate drainage system, the monks availed themselves of valuable farm and pasture land and created lucrative fisheries and salt farms. Combining this drainage with a set of canals, locks, and levies, the Duke and Abbot worked together to control access to the inland waterways, thus curtailing destructive incursions, enhancing commercial exchange, and producing tax revenues. The physical evidence of this land reclamation process is visible today either through archaeological projects or through the extant working canal system.

What is not readily evident is the role played by the abbey's architecture in this political and economic system. Maillezais abbey was initially built at the Port de'l'lle where it was vulnerable to constant naval incursions. At the death of William IV, William V donated the land where his parents had their primary residence to the abbey with the stipulation that the abbot build a new abbey on this highest spot on the island. The new abbey was enlarged to include a western narthex, tribune, and stair turrets. While the architectural framework of these additions remains, the configuration of the western entrance was obscured by a 15th C fortification program. It is the thesis of this paper that the configuration of this western entrance can be determined through a comparative study of the contemporary parish portals within the monastery's domain and by examining the competing monastic foundations under the Dukes political realm. Key to understanding this architectural evidence is a visual accounting of the abbey's topographic setting. The proposed reconstruction illustrates that the abbey and the parishes were linked visually by way of their similarly archivolted portal. Archaeology and topography suggests that the narthex would have been topped by a several story tower like those found in Poitiers. Sitting at the highest point on the island, facing west to the incoming traffic of the open gulf, this tower with its archivolted portal would

have dominated the island landscape like a billboard on the horizon, and would have left little doubt that there was a formidable Christian presence controlling this part of the world.

Tracy Adams – University of Auckland (5E)
"Theorising Cunning in Three Early Modern Courtesy Books for Girls"

An essential trait for influential women of the early modern period was what Jean-Pierre Vernant and Marcel Detienne have described as metis or "cunning intelligence." In their study of this mental capacity in classical Greek culture, Vernant and Detienne reveal its importance even though it was not openly privileged. The trait played a similar role in early modern French culture, I propose, half hidden but nonetheless regarded as a crucially advantageous attribute at all levels of society and particularly prized among women. However, because of strong disapproval of "hypocrisie" and the traditional association of the trait with wily peasants and other unattractive comic figures, authors of conduct books for women found cunning intelligence difficult to theorize and promote.

In this paper I consider how three female authors of courtesy texts for girls by women, Christine de Pizan, Anne of Bourbon, and Madame du Verger, grapple with trait, recognizing its importance, but hesitating to approach it directly. And yet their message is unmistakeable. In each case of the three cases, I suggest, what often looks like straightforward promotion of piety for girls should be read as lessons in cultivating cunning intelligence.

Michael Aiken – University of New England (12D)
"The historiography and misappropriation of Constance of Sicily"

The lack of known primary sources of information on the life and career of Constance of Sicily, youngest child of King Roger II, has led to much conjecture and fabrication by historians from the 13th century to the present day. Furthermore, her gender has been used as a means of generalising and mischaracterizing the features of her time as Queen regent of Sicily, particularly via the inaccurate dismissal by historians of her reign as 'another' Queen regency, despite the dissimilarity between hers and the two that preceded her. Contemporary historians variously denigrate her rule as 'weak', vacillating and unable to command the respect of other sovereigns, interpretations unsupported by the known facts of Constance's reign. This paper presents a comprehensive account of the popular representations of the life and career of Constance, in turn identifying their weaknesses and omissions. This paper also identifies the known primary sources of information regarding Constance, highlighting opportunities both for a critical reappraisal of the known facts of her life and rule as well as indicating avenues for much needed additional research into the subject. Finally, this paper proposes a fresh, more thorough and rigorous interpretation of the information so far available which also serves to recover Constance, person and sovereign, from the ill-considered relegation to which she has been habitually subjected.

Randall Albury – University of New England (3C)
"The Golden Age Returns: Renaissance Appropriation (and Subversion) of Augustan Political Imagery"

Much of the political imagery of the early Roman Empire promoted the view that under Augustus the legendary golden age of Saturn's reign on earth was being restored. As interpreted in Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, the new golden age would be characterized by peace, justice, prosperity and the flourishing of the arts. This Augustan topos never entirely disappeared during the later Empire or the medieval period; but it became a much more prominent political theme in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when it was almost obligatory to hail the accession of any new ruler as signalling the return of the golden age.

Research on this appropriation of Augustan imagery in the early modern period has tended to highlight its use by artists as an instrument of self-advancement, and by regimes as an instrument of legitimisation. The present paper, however, addresses the ways in which some instances of Renaissance golden age rhetoric can be read subversively.

A number of purely literary examples will be briefly considered, but the principal example will come from the juxtaposition of written and visual material: Baldassare Castiglione's Book of the Courtier and his emblematic design on the reverse of his portrait medal. Ostensibly, The Book of the Courtier provides advice on how the 'perfect courtier' will adapt himself to the service of an autocratic ruler, seeking to influence his prince to act virtuously. Should he succeed, his prince's reign will be a new golden age; should he fail, his only option will be to withdraw from the prince's service. But beneath this acquiescent position, I argue, both the text and the emblem, in mutually reinforcing ways, allude to a far less submissive political philosophy, derived from Plato's dialogue The Statesman as interpreted by the Christian Neoplatonist Marsilio Ficino.

Lanei Alexander – Victoria University of Wellington (5B)
"Gluttony and Temperance in Early Modern England, 1560-1660"

Urges to temperance in the form of discourses on the evils of gluttony and excessive consumption appeared across a range of materials during the periodic economic and political crises in the century between 1560 and 1660. From sermons and sumptuary legislation to social commentary and broadsides, temperance was upheld as a leading virtue of the Godly, while the glutton was portrayed as a debauched greedy squanderer and drunkard, prone to riotous behaviour and rebellion. Temperance also sat at the centre of leading medical models of the time spilling over into cookbooks. By contrast, many popular literary works in the Rabelaisian style depicted the glutton as a comic hero or fool. Admiration centred on the ability to demolish vast quantities of food, which the foolish hero managed to attain without the necessity of work. The gluttonous fool lived in a 'world turned upside down', poking fun at, and sidestepping current mores and social obligations.

This presentation explores the tensions within and between these two discourses on consumption. Shared eating and drinking has long been recognized as both symbol and confirmation of individual and group identity. The consumption of food, central to biological as well as social life, is therefore a useful means to explore beliefs about the body. I argue that exploring food consumption can further extend the explanatory scope

of 'the body' during the early modern period hitherto dominated by explorations of medicine and sexuality. The presentation will explore the multifarious meanings of gluttony and temperance, exposing the underlying social and cultural meanings of food consumption, in the process examining how practices and discourses were informed by specific religious, political, and economic circumstances.

Natasha Amendola – Monash University (5E)
"How Medieval Commentators dealt with Penelope's Cunning"

Modern scholarship on Homer's Penelope focuses on her metis or "cunning intelligence." This was not the case in the medieval period when writers were dependant on Latin texts for their information. For the most part, Penelope was presented as chaste, modest or pious, with her ruse to deceive the suitors assumed but rarely described. In Ovid's *Heroides*, a text used in Latin education and a major source for information on Penelope in post-classical times, the Homeric heroine weaves words, playing with themes from other literary sources, expressing her metis with subtlety as she attempts to woo her husband home. Most medieval commentators ignore this, stating that the author's intention was to present a legitimate model or *exemplum*. This is a stark contrast to a fourteenth-century commentary on another of Ovid's works, the *Ovidius Moralizatus* of Pierre Bersuire, where Penelope is described as being like a hypocrite. This paper will discuss the role of Penelope in the *accessus* and commentaries of Ovid's *Heroides*, highlighting the medieval authors' discomfort with a woman renowned for her virtue displaying "cunning intelligence."

Mark Amsler – University of Auckland (5A)
"Margery Kempe and the Pragmatics of Vague Language"

Analyses of medieval multilingualisms often focus on contact between languages (Latin and vernaculars) and mixed language usage in terms of morphemic or lexical borrowings, combinations or substitutions and, to a lesser extent, phonological filtering of L2 through L1. But semantic-syntactic-pragmatic interfaces also include varying degrees of competence and horizons of expectation among different language communities. In other words, medieval multilingualism was embodied in registers and *habitus* (Bourdieu) as much as in grammar and the lexicon.

Politeness and impoliteness, evasion, vague language and refusals constitute tactical uses of discourse strategies by different speakers in mixed linguistic environments and cross-cultural situations. These situations often involved authority figures and ordinary people using both Latin and one or more vernaculars. Such multilingual and multidiscursive situations constitute what Deleuze and Guattari call a 'plateau,' 'a continuous, self-vibrating region of intensities whose development avoids any orientation toward a culmination point or external end' (*A Thousand Plateaus*), that is, an open heterogeneous event. We tend to think of trials, inquisitions and interrogations as having fixed outcomes, but discourse analysis and critical pragmatic analysis suggest that is not always the case.

This paper explores how we might develop a project for historical pragmatics which differs from the lexical-syntactic paradigm for understanding medieval multilingualism. In this paper (drawn from a larger project on medieval pragmatics and textuality), I examine strategies for vague language, politeness, impoliteness and

evasion in a corpus of personal narratives and one Inquisition handbook in Latin and the vernaculars: Bernard Gui (1261/2-1331), *Inquisitor's Handbook*, *The Book of Margery Kempe* (c. 1420), William Thorpe's *Testimony* (1407) and letters by Margaret Paston (mid-fifteenth century). Deploying different genre features, these prose texts use narrative to represent positively or negatively how different speakers control or undermine authoritative discourse with vague language, polite refusal, hedging and other evasions. Speakers struggle across discourse genres, languages and registers to try and gain or regain control of speech situations. Rather than represent a speech 'community' or 'community of practice,' these episodes depict conflicts between Latin and vernacular traditions, between clerical authority and lay resistance, or vice versa. In some cases, the gendered discursive conflicts are sublated into religious struggle. Some of these texts also deploy a metapragmatic account of discursive strategies and systematise different registers and discourses. Surprisingly, the outcomes of many of these multilingual and multidiscursive episodes are inconclusive, a consequence of the competing pragmatic tactics of different speakers and writers. All reveal the complexities of codeswitching and speaking and writing across languages beyond the sentence level.

Daniel Anlezark – University of Sydney (1F)
"Beowulf's Marvellous Swimming"

The hero of the Old English epic poem Beowulf appears as a character with almost super-human strength, displayed especially in his fight with Grendel. The origins of the character are unknown, and unlike many of the characters named in the poem, he appears nowhere else in early northern literature. On three occasions in the poem Beowulf also manifests his prowess at swimming: in his reported seven day swimming contest with Breca; in his dive to the underwater hall of Grendel's mother; in his swim home from the land of the Frisians carrying thirty suits of armour. These feats present a direct structural parallel and correlation to the three battles undertaken by Beowulf against his three monstrous adversaries, suggesting more than coincidence. Since the publication of Fred Robinson's 'Elements of the Marvellous in the Characterization of Beowulf' (1974), a consensus has emerged which treats these three feats as neither marvellous nor super-human. In this paper I will discuss the relationship between the characterization of Beowulf and the motif of the swimming hero (and king) found in a range of Old Norse texts. I suggest that Beowulf's super-human achievements in swimming are an important part of his character, and are used in the poem to establish his credentials for the Anglo-Saxon audience. I will also argue that this folk-hero type lies at the genesis of the poet's creation of the character of Beowulf for his epic poem.

Aderemi Artis – University of Michigan – Flint (8F)
"Locke, Original Sin, and Nonhuman Nature"

Recent scholarship on John Locke's religious views has been divided on the question of Locke's position on original sin. Many (including, among others, John Marshall's *John Locke: Resistance, Religion, and Responsibility* and John Coleman's *John Locke's Moral Philosophy*) hold that Locke unequivocally repudiated the traditional Christian doctrine that the sin of Adam had permanently perverted the moral capacity of the human race. Because of this repudiation, humanity is at least in principle capable of

moral knowledge and perfection, and thus in principle does not require the revelation of the Christian bible nor the mission of Jesus to attain salvation. In contrast are those (most prominent among these being M. W. Spellman's *John Locke and the Problem of Depravity*) who wish to paint Locke in more somber hues, as believing that original sin posed a definite threat to both the practical feasibility of natural morality and the inherent capacities of fallen humanity.

What both of these interpretive narratives have in common is a focus on the effects (or lack thereof) of original sin on human nature. What no one has yet attended to is that, for Locke, the sin of Adam had profound negative effects on nonhuman nature, and these effects in large part explain why, even if human beings are naturally capable of acquiring moral knowledge, the world in which they live is constituted in such a way as to make such acquisition generally unfeasible. In addition, this corruption of nonhuman nature is also a large part of the reason why human beings had need to develop civil societies.

In brief, Locke holds that one of the consequences of original sin was that the natural world was cursed into barrenness by God; this barrenness in turn necessitated great labor on the part of humanity for mere survival; finally, the labor required to cultivate the barren earth precluded the leisure necessary for the development of a rational morality (and natural religion), and, in addition, made political society necessary to protect the fruits of labor.

Lisa Bailey – University of Auckland (8B)
"Manuscripts and the afterlife of the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons"

Although largely unknown today, the early medieval sermons of the Eusebius Gallicanus collection had an enormous influence right through the middle ages.

Sermons from the collection were copied and incorporated into other homiliaries, into monastic resource books and into collections of material on specific saints. It was quoted by florilegists, drawn on by Carolingian homilists, and read by theologians. Sections of it were even absorbed into the liturgy. This subsequent history is important for several reasons. It helps students of the Eusebius Gallicanus understand the nature and purpose of the collection, and it gives a sense of the ongoing influence of the pastoral strategies in it. These sermons had, quite unrecognised, an important place in the developing intellectual tradition of the Church. The history of the sermons has relevance also, however, to students of medieval preaching in general. It reminds us that it is not enough to describe the emergence of new preachers and to study freshly composed sermons. To get a full picture of medieval homiletics we need also to trace the ongoing use of older texts. The adaptation and application of these texts can tell us much about cultural and religious continuities, but it can also highlight points of departure and difference. Medieval people lived with a very present past, and the Eusebius Gallicanus sermons were part of it.

Merridee Bailey – Australian National University (11B)
"Schooling documents"

Session title: "Experiences of Children II. Life stages (workshop)"

Organiser: Stephanie Tarbin (convenor, ARC NEER Research Cluster, Children in Europe and the Australian Colonies, 1400-1850)

This workshop explores children's experiences of growth and development. How significant were social status and gender in shaping perceptions of life stages? When did children become aware of making transitions and what kinds of development did they view as important? What else can these sorts of sources tell us about children's experiences? We will aim to build on the methods of reading and interpretation discussed in the earlier session, 'Experiences of Children'. The structure of the session will include a brief introduction to sources from each presenter before we break into small groups to workshop documents. We will reconvene for the final half hour of the session for reporting back, group discussion and summing up.

The NEER Research Cluster, Children in Europe and the Australian Colonies, 1400-1800, welcomes all conference participants to this workshop. For a brief, helpful outline of issues relating to the recovery of children's experiences, see the introduction to Anthony Fletcher and Steven Hussey eds, *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Chair: Stephanie Tarbin (University of Western Australia)
Presenters:
1. Merridee Bailey (Australian National University), Schooling documents
2. Margaret Dorey (University of Western Australia), Dietary advice literature
3. Philippa Maddern (University of Western Australia), Church court depositions
4. Claire Walker (University of Adelaide), Nuns' letters and convent documents.

Patrick Ball – University of Tasmania (10A)
"English Archery and Unlawful Games: 1350-1600"

Legislative attempts to halt a decline in archery practice produced England's first regulation of 'unlawful games'. The laws involved developed between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, as did the role they attributed to games. To what extent did unlawful games genuinely underlie the Decay of Archery? What part did concerns about archery play in the construction of attitudes to gambling? Archery is treated here as a test case, an illustration of the wider thesis that gambling evolved typically in response to pressures placed on it from other things themselves undergoing development.

Diana Barnes – University of Tasmania (8C)
"The great public private divide in eighteenth-century medical reform, a case study: Mary Wortley Montagu's contribution to the early smallpox debate"

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's role in the history of smallpox inoculation is contested. During her lifetime she became famous for importing the Eastern method of 'engrafting' for smallpox, this reputation has endured. A quick scan of current epidemiological research throws up numerous assertions of Montagu's pioneering role, although Genevieve Miller, historian of smallpox, has challenged it since the 1950s. Miller may be right that histories of smallpox inoculation have exaggerated Montagu's role in introducing smallpox inoculation to England, thereby obscuring the roles played

by both the Royal Society as the first importer of the idea from the East, and members of the early-eighteenth-century medical establishment, such as Sir Hans Sloane, in promoting the idea at court. Nevertheless the persistence of Montagu's reputation raises important questions concerning how an aristocratic woman, openly hostile to the medical profession, could have gained and maintained such a reputation. Miller emphasizes the role of professional institutions and their male members over an aristocratic female amateur in popularizing inoculation during the eighteenth century. The underlying assumption is that women's influence was restricted to the private sphere, but Montagu's life—publicly staged from the beginning—challenges this assumption. Montagu contracted smallpox herself as a young woman, and her eclogue 'Saturday: The Small Pox' demonstrates her acute awareness of the social consequences of the disease for women. Although the poem closes with smallpox sufferer 'The wretched Flavia' (l.1) declaring from her couch 'My Toilette, Patches, all the world Adieu!' (l.96), Montagu's own public life did not end with smallpox. Indeed her experience of the disease stimulated her to take action and write in terms that threw her into the public eye again and again.

David Barrie – University of Western Australia (10F)
"Police in Civil Society: Police, Enlightenment and Civic Virtue in Urban Scotland, c.1770-1833"

Eighteenth-century Scottish moral, legal and political philosophers were at the forefront of the intellectual discourse surrounding civil society and civic virtue. Based on how notions of civil society and civic virtue were defined and applied in Enlightenment Scotland, this paper assesses how far, and in what ways, these ideas shaped police development in Scottish towns, c.1770-1833. It argues that the police model which was established bore a striking resemblance to how these concepts were imagined and constructed at the time. Although there subsequently turned out to be some disparity between theory and practice, the ideas which emanated from the Enlightenment provided a powerful dimension to the ensuing political discourse surrounding reform and, to some degree, an intellectual justification and framework for the new police model. Collectively, civil society and civic virtue offered a broad, intellectual context presupposing ideas on police, improvement and polite society. Both were closely associated with safeguarding and promoting the interests of private property through governing institutions, which was an overriding concern of the new police model. The paper seeks to shed light not only on the important role the intellectual climate played in shaping police reform, it also offers an historically source-based understanding of the significance of civil society – a concept which has been explored extensively at a theoretical level, but which requires more detailed empirical investigation.

Lorna Barrow – University of Sydney (6C)
"'But her husband, to his own misfortune, was never willing to recognize her outstanding virtues': Margaret of Denmark and James III of Scotland (1469-1486)"

Sabadino Degli Arienti's *'Life of Margaret of Denmark, Queen of Scotland,* written at the end of the fifteenth century offers the historian a rare glimpse of the married life of this virtuously perceived and last of the medieval Scottish queens. Because there are so very few records available pertaining to this royal marriage, Sabadino's late

medieval text offers a way forward in thinking about the intricacies of a royal marriage in that era. His work illuminates what were considered to be the qualities that royal women needed to make not only a marriage, but indeed, to make a good marriage, in the face of an obstinate and seemingly disinterested royal husband. There are several parallels that can be drawn from Turgot's *Life of St. Margaret* (wife and queen of Malcolm III of Scotland whom she married in 1070), written shortly after St. Margaret's death, and Sabadino's treatment of Margaret of Denmark The similarities of these two Scottish queens is underlined by Sabadino likening Margaret of Denmark to Numa Pompilius, second king of Rome, who, like St. Margaret, was a religious reformer renown for his personal piety. Piety was seen as an outstanding virtue in any woman in the medieval period, but was all the more desirable in a royal women making a marriage with a king.

Emily Baynham – University of Sydney (4B)
"The Charms of BL MS Sloane 475 ff. 125-231: An English Medical Manuscript from the Late Eleventh Century"

British Library Sloane MS 475 is a small Latin medical manual made up of two very similar parts: the second, slightly earlier section which is the focus of this paper dates from the late eleventh century, and contains extracts from treatises by Galen, Hippocrates and Isidore, as well as other medical remedies, diagnostic texts and a glossary. Yet alongside these scholarly medical texts are charms and prognostics found nowhere else. These include a charm *Vt apes fugere non possint* whose content relates it to the more famous Old English and German bee charms, charms for contraception and for childbirth which accompany a far longer series of remedies *Ad omnes querelas mulierum*, and obscure *caracteres* are to be used to make amulet charms for a variety of purposes including overcoming fear.

Though charms such as these led Valerie Flint to observe that Sloane 'would richly repay detailed study,' this call has not really been answered, and the charms within it never edited and rarely studied. This reflects an unjustified bias in existing editions and studies of English charms which decline to consider charms entirely in Latin alongside their counterparts which include Old English.

This paper examines these charms in the context of the rest of the manuscript, looking at what the charms can tell us about the manuscript, as well as what the manuscript can tell us about the charms. Who made Sloane 475, and what kind of person might have used it? What can it tell us about the place of charms in England at the turn of the twelfth century? Contexts of use are suggested for these charms which contribute significantly to our understanding of charm practices in late eleventh century England.

Cordelia Beattie – University of Edinburgh (6C)
"Women Without Husbands in Late Medieval England"

In 1316 Semeine, son of Henry le Servant, appeared before the King's Bench, one of England's central courts of justice, on a charge of having abducted Isabel, the wife of William de Cornwall, and taken away some of William's goods. Semeine's defence was that on the day of the alleged charge he considered Isabel to be his legal wife and had done so for more than a year. Further, 'this Isabel at the time of the making of the

contract of matrimony between her and the same Semeine and for days and years before *was living as a single person at Great Yarmouth and was regarded as single*'. He alleged that banns were published in the parish church of the vill of Great Yarmouth and no one raised any objection to their marriage, a statement that supports his contention that the community also thought Isabel was single. Isabel, though, was evidently 'single' only in the sense that she did not live with her legal husband. The late medieval Church expected married couples to cohabit. Courts could order absent husbands and wives to return to the marital home and perform their conjugal duties, which might include wifely obedience as well as sexual intercourse. However, there are many examples of women living without husbands in the petitions addressed to Chancery in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, which suggest that marital separations occurred for a whole host of reasons, such as domestic violence, work away from home (including warfare), and imprisonment. This paper will argue that the study of such women sheds light not only on married life but on single life in late medieval England.

Cedric Beidatsch – University of Western Australia (9E)
"The Moral Economy of Paracelsus"

Paracelsus (Theophrastus von Hohenheim 1493 -151) wrote approximately 400 books on an wide range of topics, and was actively engaged in the controversies of the day, yet remains largely unintegrated into the broader field of sixteenth century intellectual history. In English language scholarship, Paracelsus remains often confined to the fields of the history of medicine, science and sometimes the occult. The complete Paracelsus evades us, largely as a consequence of historiographic decisions about publication strategies in the early twentieth century. German scholarship has recovered and reassessed Paracelsus as a 'lay theologian,' but even this work remains circumscribed, adding another 'layer' to the image of the thinker, rather than integrating the interpretations. Recent and forthcoming work in English by Andrew Weekes and Charles Webster makes a welcome start at presenting a whole Paracelsus in the context of his time, but much remains to be done.

Paracelsus' little known body of theological writings contains a sub section of works on 'social theory' concerning the construction of a Christian commonwealth on earth. These works contain an economic theory, which stands in marked contrast to the developments of the early sixteenth century, Simultaneously reactionary (it looks toward an idealised communally organised past) and revolutionary it challenges and rejects the emerging market based capitalist order) Paracelsus' economia represents a true 'moral economy,' organised on Christian moral precepts. This paper provides an account of this moral economy, and compares its contents to those articulated during the 1534 – 5 so-called Peasants War. It will represent Paracelsus as a voice for the interests of the 'common man' (gemeiner Mann) of the early Reformation. Hopefully a focus on these virtually unknown writings will act as a 'shock of the new' and contribute towards a reassessment of Paracelsus in his own time.

István Bejczy – Albrecht-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg (3E)
"Female Virtue: The Aristotelian Challenge"

While Christian moral thought accepts in principle the equality of men and women, Aristotelian virtue ethics is sexually biased. The moral subject of the *Nicomachean*

Ethics is a self-conscious gentleman who gains merit and prestige through public action, while in his *Politics* Aristotle famously states that the virtues of rulers (political leaders and male heads of families) are superior to those of the ruled (slaves and women). Christian moral thought, by contrast, conceives of virtue as a road to heaven and consequently does, or should, not differ between male and female moral agents, as salvation extends to both sexes. From the twelfth century, however, morality became increasingly detached from religion. Next to salvific virtue informed by divine grace, medieval masters accepted the existence of virtue as a humanly acquired habitus which establishes a moral order in temporal affairs, especially in social and political life – much in agreement with Aristotle's notion of virtue. To what point was humanly acquired virtue still considered sex-neutral in late medieval moral thought? The aim of the paper is to explore, first, the extent to which late medieval readers and commentators of Aristotle upheld the idea of the moral equality of the sexes vis-a-vis the Aristotelian bias, and, second, the extent to which virtues particular to females were nevertheless recognized in texts aiming at the moral education of women, authored by either male or female writers.

Chiara Benati – Università degli Studi di Genova (5D)
"The Role of Women in Medieval Sweden on the Evidence of the Earliest Legal Texts"

Legal texts aim at maintaining order and legality in a given society. In the Middle Ages this takes the form of the description of situations and cases representing the conditions for the application of the various rules. His combination of normative and descriptive aspects of legal texts results in their importance as sources not only for legal, but also, more generally, for social and cultural history.

The importance of legal texts as historical sources is even greater where they represent the first – and for a while unique – textual typology written down in vernacular, as it happens in Medieval Scandinavia. For this reason, the investigation of the earliest legal texts can highlight some aspects of the life and society in contemporary Scandinavia.

In this paper, I'll investigate the role of women in Medieval Sweden on the basis of three of the earliest Swedish legal texts, *Äldre*, *Västgötalag*, *Östgötalag* and *Upplandslag*. Particular attention will be paid not only on the sections dealing with marriage and family law, which can be considered as direct sources for the rights and duties of women, but also on chapters on e.g. hereditary law, giving us some, more indirect pieces of information about the condition of women in the 13th and early 14th century Sweden.

Michael Bennett – University of Tasmania (9F)
"Family tradition and the fortunes of war: The 'Scot-Angle' Stewards in Lancastrian England and France"

In the late 1560s Augustine Steward, a London lawyer, transcribed a range of documents in support of a family history compiled by his father from earlier traditions. This history, written in Latin, traced the family's descent through Sir John Steward, 'Scot-Angle' who had settled in England around 1400, to the Stewards of Scotland to Banquo. This paper uses the family collection and a broader set of records to examine the careers of Sir John Steward II and Thomas Steward, son and grandson of 'Scot-

Angle', at the Lancastrian court and in the Hundred Years War. An intriguing item in the family collection throws new light on Queen Katherine's secret marriage to Owen Tudor. More generally, the paper raises issues of tradition and identity — family, chivalric and national —in late medieval Britain.

John Beston – formerly Nazareth College, Rochester, New York (11A)
"The Pinnacle of the Old French *Lais*: *Lai l'Ombre*, *Lai le Conseil*, and *Lai l'Amours*"

Marie de France has dominated the genre of Old French lais from the beginning, and will continue to do so: she is usually considered the first of the lai writers and is very probably the only one to have written a collection of lais, twelve in all. But there are almost twice as many lais (twenty-two, to be exact) that have come down to us by other authors, and of these six at least are of a quality comparable to Marie's: Aristote, Ignaure, Narcisse, l'Ombre, le Conseil, and l'Amours. The last three, which are the three in the title of my paper, stand at the very pinnacle of the Old French lais: l'Ombre, le Conseil, and l'Amours. L'Ombre is the most courtly of all the French lais, in situation and in tone. Le Conseil provides a comprehensive handbook on the relative merits of aspiring suitors. And l'Amours presents a perfect union of courtly and human love. In these three lais, none of them narrative, none of them Breton in content, we move beyond Marie to a second éclosion of the genre. They come late in the genre, at its point of highest sophistication as it developed after Marie and before it died out in France. These three deserve to be brought out from Marie's shadow and established as among the gems of Old French literature.

Victoria Bladen – University of Queensland (11C)
"Lopping and Grafting the King: Shakespeare's language of trees in Cymbeline (1610)"

In Shakespeare's Cymbeline (1610) a cryptic prophecy is given of a cedar tree lopped of its branches and later regrafted, interpreted as the king (5 .4 .140-43; 5.5. 455-59). The fortunes of Posthumus and Britain are tied to the regrafting of the tree. The prophecy veils in metaphor the condition of the king's family tree and political body, both articulated in arboreal terms. This paper examines the historical contexts for Shakespeare's metaphor of the political body as tree and how lopping and grafting were deeply resonant metaphors articulating how power should be exercised. It links the vision of the tree to other arboreal imagery throughout the play and explores critical responses to Shakespeare's language, aiming to illuminate new readings in light of its arboreal metaphors. While certain levels of meaning are revealed to the characters, the setting of the play around the time of the Nativity opens up further nuances of regeneration for Shakespeare's audience.

Kate Blake – University of Sydney (11E)
"Rinaldeschi and the Fig Tree, Sacrifice in Renaissance Florence"

A panel painted in Florence in 1502 shows a man, Antonio Rinaldeschi, being hanged for hurling manure at a painting of the Virgin Mary after a late-night gambling session. Scholars have argued that Rinaldeschi's punishment fits within the heightened sensitivity and religiosity of the times following Savonarola's own denunciation and

execution a few years earlier. However, it remains difficult to explain why Rinaldeschi should have been painted in flagrante delicto and then placed near the Virgin that he had besmirched. In particular, scholars have not examined one of the most intriguing aspects of the panel: a visual connection between the arrest, punishment, and death of Rinaldeschi, and that of Jesus Christ. Why associate a blaspheming loser with the son of God, particularly during a time of religious and political turmoil? This paper contests that the answer lies in an intense belief in blood sacrifice that informed social and political relationships in Florence during the fifteenth century, a belief which created a precondition for spontaneous sacrificial violence in times of crisis. Rinaldeschi was a fit companion-in-paint for the Virgin Mary because he was an instructive example of how Florentines construed certain events as a sacrifice in order to access the considerable political and restorative benefits that it engendered.

Elizabeth Bonner – University of Sydney (10F)

"Ceremonial Chivalry at the French Court of the King's Scots Guards during the Reigns of Louis XII (1498-1515) and François Ier (1515-1547)"

This paper will examine the establishment in 1445 by Charles VII of the first European royal bodyguard, an elite corps of Scots guardsmen, which was formed as the senior company of household troops and known throughout Europe for centuries as the garde écossaise, even though by the seventeenth century it was gradually filling with Frenchmen. In the early sixteenth century, however, apart from guarding the French king in battle, the Scots were obliged to follow very specific duties at court as well as at chivalric courtly ceremonies celebrating coronations, marriages, baptisms, signing of peace treaties and etc. The role of their captain was paramount and in this period it was Robert Stuart, seigneur of Aubigny, who was also captain of 100 Scottish Lances in the French king's companies of ordinance, one of the monarch's four Marshals of France and a member of the royal military Order of St Michael. Robert was one of the Lennox-Stuarts/Stewarts* (a branch of the Scottish Royal House), Seigneurs of Aubigny, whose Seigneurie (Lordship) was granted in 1423 to Sir John Stewart of Darnley by Charles VII in gratitude for Scottish military aid in the battles against the English during the 100 Years War. He was also appointed as one of the French judges at the tournaments at the Renaissance extravaganza, held near the then English territory of Calais, of the meeting between Francis I and Henry VIII in June 1520 known as the 'Field of Cloth of Gold'. A very brief examination of the chivalric celebrations and diplomacy of the 'Field' will be undertaken from a French point of view as will Robert Stuart's role as one of the French judges.

* Both forms of spelling are correct but *Stewart* is the original Scottish spelling. *Stuart* is the French spelling deriving from the 1420s and the Hundred Years War and the subsequent donation by Charles VII of the lordship of Aubigny to 'Jean Stuart de Darnle' (Sir John Stewart of Darnley) in 1423 (Archives Nationales, Paris, Carton K 168, pièce 91). From that time onwards the English appear to have adopted the French form see, Elizabeth Bonner, 'Scotland's 'Auld Alliance' with France, 1295-1560', *History*, 84 (Jan.,1999), p. 16, n. 51).

Judith Bonzol – University of Sydney (4F)
"'The other sort of Witches': cunning folk as healers of supernatural illness in early modern England"

The cunning folk were crucial to the diagnosis and healing of diabolical illnesses in early modern English communities. Despite attempts by the clergy to label them as the Devil's agents, their popularity continued unabated. The Protestant solution of prayer, fasting and piety proved inadequate in the face of the plethora of strange and baffling afflictions that plagued the English countryside. While diagnosis by cunning folk sometimes initiated or sustained witch accusations, cunning magic was often deemed preferable to the invasive and stringent treatment of university educated physicians. Popular belief in the healing power of cunning folk was in part sustained by the patronage of the elite. A detailed consideration of the sudden illness and death of Ferdinando Stanley, the fifth Earl of Derby, in 1594, reveals that the employment of cunning folk was not restricted to the poor and uneducated in the community, and explores the nature of the relationship between licensed medicine and 'cunning' practice.

Kate Brittlebank – University of Tasmania (12A)
"The Dreams of Kings: A comparison of the khwab-nama, or dream book of Tipu Sultan of Mysore with some dreams of Peter the Great"

In an article published in 1974, which discusses a small number of recorded dreams of Tsar Peter the Great, James Cracraft made a brief allusion to the dream register of Tipu Sultan, who in the late eighteenth century ruled the powerful south-Indian kingdom of Mysore. Cracraft noted in particular 'the geographical and especially cultural distance that separated' these two kings. More than three decades later, this paper reconsiders that assessment by drawing on the findings of recent research into Tipu Sultan's dream book, which is probably the most personal document associated with the Mysore ruler that remains extant. Covering the period 1786 to early 1799, and written in Persian in his own hand, the register contains a record of 37 dreams and spans almost the entire period of Tipu's rule. Until now, however, scholars have made little use of the manuscript as a primary source for the study of Tipu and his reign. By first considering Tipu's purpose in compiling his khwab-nama, which contains a small number of other 'memoranda', and by then exploring how we might use the register as a historical source, comparison is made both with the Russian ruler's dreams and with Cracraft's analysis of them.

Nicholas Brodie – University of Tasmania (5B)
"'Good Plenty of Birchyne Rods': Sixteenth-Century Master Beggars in English Towns"

The office of master beggar is a somewhat mysterious one. They feature in urban source material from the first half of the sixteenth century, but in most cases, not in a way suggestive of their introduction at that precise moment. From scant references such as that to 'birchyne rods' one may suppose that they wandered the streets of English towns dissuading persons from begging or entering such towns in order to beg. During the same period in which master beggars appear to have been a feature of English urban

life, corporate authorities and parliamentary legislators were developing and implementing policies directed towards regulating the beggars and vagabonds of England. This paper uncovers something of the identity and function of urban master beggars in sixteenth-century England. Such an examination also elucidates important aspects of the development and implementation of policies regarding the treatment of beggars and vagabonds in sixteenth-century England.

Susan Broomhall – University of Western Australia (9A)
"Apprenticeship contracts"

Session title: Experiences of Children I. Sources and reading methods (workshop)

Organiser: Stephanie Tarbin (convenor, ARC NEER Research Cluster, Children in Europe and the Australian Colonies, 1400-1850)

How did children experience childhood in the past? Concepts of childhood and adult treatments of children represent important contexts for understanding children's experiences. But in the almost complete absence of personal testimonies, can we say anything meaningful about how pre-modern children viewed their worlds and made sense of their experiences?

This workshop examines several types of sources and explores methods of reading that may shed light on children's lives and perceptions. Presenters will speak briefly on the nature of their documents, then we will break into groups to examine in detail some sources and how we might interpret them. We will reconvene for the final half hour of the session for reporting back, group discussion and summing up.

The NEER Research Cluster, Children in Europe and the Australian Colonies, 1400-1800, welcomes all conference participants to this workshop. For a brief, helpful outline of issues relating to the recovery of children's experiences, see the introduction to Anthony Fletcher and Steven Hussey eds, *Childhood in Question: Children, Parents and the State*, (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1999).

Chair: Stephanie Tarbin (University of Western Australia)
Presenters:
1. Susan Broomhall (University of Western Australia), Apprenticeship contracts
2. Joanne McEwan (University of Western Australia), Old Bailey records
3. Kate Riley (University of Western Australia), Ferrar family letters
4. Jacqueline Van Gent (University of Western Australia), Necrologies of children.

Rae Brown – University of St Andrews (9F)
"The Constable and Late Medieval Law"

The office of Lord High Constable of England is one which is familiar to scholars, but has received little other than oblique scholarly attention. Yet, as an important officer of the household, commander of the king's armies, and head of the military Court of Chivalry (with the authority to try appeals of treason and other matters arising out of war) the Constable played an important and sometimes controversial role in medieval government and law – controversial even to contemporaries. This paper will consider key moments in the later development of the office of Constable: in particular during

the reign of Richard II, when the office was questioned and curtailment attempted; and later, during the reign of Edward IV, when the Constable himself was criticised for departing from the law of the land and, further, for unnecessary brutality. In the process of exploring these two case studies, this paper will draw conclusions about what the office of the Constable was (and how it changed over time), as well as determining the extent to which this officer wielded legitimate judicial authority, or was rather an arm of royal despotism.

Hannah Burrows – University of Sydney (1F)
"Enigma Variations: Heiðreks saga's wave-riddles and Old Norse poetic language for the sea"

The sea had a profound place in medieval Scandinavian life, and a correspondingly complicated representation in Old Norse literature. This paper will focus on the four wave-riddles preserved in the thirteenth-century Hervarar saga ok Heiðreks, aiming to unpick both their complex manuscript transmission and their underlying allusions to Norse mythology, found not only in the text of the riddles themselves, but also in their 'solutions' as given in the saga, which refer to the waves as Hlés brúðir 'Hlér's <sea-god's> women' and Ægis ekkjur 'Ægir's <sea-god's> maidens'. Comparing the riddles' anthropomorphic presentation of the waves with terminology and descriptions found elsewhere in the poetic corpus, as well the interpretative explanations of Snorri Sturluson's Edda, this paper will investigate the ways in which medieval Scandinavians, through their poetry, attempted to come to terms – quite literally – with the sea.

Robyn Cadwallader – Flinders University (7A)
"The Human on the Borders of Monstrosity: The Dragon Fight in Sir Beues of Hampton"

In Sir Beues of Hampton the hero defeats a fierce and marauding dragon in one of the most detailed dragon fights in medieval literature. An extensive prologue to the episode describes the dragon that Beves overcomes as one of a pair of kings, sent to hell and transformed into dragons for their unabated warring; returning to earth, they continue their attacks on humans. In such an episodic romance, why is this particular scene given such close attention? How does the dragon fight, and particularly its prologue, operate within the larger narrative of the romance? Beves's struggle against the dragon is a significant step in the formation of his chivalric development, the deed that marks his readiness to reclaim his birthright; he is, it would seem, the knight who defeats self-interested warmongering, both in the dragon and in himself. Yet, within the idealised landscape of romance, the episode reveals that binaries are not clearly marked, that boundaries are porous, and the potential for the human decline into monstrous lurks always at the edges of power and desire.

Narelle Campbell – University of Wollongong (8A)
"The *A*ffect and *E*ffect of medieval nostalgia in Garth Nix's Old Kingdom Trilogy"

Medieval motifs are clearly a strong feature within contemporary fantasy fiction. Such motifs demonstrate a contemporary attachment to the medieval past. More than this, the

use of landscape and cultural references very often denote an added attachment to English or Celtic spaces. This paper will consider Garth Nix's Old Kingdom trilogy, *Sabriel, Lirael,* and *Abhorsen* with a focus upon the use and operation of nostalgia within the texts. If nostalgia is founded upon a longing for home, it seems pertinent to consider why contemporary writers and readers from Western former British settler cultures often locate longing in a time that cannot be recovered, and in a place topographically and spatially removed from their common experience.

This paper will discuss the affective appeal of the medieval with reference to Louise Fradenburg's work '"So that We May Speak of Them": Enjoying the Middle Ages', and re-examine the negative connotations that commonly overlay concepts of nostalgia and affect. It will consider whether nostalgic representations are automatically 'traditional', backward looking and disengaged from contemporary concerns, or if nostalgic appeal might be utilised as an influential tool within current ideological and national discourses.

Hilary Carey – University of Newcastle, Australia (2C)
"Medievalism and Aboriginal Linguistics: Anne Layard's illumination of the Awabakal Gospel of St Luke"

This paper gives an account of the history and significance of the scripture translations which the missionary Lancelot Threlkeld completed with his Indigenous collaborator Biraban between 1829 and 1859 into the language of the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie ('Awabakal') people of New South Wales. Although created originally for a primarily evangelical purpose, it is argued that Threlkeld's translations took on a more colonial subjectivity as the people for whom it had been created rapidly declined in numbers. In particular the Gospel of St Luke was revised, embellished and exhibited for colonial display. Through the patronage of the colonial administrator Sir George Grey, this final work of Threlkeld's missionary life was decorated by the artist Anne Layard, wife of English naturalist Edgar Leopold Layard (1824-1900), in the style of a great, medieval illuminated manuscript. In this medievalist guise Threlkeld and Biraban's translation came to represent an extinct Aboriginal culture to the wider imperial world. It is argued that the colonial bible created by Biraban and Threlkeld is a contested and paradoxical object which represents both the destruction of the language community for which it was created as well as their continuity through the memorialisation of the sacred text. Medievalism became a vehicle for the transformation of the colonial bible into a work of art. This paper will seek to identify the sources for the style and illuminations chosen by Layard for the Gospel of St Luke. It is evident that several different styles were incorporated into the final production, with images and ornament drawn from the Lindisfarne Gospels as well as late medieval books of hours and gospel books. An attempt will also be made to identify the Australian birds which were incorporated by Layard into the overall scheme of decoration.

Megan Cassidy-Welch – University of Melbourne (7C)
"Remembering home: space, testimony and memory in thirteenth-century France"

This paper will consider the intersections between space and memory in the context of the aftermath of the Albigensian crusade. The period post-1229 in southern France is usually examined in terms of the advent of inquisitorial tribunals or, in a problematic

older historiography, in terms of the 'loss' of Occitania and the consolidation of the Capetian royal domain. Less attention has been paid to the meanings given to home and space by those who were made refugees by the conflict. In this paper, I explore various testimonial sources from the period 1229-1270. These sources reveal intimate and fluid ways of thinking about individual place, collective and communal forms of belonging, and the land. It is the overall argument of this paper that imagined and remembered space provided those who found themselves relocated and displaced with a powerful commemorative vocabulary to talk about belonging, ownership and identity.

Philip Caudrey – University of Tasmania (9F)
"'The Erpingham Window': parochialism and memorialisation in late medieval East Anglia"

The 'Erpingham Window' was a remarkable architectural legacy, erected in Norwich in 1419 by the Lancastrian favourite (and one of the heroes of Agincourt), Sir Thomas Erpingham. It recorded the arms of all those Norfolk and Suffolk knights who had served in the king's wars since 1327 and had died without issue male. Erpingham's window may be perceived at a variety of levels. Firstly, it was a tangible legacy of an aging knight. Secondly, it was a memorial to the military prowess of the knights of his native region. Lastly, it was a personal and public means of memorialising those great local warriors whose family names had in recent decades become extinct. By investigating the context in which this window was erected, the possible personal motivations held by Erpingham, as well as the personnel on the window itself, one may gain a deeper understanding of East Anglia's contribution to the Hundred Years War, both as it happened and, perhaps more importantly, as it was remembered and idealized by the most prominent Norfolk knight of his generation.

Katie Cavanagh – Flinders University (7D)
"Reading Medieval and Modern Codes: Telling Medieval Tales Using Computer Games"

This session explores ways in which medieval discourses intersect with modern technology. The discussion will examine how some of these new tools are being used for the telling of medieval tales. My presentation will include the depiction of medieval spaces in gaming cultures and how modern concepts of medievalism are constructed by different styles of game-play. Ten minutes will be spent laying the medieval battle codes of comitatus, chivalry and courtly love against a planning document for game creation. The purpose of this exercise is to illustrate some new possibilities in terms of tools and frameworks available for engaging students in nuanced academic discussion while utilising a modern technological framework.

Hsiao-chen Jane Chiang – National Changhua University of Education (7B)
"Topicality in Richard Brome's Dramatic Works"

Ben Jonson, a major Renaissance playwright, has been studied by many critics, yet Jonson's dramatic disciple, Richard Brome (c.1590- 1652), is little known. Scarce is recorded about Brome's personal life. Brome's major works include The Northern Lass

(1629), The City Wit (1629), The Late Lancashire Witch (1634), The Sparagus Garden (1635), A Mad Couple Well Matched (1637), The Antipodes (1638), The Wedding of the Covent Garden (1640) and The Jovial Crew (1641). Brome wrote plays and continued Elizabethan dramatic tradition until theaters were closed by order of Parliament in 1642. However, because they depict contemporary London and its life, Brome's comedies are of historical value and interest. The present project aims to explore Brome's major dramatic works in terms of current topicality. The focus of the study would be what contemporary events, political, social and economic, are referred to in Brome's works, and how Brome employs the current events to satirize his own society. Do his strategies include direct references, exaggeration, understatement, or parody?

In The Late Lancashire Witch, for instance, the topicality is the widely concerned problem of witches. In The Antipodes, a travel play, Brome satirizes the vogue of traveling, and the error of confusing imagination with objective observation. Also condemned is the weaknesses of the current government by revealing how "upside-down" the real England is under the sovereignty of Charles Ⅰ. The criticism of current political issues is similarly apparent in The Jovial Crew. In this play, the lack of restraint of the beggars is an oblique mirroring of the political disorder in 1641. The establishment of the beggars' commonwealth implies the economic hardship imposed on the nation by an over-demanding absolutist monarch. The topicality in The Wedding of the Covent Garden, is revealed in one of the characters, a cantankerous squire, who determines to come to London when the proclamation of June 1632 forbade country gentlemen to London without permission.

The significance of the project is twofold: 1) to investigate the contemporary events referred to in Brome's plays; 2) to probe into the strategies by which Brome uses the current topicality to create dramatic effect in his work.

Michael Chisholm – University of Alberta (9E)

"The Tyrolean Counter-Reformation: A Catholic Version of the Princely Reformation?"

In the history of Central Europe, the Counter-Reformation does not lend itself to easy comparison to the Princely Reformation; indeed, the two appear fundamentally distinct. They differed in space, nowhere witnessing both. They varied in time, the Counter-Reformation spanning the 1560s to the mid-seventeenth century, the Princely Reformation the later 1520s. Even their common root is deceptive, the Counter-Reformation targeting Protestantism tout court, the Princely Reformation the original Lutheranism. In the special case of the Tyrol, however, the Counter-Reformation may best be understood as a Catholic version of the Princely Reformation.

The Peasants' War showed that the common man interpreted Luther's teaching as a call to not only religious, but political, change. Though everywhere quashed, the uprising marked a watershed in the Reformation, for Lutheran authorities, in large part impelled by the danger, purged the Reformation of its radical aspects and made it their own. But what recourse lay open to the Catholic Tyrolean authorities? Ferdinand and his aristocrats would not forsake the old religion; at the same time, however, it had not begun any meaningful reform of its own. In default of a serious Catholic alternative, they sought to pacify the common man through religious reconciliation. Yet, all the while theologians conversed in Germany, the primitive unfettered Reformation message continued to circulate in the Tyrol, as adduced by the recurring demonstrations of popular dissent (Anabaptism, open sympathy with the Schmalkaldic League, and lastly,

in December, 1561, the so-called Dosser affair, a popular plot to "kill the nobles and clergy" and turn the land into a Swiss-like Reformed republic. Only the adoption of the Counter-Reformation a half-year later finally checked the threat from below. The Tyrolean Counter-Reformation and Princely Reformation were to be sure religiously opposed, but politically they were of a piece.

Edwina Christie – University of Sydney (5A)
"Towards A New Rule for the Long Dip in Alliterative Verse"

The study of Middle English alliterative metre is currently undergoing a rapid upheaval. It was once commonly assumed that alliteration and stressed beats were the only significant features of the long line, but recent research by Thomas Cable, Hoyt Duggan and Putter, Jefferson and Stokes has pointed to the crucial role played by unstressed syllables in the metre of alliterative verse. Yet analyses of unstressed syllables have so far been limited to their function in the b-verse and most metrists seem to conclude that there are no discernible rules for the first half of the long line.

This paper challenges this conclusion by proposing a new rule for the long dip which hypothesizes an interdependent relationship between the a- and b-verses. The proposed rule states that the long dip in the a-verse will always be heavier, that is, it will contain more syllables, than the long dip in the b-verse. Where the long dip in the b-verse contains the same number of syllables as the heaviest long dip in the a-verse, the a-verse will contain at least one other long dip, of any syllable count.

The rule is tested in the poems of the Cotton Nero A.x manuscript. It has an initial 87.9% accuracy in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and many of the exceptions can be accounted for by a series of sub-rules, scribal error, uncertain placement of the caesura or ambiguity over final –e. The paper considers and eliminates many such exceptions, so that the final percentile accuracy of the rule is 96.7%. Similar statistics apply in Cleanness and Patience.

The paper demonstrates, therefore, that there are clear metrical rules for unstressed syllables in both halves of the alliterative line.

Bernadette Cochrane – University of Queensland (12C)
"'I must be here confined by you': Mapping the 'other world' of <u>The Tempest</u>"

Usurpation, conspiracy, and romance are some of the words traditionally associated with the world of <u>The Tempest.</u> These are strong words to describe the storyline of a playtext that has been accused of lacking action or conflict. If the critical work over the last eighty years or so has identified <u>The Tempest</u> as having little by the way of plot, then, so too, has it recognized <u>The Tempest</u> as being one of the most theatrically self-aware of Shakespeare's plays. This theatrical self-awareness results from the sophisticated use of metadramatic devices within the playtext's structure; devices which simultaneously affirm the cohesion of the mimetic world, whilst shattering it into multiple other worlds. This paper proposes that the two commonplaces have a relational interdependence whereby the metadramatic devices complicate and invigorate The Tempest's simple plot. Albeit there are numerous types of metadramatic device, this paper focuses on the play-within-a-play, which in turn creates worlds-within-worlds. Act 1, scene 1 of The Tempest is a particularly complex example of the play-within-a-play, referencing as it does, several different modes of the device, whilst being

both integrated within and essential to the narrative of the playtext. Specifically, in this paper it is argued that the combination of act 1, scene 1 and the epilogue creates a dramatic frame, thus situating the main plot, somewhat contrarily, as a form of inset play. The plot of The Tempest may be lacking action or conflict but if one looks to the deep structure then The Tempest becomes an intricate study of illusion, artifice, and multiple realities.

Emily Cock – University of Adelaide (1B)
"Whore Texts: Prostitution and Publishing in Late Stuart Literature"

The prostitute and her close companion, the bawd, were widely represented figures in late Stuart England, featuring in a variety of different texts and accruing a range of meanings. Figuratively, models of prostitution were also applied to various situations in which the individual placed him, or more frequently, herself in a public context. These included eroticised models of publishing at the service of a 'brothel muse'. Similarly, prostitution was commonly constructed as a form of female 'publication', while women were represented as 'two-leaved books'. This paper will explore representations of prostitution in popular non-dramatic texts such as John Garfield's The Wandring Whore (1660) and the anonymous Whores Rhetorick (1683) and London Jilt, or Politick Whore (1683). In particular, it will investigate how the economies of publishing and prostitution figure in regard to each other within these texts.

Judith Collard – University of Otago (2A)
"Continuities and Innovations in Matthew Paris's Chronicle Illustration: 'Self-Portrait with Virgin Mary (*Historia Anglorum*, British Library, MS Royal 14 C.VII)"

Matthew Paris is probably best known for his ambitious and richly illustrated chronicles. He is regarded as a pivotal figure in the emergence of the illuminated English chronicle because of his active role as both author and artist. He has also been seen as a major figure within studies of English thirteenth-century art.

Amongst the prefatory material that precedes Matthew Paris's *Historia Anglorum* is an impressive full-page image of the Virgin Mary and Christ with, below them, a praying monk. Unusual in its composition and placement, this author portrait highlights several characteristics found within Paris's chronicles, and underlines his knowledge of, and place within the developing traditions of English chronicle illustration. In discussions of this image as an author portrait the unusual composition have been compared to older works, such as the Anglo-Saxon *Saint Dunstan's Classbook* and Carolingian editions of the works of Hrabanus Maurus. At the same time, its composition also reflects new trends in devotional imagery.

In this paper I intend to explore further the manner in which this illustration and other visual material incorporated into Paris's chronicles draw on the increasing role of imagery and diagrams in twelfth and early thirteenth-century chronicles and scholastic works. Examples of the wide-ranging nature of his imagery include his use of *signa*, genealogical diagrams and maps. It is through such a study that the innovative elements found in his chronicles, that foreshadow developments that occur in later English histories, are more readily identified in his work.

Kate Colleran – University of Sydney (2E)
"The Soundscape of the Visit of Charles VIII to Florence in 1494"

In November 1494, Florentines were listening intently: listening with uncertainty and dread to the approach of the army of Charles VIII of France; listening in fear for the biblical punishment that the preacher Savonarola had promised 'long before anyone had heard the noise or smelled any of today's wars'; listening to the voices of mobs that were summoned suddenly onto the streets by the martial call of a bell, or the rallying cry of one of the city's factions; and listening to the rumours and news that coursed through the squares, taverns, and other meeting places. The diaries, chronicles and histories that recount the ceremonial entry of the King of France into Florence on the 17th of November are thus full of references to the extraordinary soundscape during this time. Not only do they encourage the historian to listen to Renaissance Florence (even in the absence of sound recordings), but these sources are also highly suggestive of just how important listening was to contemporary Florentines. By using them as an example, I will explore the potential of written documents for 'aural history', and argue that these early modern writers demonstrate a particular sensitivity to sounds.

Liam Connell – University of Melbourne (4F)
"'Shee should never Enjoy him': Mary Hale and the Bewitching of Michael Smith, Massachusetts, 1681 "

The 1681 witchcraft trial of Boston widow Mary Hale was unusual for many reasons. Mary's witchcraft, for instance, is almost incidental to the trial testimony, which centres on a complex relationship between a recently deceased young man and two other young women who he appears to have been courting at the same time. The legal documents from which this case is reconstructed are for the most part written in the first person, and by the women themselves. These women constructed their version of events, as did the various cunning women who were in competition with Mary. This gives us a rare instance in which the personal writing of a group of women in the early colony can be analysed. This paper will reconstruct these calamitous events from the contending perspectives of the storytellers who narrated them. What we are left with in this case is a symphony of competing voices and conflicting interests, and all of them are given to us by exclusively female actors. Cotton Mather described women in early New England as the "hidden ones", and yet, as we shall see, they were anything but. This discussion is an examination of these unusual and fascinating writings that these normally more "hidden" Early Modern women crafted with clarity for quite specific audiences and purposes. The paper explores the limits of female authority within what is considered an inflexibly patriarchal society, as well as the variety of intense emotions that drove responses to death. Part soap opera, part medical mystery, part cautionary tale, the case provides a glimpse of social relationships among ordinary lay folk in a "Puritan" community.

Louisa Connors – University of Newcastle, Australia (10C)
"Computational stylistics and questions of interpretation in Elizabeth Cary's *The Tragedy of Mariam, the Fair Queen of Jewry*"

The use of computational methods of stylistic analysis to consider issues of categorization and authorship is now widely accepted. The use of computational techniques to analyze questions of style and interpretation is less well accepted by traditional humanists. The assumption that most humanists make about stylistics in general, and about computational stylistics in particular, is that it is "concerned with the formal and linguistic properties of the text" in isolation from its historical and social context (Clark 2005). When computational stylistics is combined with a cognitive approach to language and meaning there is more scope for an engagement with the psychological, socio-cultural, and historical elements of the text.

Computational stylistics as discussed in this paper will attempt to link statistical findings with more contextual aspects of textual production and a more interpretive critical practice. It highlights general trends and features in a set of tragedies published between 1580 and 1640 that includes plays written for the public stage as well as closet tragedies. It also provides us with evidence of the peculiarities and creative adaptations of an individual user. In this case, the individual user is Elizabeth Cary, the author of the earliest extant original play in English by a woman, *The Tragedy of Mariam*, *The Fair Queen of Jewry* (1613).

Mariam, as it turns out, is something of an oddity in terms of the analysis. Cary's play is the closet play that is *most* like a play written for the public stage. This result locates *Mariam* in a somewhat unusual position in relation to the other closet tragedies and adds support to the growing body of critics who have sought to demonstrate that Cary's work goes "beyond the domestic sphere" (Wolfe 2007 1) in the way that it engages with a range of early modern literary and political issues.

Clark, U. (2005). *Social cognition and the future of stylistics, or "What is cognitive stylistics and why are people saying such good things about it?!"* Paper presented at the PALA 25: Stylistics and Social Cognition.

Wolfe, H. (2007). *The Literary Career and Legacy of Elizabeth Cary, 1613-1680.*

Nicole Crawford – University of Western Australia (4F)

"Witch history? The representation of early modern witch persecutions in contemporary Goddess worship"

Contemporary Goddess worship (also known as feminist witchcraft) is a small but expanding neo-Pagan spiritual path in the western world. Practitioners believe in an immanent female deity (the Goddess), they consider the earth to be sacred, and they celebrate the female body and its cycles. Goddess worship emerged from the broader counter-cultural milieu of the 1960s and 70s. Writers of Goddess texts conceptualise their movement's origins in prehistoric, pre-patriarchal times, with the advent of patriarchal polytheistic and monotheistic religions signifying a "Fall". The witch-hunts of early modern Europe feature as the most significant aspect of the "Fall" in the Goddess worshippers' historical imaginary. Goddess writers present the witch persecutions as a "genocide" and "holocaust" against women. Through elucidating the Goddess writers' "mythistory" of the witch-hunts this paper will, firstly, discuss the Goddess writers' representation of witches; secondly, analyse the Goddess writers' use of provocative terminology and figures; thirdly, outline the Goddess writers' contention that gender issues are the cause of the witch persecutions. Finally, the nature of Goddess writers' engagement, or lack of engagement, with particular sources that discuss the witch-hunts (for instance, historians of early modern witchcraft) will be

assessed. Overall, this paper will consider how the Goddess writers' construction challenges other witchcraft histories, is empowering for its followers, and serves the movement's broader narrative of the "Fall". It will be argued that a notion of mediaeval/early modern history (regardless of whether the interpretation is historically accurate) is fundamental to the representation of the "Fall" in the Goddess movement's construction of the past.

John N. Crossley – Monash University (10B)
"A man between two worlds: Spain and the Philippines c. 1621"

Hernando de los Ríos Coronel went to the Philippines in 1588 and subsequently returned twice to Spain as representative of the Philippines. At the end of a distinguished career as soldier, mathematician, pilot, navigator, administrator and priest, he bombarded Philip III and Philip IV with requests to defend the Philippines against the Dutch, which were at times quite vitriolic.

His long (173 page) Memorial of 1621 has long been known, but he wrote three others, much shorter, one of which is virtually unknown. This paper will discuss their content, motivation and environment and will consider, inter alia, why the Philippines should not be swapped for Brazil, and the continual failure to exploit the potential of the Philippines, which has persisted to this day.

Peter Cunich – University of Hong Kong (4D)
"Liturgical Space and the Nuns of Syon"

Syon Abbey had the reputation of being one of the most observant English monasteries on the eve of the Reformation. Its convent of sixty nuns was one of the largest and most aristocratic in England, but it was even more distinctive in that a community of monks and lay brothers formed part of the monastic community under St Bridget's strict Rule of the Holy Saviour. It was also one of the wealthiest monasteries in the kingdom. Until recently, however, very little was known about the conventual buildings of Syon because the church and cloisters were thoroughly dismantled in the second half of the sixteenth century and no traces of the buildings remain above ground today. While the *Syon Additions* tell us much about the Bridgettine office and the distinctive liturgies of the nuns and monks of Syon, past historians have had to be satisfied with speculating about the nature of the liturgical space within the abbey church. Until 2003 it was not even known where the abbey church was located. Excavations in the garden of Syon House over the last four years have now revealed much of the outline of the abbey church and some of the adjoining claustral buildings. Using both textual and archaeological evidence, this paper will suggest how the liturgical space of the nuns of Syon may have been arranged on the eve of the dissolution and will argue that the monks' chapel, although smaller and completely separate, was integral to the performance of the complex Bridgettine liturgy within the abbey church.

Carole M. Cusack – University of Sydney (1C)
"Theatre of Murder: The Use of the Morality Play in Three Novels Set in the Middle Ages"

Morality plays are a medieval dramatic/literary form in which a generic human protagonist encounters personified virtues and vices, and a theological lesson about the fate of the soul is imparted. Mystery plays focus, by contrast on the events of scripture. Despite the declining influence of Christianity in the modern West, the use of these medieval dramatic forms is popular within fiction, and particularly crime and detective fiction. Barry Unsworth's (1996) Morality Play used the device of the play to structure a narrative which is part detective story and part explanation of the emergence of modern, plastic notions of the self and of life as conscious acting. Less distinguished detective and crime novels, such as Ian Morson's Falconer and the Face of God, employ the machinery of the stage as part of a murder plot. This paper examines a number of modern novels employing medieval dramatic forms and suggests reasons for their popularity.

Roswitha Dabke – Independent scholar (1D)
"Hildegard of Bingen as Mediator for Religious Houses in Lorraine and the Rhineland"

The Rupertsberg monastery, founded by Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), was granted full independence in 1158, about eight years after her move there from Disibodenberg. Hildegard as well as her contemporaries considered the establishment of her own independent religious house a significant achievement. The year 1158 also marked the beginning of her so-called preaching tours, which in 1160 included visits to Trier and Metz on the Moselle, Graufthal in the northern Vosges mountains, and Hoerdt and possibly Hane in the Rhineland. During or shortly after this extended journey one female and two male canonical communities were founded or gained their independence in or near the places she visited. The Benedictine nunneries, which had to provide the land for the two new communities, were also on sites on or close to Hildegard's itinerary. Evidence from charters, and Hildegard's correspondence and Vita suggest that she may have used her fama, extensive networks and experience with the required negotiations to play the role of a mediator, with preaching being only one purpose of this journey. It is hoped that the results of one of the mediations and the long-term successes and failures of the affected religious houses will especially illuminate the status of female religious in these areas of the Empire between Moselle and Rhine.

Louise D'Arcens – University of Wollongong (4A)
"Jessica Anderson and Australian Arthurian heroines"

Abstract not available at time of printing.

Louise D'Arcens – University of Wollongong (6D)
"From 'eccentric affiliation' to 'corrective medievalism': Bruce Holsinger's The Premodern Condition"

Scholars of medieval literature have frequently noted the surprising affinities between postmodern and premodern notions of authorship, textual dissemination, subjectivity, and desire. Bruce Holsinger's The Premodern Condition develops this observation of "eccentric affiliation" into a meticulous "archaeology of the postmodern" in which he demonstrates the centrality of the medieval within poststructuralist thought, anatomising

meticulously the "recruitment of the medieval" by a range of French poststructuralist thinkers.

Focusing on his account of Jacques Derrida's "occulted medievalism", this paper will ask: what is at stake, both for medievalists and for scholars of medievalism, in moving from a sense of "eccentric affiliation" with poststructuralism to a knowledge of our discipline's role in its birth?

Lola Sharon Davidson – University of Technology, Sydney (3E)
"Na Prous: The Female Heretic as Dissenting Moral Subject"

Na Prous, a Southern French beguine associated with the Spiritual Franciscans, went unrepentant to the stake in 1328. Unlike Marguerite Porete, who refused to reply to a tribunal she did not recognise, Na Prous made her interrogation the occasion for a vituperative denunciation of the ecclesiastical authorities. Castigating Pope John XXII as the Antichrist, she expounded an apocalyptic interpretation of contemporary events inspired by Peter John Olivi's banned commentary on *Revelations.* Both Prous' visionary language and the central role she allots herself in the history of salvation may tempt the modern reader to dismiss her as mad. Nevertheless her beliefs grow out of and address her social and intellectual world and her determination to defy the evil she sees around her is truly heroic. In this paper I will examine Na Prous' confession as her attempt to constitute herself as a virtuous moral subject.

Julie Davies – University of Melbourne (8F)
"Poisonous Vapours: Joseph Glanvill's approach to the study of witchcraft in seventeenth century England"

An influential yet controversial figure, Joseph Glanvill was both a defender of the belief in witchcraft and a leading advocate of the experimental method until his death in 1680. Although the combination of these two positions surprises our modern sensibilities, this paper will explore the relationship between these facets of Glanvill's thought.

The "Sadducismus Triumphatus" was Glanvill's major treatise on witchcraft published in many revisions from 1668-1681. An analysis of this work will show how Glanvill's approach to the study of witchcraft was founded in the empirical approach being advocated by the Royal Society at this time. It will also demonstrate that a continuing belief in witchcraft was not necessarily incompatible with the epistemology and scientific method of seventeenth century Britain. So this analysis will shed light on ways in which further study of Glanvill will enhance our understanding of the so called "decline of witchcraft" and the development of modern scientific ideals. For despite his ultimate failure, Glanvill's work on witchcraft clearly contributed toward the increasing standards of empirical evidence and the gradual erosion of the value the British scientific community placed on testimonial evidence.

Helen Dell – University of Melbourne (2C)
"Music for Myth and Fantasy in Two Arthurian Films"

My paper examines music in two Arthurian films: John Boorman's *Excalibur* and the television miniseries *Mists of Avalon* directed by Uli Edel. It is part of a larger attempt

to explore the role played by music in the nostalgic desire evoked by the medieval in late twentieth and early twenty-first-century recordings, novels and films. I argue that these artefacts of medievalism support the fantasy of a lost home or time before a Fall. Julia Kristeva, like Jacques Lacan, sets language at the heart of the loss. She describes it as a process of castration, defined as:

the imaginary construction of a radical operation which constitutes the symbolic field and all beings inscribed therein. This operation constitutes…language as a separation from a presumed state of nature (*Kristeva Reader* 198).

We long for a time before separation, and we sometimes call this time 'medieval'. Fantasies of such a harmonious time or place at peace and in tune with nature, abound in this New Age, not least in these two films. My paper works through this idea in the film music in relation to the Lacanian 'lost object' of desire or, as he came to call it, *objet (petit) a*.

Michael Devine – Victoria University of Wellington (10A)
"John Prestall and the Catholic Threat in the 1560s"

In the decade after Elizabeth I ascended the English throne in November 1558 the issue of the royal succession and securing the Protestant faith in England weighed heavily upon Elizabeth's Government. Securing a Protestant succession proved to be only half of the Government's worries, however, with guaranteeing Elizabeth I's survival essential until the succession was secure. The uncertainty of the succession crisis was heightened by the constant fear of magical attack upon Elizabeth I's person by English Catholics who sought to put the Catholic Queen Mary of Scotland on the throne and return England to a Catholic Kingdom.

John Prestall, an unsavoury and spendthrift Catholic gentleman from Sussex, was deeply embroiled in Catholic conspiracies during the first decade of Elizabeth I's rule putting his occult abilities to use against her Protestant regime. Members of the Elizabethan Government such as Sir William Cecil, the Secretary of State, saw John Prestall as a serious threat to the Elizabethan Regime. Despite the attention Prestall received from the Elizabethan state apparatus, his intriguing and dubious life has not received any significant analysis from historians.

This paper will investigate John Prestall's activities between November 1558 and 1569, a decade in which Prestall not only used magic for the Catholic plots and schemes, but also to further his own personal gains. He traded promises to make alchemical gold in exchange for his release from the Tower of London, and sought patronage from members of the royal court whom he simultaneously conspired against. In the late 1560s Prestall became legal guardian of his step-son's inherited estate which, through fraud and extortion, he stripped of its wealth and lands, either squandering the profits, or sending them to English Catholic exiles. The dubious character and conduct of John Prestall in 1560s reveals an insight into the political underworld of Elizabethan England and the integral part magic played.

Catherine Dewhirst – University of Southern Queensland (12E)
"Nobility, the farmhouse villa and the transformations of a family identity"

The Italian nobility has a long history tied to landownership, a dynamic example of which can be found in the province of Verona from the 1500s. Both ancient and minor elite families used a number of strategies between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries to distinguish themselves and, at the same time, contribute to the myth of the Veronese aristocracy. Commercial enterprise was particularly important given the domination of Venice. Beyond the periphery of Verona's city walls lay a number of municipalities, peppered with agricultural estates which each encompassed a fluid community. These landowning families cultivated their sense of nobility through noble registries, civic duties and agricultural production, central to which was the farmhouse villa. Their purpose was pragmatic, but the farmhouse villa itself became symbolic of the identity being constructed by upwardly mobile landowners for recognition of their family status and future prosperity. This paper considers the example of the shifting role that the Villa Pullè in San Pietro in Cariano, in the Valpolicella, has had on the maintenance of a noble family identity and the impact of changes into the nineteenth century. It makes some observations about the centrality of the 'home' and homeland of origin for the Pullè family descendants.

Lindsay Diggelmann – University of Auckland (6A)
"'Enslaved to Fatal Joy': The Moral Frailty of Happy Kings in Three Anglo-Norman Texts"

Several emotions are consistently presented as broadly negative in medieval culture. Joy, on the other hand, tends to carry much more positive overtones. Yet there is a surprising prevalence of moral condemnation towards the excessively happy in certain twelfth-century texts. This applies especially to those who should know better than to indulge in the pleasures of exultation: those kings for whom ignominious removal from their lofty position might be just around the corner. An examination of chronicle accounts by Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury of two more-or-less contemporary monarchs (William Rufus and Stephen), along with a look at Geoffrey of Monmouth's portrayal of the Romano-British leader Vortigern, will reveal how images of regal happiness could be put to use as commentaries on the moral and political weakness of ineffective rulers.

Margaret Dorey – University of Western Australia (5B)
"Dangerous adulterants or kindly corrections?: Representations of food additives and concerns about food purity in early modern English dietary texts"

Studies of food adulteration have treated adulteration and purity as absolute terms, applying modern ideas of what constitutes an adulterant, and how such adulterants pose a threat, to the past. This ignores the fact that even in the modern period, additives previously seen as harmless have been redefined as harmful, and that not all additives are considered dangerous. This treatment of adulteration has led to an assumption that food adulteration is a modern issue, dismissing repeated expressions of concern about food purity and fraud from the early modern period as insignificant and based on ignorance; thus conferring what E.P. Thompson referred to as "the enormous

condescension of posterity" on the past. This paper argues that concepts of adulteration are culturally determined and can change over time. Drawing on the findings of recent sociological studies of modern food concerns, which show that modern panics about the purity of food on sale are triggered by beliefs about contamination and can have little to do with actual analytical evidence, I also argue that the history of adulteration for any period must examine contemporary ideas and concerns about what was deemed safe or unsafe food practice in their own terms, and from within the social and medical frameworks of the period under consideration. This paper will therefore explore the dietary texts of early modern England, examining the concepts of, and concerns about, food quality and adulteration that they presented.

Margaret Dorey – University of Western Australia (11B)
"Dietary advice literature"

See entry for Merridee Bailey.

Stephanie Downes – University of Sydney (7A)
"Hoccleve's Lepistre de Cupide: Literary Translation and Clerkly Inspiration"

Thomas Hoccleve's Letter of Cupid (1402), based on Christine de Pizan's Epistre au dieu d'amour (1399), is only labelled a translation with reticence, and is frequently criticised for its treatment of gender in comparison with the original. Critical response to the poem ranges from finding it an accurate adaptation of Christine's defence of women, to outright parody, and has nearly always been eclipsed by these concerns. This paper reconsiders Hoccleve's relation to his French source through an examination of the poet's own play with notions of interpretation and translation in the Letter and the later Dialogue (c. 1421). It investigates, more broadly, the manuscript reception of both the French Epistre and the English Letter in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century England, and demonstrates that the courtly audience that Hoccleve's imagined for his poem was highly attuned to its nuances of its genre in both vernaculars. Hoccleve's Letter is here examined in view of his profession: as Privy Seal clerk, Hoccleve worked with letters and patents in French on a daily basis. The Letter, Hoccleve's first literary output, blends the administrative and the courtly to present the document as 'literary object'. He relies on the wit, cultural awareness and multilingualism of his audience to 'get' the joke. Christine's French Epistre supplies a template that dovetails the clerkly training of its translator with his literary pursuits.

Marsha L. Dutton – Ohio University (6A)
"'Gathering up the Fragments that Nothing be Lost': Aelred of Rievaulx on the Veneration and Translation of Relics"

Two works of Aelred, twelfth-century abbot of the Yorkshire Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, explore the spiritual meaning and temporal power of saints' relics. In The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor and The Saints of the Church of Hexham, Aelred depicts people opening tombs of the saints, examining and evaluating their relics, translating them to new shrines, and sometimes appropriating (or failing to appropriate) some portions for themselves.

The Life of Saint Edward, which Aelred wrote in preparation for the translation of the relics of Edward the Confessor after his 1161 canonization, devotes two chapters to the 1102 opening of Edward's tomb and examination of his incorrupt body but—presumably because The Life was completed before the next opening of the tomb—says nothing of the current state of Edward's body. Nonetheless, Aelred's account of miracles accomplished at Edward's tomb shows the continuing efficacy of Edward's body nearly a hundred years after his death. The Saints of Hexham concerns the five holy bishops interred in the church of Saint Andrew in Hexham, focusing on the finding, disinterring, and translating of their relics, with particular attention to the way in which the bishops foiled attempts to appropriate any part of their bones.

In both works Aelred insists that saints' power survives in bodies long after death. He also suggests that while one consequence of that enduring power is the desire of the faithful to possess it for themselves, the saints' desire to maintain the integrity of their remains and to exercise control over the place where those remains will rest will defeat any such attempts.

This paper will explore Aelred's treatment of saints' relics and their power, preservation, veneration, and translation.

Victoria Emery – Deakin University (2B)

"Anonymous needleworkers: A narrative in blackwork"

Embroidery, lacemaking and other forms of needlework are activities which are never quite what they seem. They are art and craft, an activity which bridges both female and male practitioners and all levels of competence. They appear in contemporary narratives as a symbol of domestic control, keeping women silent and busy, while modern commentators have seen them as a means of female expression which slides gently by the critics. Gifts of embroidery could be both valuable in themselves and symbolic of social ties and affections. They are a means of displaying social status without need for enormous outlay, for the materials are relatively simple and readily available.

The fashion for blackwork and other monochrome embroideries in the second half of the sixteenth century can be seen as a particularly apt example of the multiple meanings inherent in a material object. This embroidery could be executed with minimal materials (usually black or a single colour silk thread on a white linen ground) using linear or geometric patterns which were available in pattern books or easily adapted from illustrations of other sorts. The development of the blackwork styles and uses starts with simple repeat geometrics, and moves on to sophisticated shading by density of pattern, free linear designs, and speckle shading. Pieces could also be enriched with gold or silver lace, be multilayered into figures of extraordinary complexity and incorporated into the court costumes of the late Elizabethan period. This particular type of embroidery, of all others, had the potential to reach from the simplest to the most complex, from the artisan to the regal.

This paper will read the written narratives of needlework as obedient 'industrie', and the subversive potential of its uses pointed out by modern commentaries against the surviving opus of English blackwork, and the changes and complexities that it incorporates.

Geir Atle Ersland – University of Bergen (9D)
"Norwegian Crusades – Diplomacy, Holy War or Just Plain Plundering?"

Traditionally, there has been a strong emphasis on seeing Norwegian crusaders as a reminiscence from the Viking era. However, recent research has re-evaluated the role of crusading within a wider European horizon, and sees it now as a more central feature of medieval Scandinavian warfare and power politics. In this paper I will argue that the early Norwegian crusading enterprises to the Holy Land in the first part of 12th century was not an excuse to conquer new territories and win booty under the cover of fighting for a Kingdom of Heaven.

The underlying motives for the crusading missions, from my point of view, were to visit some of the most powerful European courts and to show courtesy and undertake diplomatic negotiations. In such a perspective, the killing of non-Christians and the winning of booty was just a spin-off effect. I will present three expeditions from the period c. 1100 to 1150 which are known from the Norse Sagas, and try to point out how the events described in the sagas can be explained within the political framework surrounding the Norwegian kingdom at the time.

As I see it, the expeditions from this early phase in the history of crusading was crucial for the northernmost kingdom of Europe in order to make contact and gain cultural impulses, and as such Norwegian crusaders were not late Vikings, but pawns in the Europeanization of Norway.

Andrew Evans – University of Sydney (3B)
"From Foghorns to Fanfares: Trumpeters, their Instruments and Music on Dutch East Indies Company Ships during the Seventeenth Century"

This presentation investigates the roles of the trumpeters employed by the Dutch East Indies Company on its ships and in its South-east Asian trading empire. It reassesses the traditionally held view of 'ships' trumpeters' as only being capable of undertaking the utilitarian role of signalling. A synthesis of archaeological, visual, historical and musical evidence within this 'colonial' context contradicts this view and indicates that they were skilled instrumentalists participating in entertainment, diplomatic and trade negotiations and ceremonial occasions through the Dutch colonies. My presentation will incorporate the use of musical examples played on a 17th century trumpet that has been reconstructed using archaeological and museum specimens.

Geraint Evans – Swansea University (2B)
"'Heb Ddieu Heb Ddim': The Welsh printer's device in Shakespeare quarto title-pages"

William Jaggard printed quarto editions of a number of plays attributed to Shakespeare, with title pages carrying dates ranging from 1600 to 1619. All of them are now thought to have been printed in 1619 for Thomas Pavier and several of them have a printer's device containing the Welsh motto 'Heb Ddieu Heb Ddim' ['Without God without anything']. Two further Shakespeare quartos, printed in 1634 and 1635 by Thomas Cotes, also carry the device, as do a number of other books printed in London between 1592 and 1703.

The proverb itself was widely attested in late medieval and early modern Wales. It appears in a number of manuscript collections and is listed in William Salesbury's Oll

synnwyr pen Kembero ygyd [The Sum of Welsh Wisdom] (1547), the first printed collection of Welsh proverbs. By the eighteenth century it was an established part of the antiquarian image of Wales: it was used as a heraldic device on a number of bookplates, including Thomas Pennant's, it is mentioned in a number of Welsh Tours and it is the basis of an anecdote in Samuel Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales.

The paper will discuss the origins of this Welsh proverb and explore the extent and significance of its use in London printers' devices of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Núria-Montserrat Farré-i-Barril – University of Lleida (5C)

"The meaning of supernatural experience in Arnau de Vilanova's work"

In 1299, when Arnau de Vilanova was sent by James II as ambassador to the king Philip IV the Fair, he took upon himself the right and the duty to announce that the Kingdom of God was at hand. Arnau did not want to find out this final and fatal date in order to satisfy an unpardonable curiosity about God's plans but he had a charitable purpose: to drive Christians towards a deep reform according to the Gospel.

In his work On the Advent of Antichrist, Arnau did not ask for a divine or miraculous intervention to support his message. It could very well be because such statements would have had him easily condemned. Only when he became the target of heavy criticism, Arnau began to invoke miraculous episodes. In his second treaty, Arnau added to his exegetical arguments supernatural visions experienced by his contemporaries. But we still have to wait a little longer to see how Arnau assumes the supernatural inspiration characteristic of his work. After this first step, divinely inspired phenomena became recurrent in his work.

My aim is to study the characteristics of these persistent supernatural episodes that impelled him to write and spread a divine message. What is the importance of these supernatural episodes in Arnau's work? What are their recurrent features and how can we relate them with other prophetical phenomena of his time? Why did he not refer to them at the beginning when, according to his own account, he had already received the commandment 'Arise and write' through a mysterious voice? When did he consider appropriate that those supernatural elements should be added to the initial exegesis? Arnau's ideas about exegesis, cognition, revelation, supernatural privilege, prophecy, visio and intellectus (as he announces it in his Expositio in Apocalypsi) will be the central themes of my paper.

Ilona Fekete – Eötvös Loránd University (1A)

"Paullini's Heylsame Dreck-Apotheke (1696) and its Philosophical Background"

The Heylsame Dreck-Apotheke (Salutary Pharmacy of Filth) of Kristian Franz Paullini (1643-1712) was published for the first time in Frankfurt in 1696. As its title suggests, through the use of Dreck (excrement), Paulini thought it possible to heal almost all incidents of poisoning and disease: when used correctly, Dreck could even banish magical curses. Paullini was not the only advocate of 'filth-healing' during this period; indeed, pharmaceutical recipes including Dreck featured in nearly all legally-approved recipe books of the seventeenth and eighteenth-century.

The preparation of medicines using fecal matter possesses a long history. The techniques were practised in ancient Egypt and its principles influenced the early

development of Charles Édouard Brown-Séquard's organo therapy in the late nineteenth century. The efficacy of 'filth-healing' throughout this lengthy period was justified primarily with reference to contemporary biological and anatomic knowledge and assumptions. Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century, the use of Dreck in pharmaceutical practice was also increasingly justified and expanded by developing theories in natural philosophy. The pharmacy of the seventeenth century was distinctly 'polypragmatic,' drawing on a mixture of herbal, mineralogical, Arabian, sympathetic magical, popular and learned medicinal traditions. The philosophical background to 'filth-healing' was just as diverse.

This presentation charts and reveals the most significant aspects of this philosophical background, its sources and its progenitors. Figures considered include the German physician Georg Ernst Stahl (1660-1734), who championed an animistic philosophy in opposition to reigning mechanistic conceptions, as well as the Scot, William Maxwell. Maxwell was active in London in the first half of the seventeenth century and developed an influential theory linking magnetism with the so-called 'spirit of life,' thereby combining the Neoplatonic conception of spirit with Paracelsian mumia theory. Paullini, along with other practitioners of 'filth healing' like Planis David de Campy and Johann David Ruland, took these ideas and set them in practice, creating a practical, and practicable, salutary pharmacy of filth. Also included shall be a selection of Paullini's more bizarre recipes.

Verity Fisher – Independent scholar (9B)
"Stylus, spindle and stone: Northumbrian religious women and the use of material culture"

The usual interpretations of archaeological evidence from the Anglo-Saxon period portray women as weavers and home-makers, and men as warriors, writers and craftsmen. The bulk of the plausibility of these interpretations lies in the way they feed into and off modern stereotypical pictures of male and female roles and behaviours. Consequently, the relationship of these stereotypes to the lived experiences of women and men in the Anglo-Saxon period is debatable.

This paper examines some of the material artefacts uncovered at the Northumbrian monastic foundations of Whitby, Hartlepool and Hackness. According to Bede in his Ecclesiastical History of the English People, these double houses were ably founded and overseen in the seventh century by Abbess Hild, a member of the Deiran royal family. A number of scholars have construed the archaeological evidence from Whitby and its daughter houses as indicating that the aristocratic female inhabitants were more concerned with their appearances than with the state of their souls or their communities. This paper will discuss the ways in which the evidence from the three sites – including styli, metalwork, sculpture and animal remains - can instead be interpreted to reveal Anglo-Saxon women actively engaged with and participating in literate Christian culture on many levels, including reading, writing, teaching and book-production.

Sabina Flanagan – University of Adelaide (4B)
"The missing leaves from Arras Bibl. de la Ville 649 - a tale of lost and found"

This manuscript contains the most complete version of Herbert of Bosham's 'Life of Thomas Becket', published by James Craigie Robertson in volume 3 of his 'Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket' (Rolls Series, 6 vols, 1875-82).

However before it came to be edited a considerable number of leaves had been excised and sold by an unscrupulous librarian. Some of the leaves were recovered by the great 19th-century collector Sir Thomas Phillipps but lost again before they could receive scholarly examination. They resurfaced about thirty years ago and have since passed back into private hands. Some of the remaining leaves were returned to the library at Arras but are no longer extant. Thus there remain some tantalizing lacunae in the manuscript.

My paper highlights the contingent nature of the survival of medieval texts in both public and private collections.

Jason Freddi – University of Melbourne (12C)
"Memory and the Ethics of Reading in Shakespeare's Hamlet"

Shakespeare is typically read as an early modern author. Mary Carruthers' writings permit us to read him instead as a late medieval author of humanist persuasion. This paper uses her work on memory and the ethics of reading to show how Shakespeare understood that recollection can in fact be experienced ethically when actor and a 'remembering' audience are present. I will suggest that Shakespeare's art is deep in this tradition.

The paper looks at Shakespeare's Tragedy of Hamlet, studying the tropes that Hamlet calls to mind. It is important that we note to whom he addresses these recollections. His recollection of Pyrrhus' murder of Priam in the player scene is crucial in the light of his struggle to recollect the regicide trope in his own actions, and the paradox of his repeated failure to 'remember' the ghost's commandment. He has 'from the table of memory' wiped away 'all saws of books' etc. From an ethics of the remembered Hamlet takes flight in the imaginative faculty. The central act describes, in a play within-the-play, the problem that was initiated by the vision of his father's ghost in the first Act and his imitation of madness in the second. His increasing isolation from family and friends soliloquizing must be understood in light of a failure of memory and of the ethics of reading. This paper makes a few observations about the human consequences as developed in the play. It is the breakdown of this hermeneutic dialogue between those present in the experience that is characteristic of the modern period and Carruthers' research allows us to understand better the ethics of Hamlet's position as it should have been understood in his own time.

Elizabeth Freeman – University of Tasmania (12D)
"Visions, Visionaries, and Education in the Medieval Convent: Case Studies from German Nunneries in the 12th and 13th Centuries"

Medieval Christians were familiar with many different kinds of visions. According to Augustine, there were three kinds (corporeal, spiritual, intellectual) and, while all visions were good, some were better than others. Medieval women seem to have

experienced visions particularly often or, more specifically, we have written records suggesting that they experienced visions particularly often. A cluster of these women in 12th- and 13th-century Germany, especially at the Cistercian convent of St Thomas an der Kyll, make a good case study. The question of how female visionaries justified the fact that they were speaking/writing publicly about their visions has always interested scholars. In this paper I will focus not just on the female visionary herself but also on the function that her vision played within the wider convent. How were visions used as teaching tools?

Hannah Fulton – Monash University (12E)
"L'aiuto di corte limosina: The Help of the Alms Court and the Nature of the Charitable Family within Vincenzo Borghini's L'Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence during the Sixteenth Century"

Between 1552 and 1575, the Ospedale degli Innocenti was under the direction of Vincenzo Borghini who, as Priore, formed a conduit for the public funding and private patronage of the Duke of Florence, and subsequently Tuscany, Cosimo I. Borghini was a central figure in Cosimo I's developing bureaucratic state and correspondence between him and Cosimo gives us an insight into not only the language of supplicant and patron but also the machinery of a burgeoning state. Furthermore, Borghini utilised the association between the Innocenti and the Holy Family to strengthen not only the position of the hospital but also its place as a symbol of Cosimo I's successful duchy. This paper will consider the necessity of both approaches by Borghini, where the courtly and bureaucratic procedure was as important as the characterisation of the Innocenti as an extension of the ducal family. Thus did the children of the Innocenti form a successful intersection between civic, personal, and religious charity?

Helen Fulton – Swansea University (5A)
"Voice and Performance: Free Indirect Discourse in Chaucer's General Prologue"

This paper applies the linguistic concept of 'free indirect discourse' to Chaucer's descriptions of some of the pilgrims in the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. The basic idea of free indirect discourse (FID) is that a narrative voice imitates the voice of a character, even while narrating in the third person. The paper further suggests that Chaucer's use of FID indicates a performative element, echoing a spoken voice attempting to mimic the voices of the characters being described, for comic and realistic effect.

David Garrioch – Monash University (7C)
"Citizenship and the problem of foreign Protestants in early eighteenth-century France"

The modern concept of citizenship as a body of rights and duties came into being in the late eighteenth century, but concepts of citizenship already existed in Europe . Across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Peter Sahlins has recently demonstrated, the French courts gradually developed a concept of French citizenship based on place of birth or on the nationality of one's parents, usually combined with residence in the kingdom. The key issue was inheritance: foreigners could not inherit property in

France and those who died in the kingdom could not pass it on to their heirs, and this situation led to litigation by heirs and created a demand for naturalization. Yet these issues were not the only ones leading to the elaboration of a concept of citizenship. This paper argues that the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes created a number of practical problems for administrators and policy-makers that obliged them to distinguish between French and foreign citizens. In resolving these problems they developed definitions of French citizenship that were different from those of the courts in some significant ways and that make what Sahlins has termed the 'citizenship revolution' of the mid eighteenth century less of a rupture than he suggests.

Tony Gibbons – University of South Australia (11D)
"A Legal Tragedy: The Demise of Brehon Law"

Ancient Ireland developed a unique legal system that is now commonly known as the 'Brehon Laws'. Under these laws men and women, high-born and poor, were given a measure of equality in society and before the law which was absent in continental Europe administered by Rome. While Ireland remained relatively isolated the Brehon Laws could survive and Irish society follow its own path. The coming of Patrick and Christianity to Ireland did not change this situation, Invasion and conquest from England did.

The Norman invasion of the 12th century had little effect on the Brehon Laws because the Normans became more Irish than the Irish. By the time of Elizabeth I English control of Ireland had become a necessity and Irish society had to fall under the rule of English law. The attack on the Brehon Laws by Elizabeth I and her successors was effectively an attack on a social system. Some would argue that the attack was successful but a social system, which had existed for millennia, does not succumb and disappear that easily. The cultural imprint of the Brehon Laws was alive in 19th century Ireland and is still alive today.

Adam Goatley – University of Melbourne (11E)
"Bernini un bel composto? Re-thinking an Absolute"

Certainly this paper will seem to some to be an assault on the traditional values of art historical research challenging the still widely held assumption that artists' Lives serve as empirical or factual evidence to be consumed into art historical discourse. However, I would argue that this is not the case as my paper offers a corrected method of absorbing such texts into the discipline through a loose but reasonably applied methodology based within the broad parameters of rhetorical theory. Focusing particularly on the ideal of un bel composto, a beautiful whole, arguably 'found' within Gianlorenzo Bernini's life as his work paradigm, and working closely with two of the Lives of Bernini, one written by the Florentine Filippo Baldinucci the other by Domenico Bernini, the son of the artist, I intend to highlight the axiom inherent in a certain romanticist form of Art History. The problem, I argue, is that the focus on legitimising the essential moral content of the art work, seen through and completed by the ontological construction of the artist as ingenio, leads to a delimited, if not disinterested, understanding of the conflicts within the art work and the culture that produced the artist, Bernini and his work. Within this topic, I present, no completeness will be claimed as history has yet to sanction, for better or worse, contemporary Art

History and its discourses. In any case, I hope that interdisciplinary work such as this will be valued for its problematic stance against periodised unity.

Matthew Boyd Goldie – Rider University (8E)
"The Antipodes: Rethinking the Medieval Geographic and Cartographic Evidence"

Critical analyses of the antipodes in the Middle Ages have centered on Augustine's and other writers' attempts to reconcile Biblical with Greek and Roman ideas about the globe. The Bible suggested that the antipodes might be inhabited. Ancient science argued that the antipodes were entirely cut off from the North because of the equator's impassable oceans and searing heat. The problems for medieval thinkers therefore seem to be as follows: How could the sons of Noah have populated the region below the equator? How could the Word have reached these people? The accepted idea is that writers in the medieval period concluded that the Southern hemisphere, and the antipodes in particular, could not be populated.

In my new reading of the antipodes in the Middle Ages, I suggest that this static and generalizing history of medieval thought about the antipodes needs revision. I draw attention to twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers on medieval geography, such as Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon, who develop new ideas about global locations and habitations, and who suggest that humans inhabited the antipodean region. Mappaemundi also provide revealing examples of this new thinking about the world and the antipodes. I present in particular a relatively unstudied twelfth-century map by Lambert of St. Omer. This beautiful map presents in complex ways the existence of an antipodean landmass, the prospect of antipodean habitation, and the possibility of communication with the antipodes.

My point, however, is not to offer a chronologically organized, developmental history of the antipodes and medieval geography, a history that might reinscribe a medieval-modern divide with the beginning of an early modern period pushed back to a Parisian renaissance in the twelfth century. Rather, my goal is to present an analysis of the ways in which the antipodes complicate and even disturb newly developing (and fundamental) geographical epistemologies.

My claim is that the antipodes and antipodeans come to have a relationship of, as Eve Sedgwick has recently used the term, "beside" Europe and the newly created epistemes about the world. While the antipodes are usually thought of as being inverted and oppositional in relation to the North and to established ideas about the world, many writings and maps instead offer a number of less-clearly oppositional relations that trouble only just formulated ideas about global location, habitation, and communication.

Rui Coimbra Gonçalves – University of Oporto (10B)
"Valignano and Roberto de Nobili: trying a survey of aristotelian missionary training in India's Visitador and their successor at XVIth and XVIIth centuries"

Valignano's development of educational theories in Historia del principio y progreso de la Compañía de Jesús en Indias Orientales (History of Society of Jesus' beginnings and rise in Oriental India), led him to spread concepts in order to show a pragmatic kind of Aristotelian comparative reception with regard to civilization behaviours, in which we are not able to recognize necessary the own missionary's point of view. On the one hand, we can find the idea that some peoples born and grow up with the fate of slavery

(as the Portuguese repute the Indian natives), because of their poverty and an inner inclination to change the own concept of their morality (actually, they seem to feel happy with their wickednesses, cf. Historia […], Part One, Chapter 4, 14). On the other hand, Valignano recognizes the Chinese deep intellectual rise and flourishing in several fields, although standing in a level as it were before settled by Aristotle and the Christian doctrine, still remaining in an imperfect condition (as Father Matteo Ricci also considers, cf. M. Ricci–P. D'Elia (ed.), (1941) I, 39, n.º 55 and I, 42, n.º 60; M. Ricci–P. Tacchi-Venturi (ed.), (1911) I, 22-23).

Even so, he considers that Chinese people had a large wisdom in natural Philosophy and Ethics, Astrology, Mathematics and Medicine, besides the grammatical complexity of the mandarin language (unknown to the contemporary Europeans), and even in civil Law and Politics (cf. Historia […], Part One, Chapter 27, 126). Valignano matched the Aristotelian precept in which the philosopher believed that several social classes were born to serve. And the missionary, in his turn, preached in Japan do not receive unnatural persons from the territories (as he called they "dark- -skinned" men – the morenos –, in contrast with the blancos, the white Japanese people), to serve in church and in the Society of Jesus.

Otherwise, as we can say quoting Juan-Pau Rubiès, this vocational training got still in Valignano's home land of Italy, can be found in Roberto de Nobili through the Thomist heritage and philosophical conception of pagan people own capacity to increase in erudition (cf. Saint Thomas Aquinas, Summa contra Gentiles, l. I, c. 2). Beyond this, and in order to the Aristotelian influence on Thomas Aquinas' XIIIth century Theology, the ideal of the perfect Brahmin caste member as a contemplator of an unique God, such as the divinity concept among the Christians, can be found in Indian society. So that it became the human soul able to reach oneself domination, in order to use speculative sciences, the practical reason and the moral virtues (cf. Saint Thomas Aquinas, Summa theologica, 1, 2, q. 3 and 2, 2, q. 180 a. 2).

Roberto González-Casanovas – University of Auckland (10B)

"Cultural Mediators in Frontier Missions of Colonial Ibero-America: Competing Models of Convivencia from the Caribbean to Brazil"

My research deals with cross-cultural encounters in early-modern Iberian expansion and focuses on colonial accommodations and postcolonial revisions of mission models of conversion-as-civilisation. Early experiments in acculturation and assimilation of the 16th century from the Caribbean to Brazil (in accounts by Columbus, Pané, Geraldini, Las Casas, Thévet, Léry, Nóbrega, Anchieta et al.) reveal mixed motives for conversion, fluid categories of civilisation, transitional forms of frontier mission communities, and contradictory interpretations of their success or failure. In particular, both apologists and critics of frontier missions pose the underlying problem of how to deal with cultural hybridity and religious syncretism that are at odds with Euro-Catholic policies of church and crown. My approach develops cross-cultural analyses of early-colonial texts that enter into dialogue with related critical issues in recent studies on Iberian expansion (Cañizares-Esguerra, Fernández-Armesto, Kamen, Restall); on colonial missions (Castelnau-L'Estoile, D. Castro, Cushner, Ganson); and on frontier intermediaries (Gruzinski, Lanyon, Metcalf, Mignolo). As contemporary accounts by voyagers and missionaries show, what was pragmatically required in missions and other colonial frontier areas were various types of cultural mediation (adapting Iberian traditions of convivencia) and cultural hybrids (evolving into Latin American mestizaje), whose very

existence and efficacy challenged claims to superiority or purity of European Christian civilisation. By examining changing roles of cultural mediators in Ibero-American frontiers, as well as their diverse representation and problematic explanation in contemporary accounts, one can pursue postcolonial critiques of early-modern multicultural relations as they challenged or subverted colonial and missionary ideologies.

Nick Gordon – University of Sydney (2E)
"Temporal Mapping in Late Medieval Florence"

Late medieval Italians habitually used body metaphors to conceptualise social and political relationships, but it was difficult to apply these metaphors to the city as a physical entity. Descriptions of the physical city from this period were far more likely to draw upon geometric forms, especially concentric circles. Concentric circles, however, were rarely used to understand social and political conflict.

In this paper, I examine a fusion of these two modes of conceptualising the city in early fourteenth-century Florence. In the statutes of the Florentine Podestà, the city appears as a wheel in which major thoroughfares bind concentric circles to one another. This structure was used by chroniclers such as Giovanni Villani and Dino Compagni. I argue that the statutes and chronicles suggest neither a purely topographic map nor a diagrammatic representation of an intellectual matrix. Chroniclers engaged with and manipulated this 'temporal map' in order to define social and political conflicts, and to establish or contest the political legitimacy of a social group or faction.

Jasonne M. Grabher – Independent scholar (5D)
"Law, Justice and Truth in Giovanni da Legnano's Treatise on War, Reprisals and Duel"

Giovanni da Legnano, an eminent fourteenth century jurist at the University of Bologna, expanded, reinterpreted and, on occasion, created important legal theories on the regulation of war, reprisals and judicial duel. This paper will explore Giovanni's acceptance of legally sanctioned violence as a means to ensure justice, with special emphasis on his theories related to reprisals and duel.

While Roman and canon law had long prohibited reprisals, Giovanni constructed a new body of law governing what he termed an "extraordinary remedy" from existing principles. His rationale for doing so was based on contemporary perceptions that legal authorities frequently failed to "do justice." In essence, Giovanni advocated reprisals as a remedy of last resort in cases where positive law provided no legal relief; they were necessary "lest justice should fail."

Giovanni's treatment of duel (by which he meant judicial duel) builds upon his arguments related to reprisals. As with the latter, legal authorities expressly prohibited the use of individual combat as a method of proof. This had not always been the case, of course, but since the early decades of the thirteenth century civilians, and canonists in particular, had succeeded in securing the replacement of older methods of proof with Romano-canonical procedures. Key for Giovanni's analysis of trial by battle is his assertion that this procedure can elicit "truth" in cases where ordinary procedures fail to do so. Discovering "truth" (or what was accepted as truth by the participants) allowed

courts to rule, and avoided the possibility that the matter would go unresolved and justice would not be done.

In both sections of the Treatise analyzed by this paper, Giovanni's discourse on the relationship between law, justice and truth and his manipulation of Romano-canonical legal principles demonstrates the practical importance of these concepts in the fourteenth century.

Jacqueline Gratton – University of Tasmania (7C)
"Dynasticism, Patronage and Place as Agents in the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes: The role of the intendants in the dragonnades"

The atrocities of the *dragonnades* are well-documented and well-known. Julian Barnes, probably best known for his book about Flaubert, has even used the subject as the basis for a harrowing and, on the whole, historically accurate short story. This paper, however, focuses on the perpetrators rather than the victims. In particular, it explores the actions of the intendants, who were routinely responsible for arranging the billeting of troops. The *dragonnades* of the summer of 1685, which led to the Revocation in October of the same year, began in the border province of Béarn, a factor which appears to have had more significance in these events than is generally recognised. The question of how and why the pre-Revocation *dragonnades* began is considered in the context of the king's own dynastic sensitivities, the dynastic rivalry which characterised Louis XIV's court and the operation of patronage-clientage networks as they affected the intendants.

Karen Green – Monash University (5E)
"From *Le Miroir des Dames* to *Le Livre des trois vertus*"

Written approximately one hundred years apart, these two mirrors addressed to French queens and princesses illustrate a late medieval evolution in attitudes to virtue and vice from a more ascetic other-worldly orientation towards a more this-worldly humanism. The *Miroir des Dames*, is a French translation of the *Speculum Dominarum* a mirror of queenship written in Latin for Philip IV's wife, Jeanne de Navarre (1273-1305), by Durand of Champagne, her confessor. *Le Livre des trois vertus* was written in 1405-6 for Marguerite of Burgundy (1393-1441), wife of the Dauphin of France, Louis de Guyenne, by Christine de Pizan, a lay woman of Italian extraction familiar with the works of Dante and Petrarch.

In this paper I argue that it is highly likely that Christine de Pizan knew the *Miroir des Dames* and demonstrate that the two works share many themes. There is a great deal of continuity between the earlier work of advice and Christine's later writing which can be illustrated, not only by looking at the *Livre des trois vertus*, but also by examining her other works of moral advice. At the same time, a comparison between the earlier text and Christine's works of advice allows us to appreciate more accurately her originality. In particular it confirms early assessments which insisted on her humanism, illustrated by the extent to which she focuses on practical good works in the here and now. It also suggests that Christine's anticipation of modern education theories of the development of virtuous subject is particularly original, perhaps grounded in her practical experience as a mother.

David Griffiths – University of Melbourne (1C)
"Hogwarts, a history – conceptions of the past in modern fantasy"

For all that this enormously successful series has built its popularity and played with typical concepts of the medieval and early modern: witchcraft, wizardry, alchemy and monsters amongst them, this paper seeks to analyse the idea of the 'past', and especially the way the heritage of history and the medieval is configured and utilised in Harry Potter. Using both a close textual reading of the books themselves, and a contrast with the distinct genre of modern fantasy, this paper explores the Othering of history in contrast to its great adherence to personal memory as not simply a tool for storytelling, but the bedrock of both self and the world the character exist in, showing that for all its trimmings, Harry Potter can be seen as rejecting concepts of the medieval and fantastic in its guiding framework.

Julianna Grigg – University of Melbourne (8B)
"The Just King and De XII Abusiuis Saeculi"

A key text to any discussion on the development of early medieval *speculum principum* literature, the ninth abuse in the seventh century Irish text of *De XII Abusiuis Saeculi* provides admonitory advice on kingly behaviour. As a detailed manifest of all the contemporary political ideas on Christian theocratic kingship this text reveals the clerical concerns with the exercise of temporal authority during the emergence of consolidated kingship. The Latin terminology used to describe and define temporal rule in this text displays a cohesive program of the manner in which clerics envisioned and anticipated an enlarged office of Christian kingship. By contrast, extant contemporary Irish vernacular descriptions of the king and his functions exhibit the development of an office that needed some reconciliation between the ideal and reality. This paper will discuss some of the key Latin 'rulership' terms within the ninth abuse of *De XII Abusiuis Saeculi*. These terms reveal the transmission of Western Christian political concepts, and appear to both limit the exercise of power within a Christian normative framework yet legitimise an office of greater territorial control.

Claudia Guli – University of Melbourne (7B)
"The sovereignty of the House of Commons and the trial of Charles I"

In order for the trial of Charles I to proceed, the House of Commons had to declare itself the supreme power in the nation. Opponents of the trial argued that the Commons had no power to act alone and that any power they did have was invalidated by the army's purge of the House in December 1648. This paper will examine the arguments given by contemporary supporters of the trial for both the purging of the Commons and for the Commons' right to act alone.

Dianne Hall – University of Melbourne (4D)
"Violence and Daily Life in Irish Medieval Nunneries"

Medieval nuns and their patrons in Ireland, like their counterparts in other countries, aspired to create physical and ideological enclosures segregating religious women from

outside concerns. In Ireland however secular politics and its associated violence intruded within these walls to a greater extent than in other medieval nunneries. This paper analyses how the threat and reality of everyday secular violence was managed by nuns and their supporters, with some communities enduring despite hardship, and others collapsing when there were no longer spaces for non-combatant groups of women. Analysis of violence in these circumstances reveals much about attitudes to gender and violence as well as the role of women religious within these diverse communities.

Karen Hall – University of Western Australia (7D)
"YouTube Medievalism: Audiences Mediating the Past in Popular Culture"

Moving from a seat in a darkened movie theatre to a broadband connection and a multitude of open windows, the imagined audience for medievalist popular culture has been irrevocably altered by ubiquitous presence of new technology. While discussions of medievalism have tended to take as texts as their subject and focused on how such texts refract as well as constituting the past, less attention has been given to the responses to such texts: their reception and reuse offers vital avenues into understanding what a participatory popular culture may make of medievalism. This paper argues that the practices of digital medievalism make a compelling case for the reassessment of the relationship between popular culture audiences and medievalism by exploring the active responses to and remixing of medievalist popular culture undertaken by an audience of consumers/producers. It therefore considers the distribution of medievalist content through YouTube, a category that includes television excerpts, film vids and video games machinima along with recordings of re-enactment performances, as one key venue for expressing such audience responses. Importantly, this venue is already enmeshed in ideas of exchange, reinterpretation and community, where the idea of an active audience is made manifest through digital technologies. The reuse of medievalist popular culture within the space created by YouTube also suggests the abilities of a participatory audience to appropriate the gaps, instabilities and unexpected alignments of medievalist popular culture to construct their own meanings.

Anna Hansen – University of Sydney (1F)
"The Evolution of Old Norse Romance"

The value of Old Norse riddarasögur as a literary genre, and as artefacts reflecting the cultural values of post-reformation Iceland and fifteenth-century Scandinavia, has not yet been sufficiently recognised. Although respected scholars such as Geraldine Barnes, Marianne Kalinke, Jürg Glauser and Matthew Driscoll have argued in recent times for scholarly consideration of this neglected genre, and although all general introductions to Old Norse literature include a chapter on them – for example, the book edited by Margaret Clunies Ross entitled Old Norse Literature and Society and the book edited by Carol Clover and John Lindow entitled Old Norse-Icelandic Literature -- little is comprehended about the riddarasögur's narrative structure or cultural considerations. Unsurprisingly, the result is riddarasögur's ambiguous status amongst its saga-genre counterparts. In the paper I hope to present, I intend to argue the importance of the riddarasögur as an evolved saga genre which transforms – sometimes consciously – combined motifs from two influential literary traditions, sagas and romances, to form a saga-genre that reflects a changing perception of important cultural values.

Marcus Harmes – University of Queensland (6B)
"The Reformation of the Episcopate: bishops in England 1630-1690"

This paper investigates the purpose and the power of the reformed episcopate in seventeenth-century England. It takes issue with one particular interpretation of episcopacy in the Stuart period, namely the notion that the Reformation of the Tudor period created a crisis for English bishops. Scholars who propound this view, including R.B. Manning and Andrew Foster, argue that reformist impulses and principles fatally undercut both the authority and the purpose of episcopacy. Historians who pinpoint a crisis in the English episcopacy also locate at least some attempt by bishops to defend their order by recourse to jure divino theories of episcopacy, meaning that bishops underpinned their order by asserting its divine origins.

This paper cuts across both ideas. It instead argues that members of the Stuart episcopate pinpointed the distinctively reformed attributes of bishops and that the episcopate staked a claim to a distinctively reformed identity, one not indebted to jure divino ideas and one which complicates modern scholarly perceptions of a reformist crisis in the episcopacy.

These points do not necessarily argue away dissent from episcopal authority nor does this paper ignore compelling evidence of the difficulties English bishops faced in enforcing their authority. After all, even if bishops could delineate their reformed characteristics, it did not mean that they were necessarily listened to. The significance of this paper, by contrast, is that it reconstructs the intellectual offerings of the English episcopate and gives meaning to the idea of reformed episcopacy. Studying the little-examined writings of Sir Arthur Duck and John Gauden, this work examines their interpretation of episcopal authority which was distinctively reformed in its origins and functioning.

Lindsay Henderson – Queensland University of Technology (3F)
"Welsh Princes and Welsh Identity: The Dynasty of Gwynedd, 1173-1283"

Until the 1970s, histories of Wales stopped at the end of the 13th century with the Conquest of Wales by Edward I. As Humphrey Llwyd concluded in 1559, "After this there was nothing done in Wales worthy memory, but that is to bee redde in the Englishe Chronicle."* Wales merged into England and their histories became one. The process that led to this Conquest has, naturally, been deemed of great significance by historians of Wales. Yet the aspects of the 12th and 13th centuries that have been thoroughly examined have been limited to the military and political. These areas have, in turn, been analysed in the light of the relationship between Wales and England.

This focus can be explained by the continued dominance of the Welsh-English relationship for modern Welsh people, particularly since the beginning of serious discussion about Welsh devolution in the 1970s. Yet a survey of medieval Welsh sources indicates that the Princes' manoeuvring against the English Kings was motivated by more than military and political considerations. Identity also played a significant role – the Princes' understandings of their identities as people of Wales, and as people who were not of Norman or Saxon descent. An analysis of the impact of this identity on the Princes' actions in the lead up to the Conquest would provide greater depth to the existent understanding of the military and political situation in Wales prior to 1283. This paper proposes to begin such an analysis.

* Humphrey Llwyd (2002) *Cronica Walliae.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press, p.224. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Ieuan M. Williams.

Peter Howard – Monash University (12E)
"Bound by Words: Creating belief and community in Renaissance Florence"

Studies of social and institutional structures and relationships contribute to an understanding of the framework within which religion was practised; they do not of themselves provide an entrée into the nature of belief itself, and the way in which religion was personalized, felt, and encoded in language. This paper explores preaching as an integrative activity which functioned to create a shared culture in quattrocento Florence by defining, reinforcing, and indeed creating social and cultural values. The analysis will draw on materials from the church of San Lorenzo, in particular a sermon preached to "men and boys" to refocus the interpretive model away from indoctrination and binary oppositions to an examination of the interaction and exchange between preacher and laity before and after the preacher climbed into the pulpit.

Joanna Huntington – Newcastle University, UK (6A)
"'He surpassed most laymen': Exemplary rebels in post-Conquest England"

Identities and legitimization of authority are always contentious, but particularly so after dynastic disruption. Not surprisingly, William the Bastard's authority in England after the Battle of Hastings was not uncontested, and subsequent generations' accounts of the rebellions which he faced allow us to see how the Conquest was being thought through in the decades after Hastings, and to trace shifting perceptions of authority and society.

Working on the premise that history may be used to shape the present and the future, this paper considers Waltheof and Hereward as exemplary models of post-Conquest laymen. It is now widely accepted that saints' vitae can provide valuable insights into the concerns of the cultural and political landscape from which they emanate, and were often written with didactic intent. By examining depictions of less exalted men, this paper explores the notion that subjects who were not necessarily saintly could be equally (and perhaps still more) valuable tools in attempts to shape the behaviour of others.

Exemplary models of virtue – and, by mirror image, of flawed virtue– allow us to see clerical visions of the ideal layman, and thus better understand attitudes towards, inter alia, sex, wealth, authority, and violence, in a period in which attitudes to these linchpins of lay life were being renegotiated throughout Christendom. Waltheof and Hereward may therefore be seen as part of a wider attempt to re-impose order onto society, shaping it to a mode of behaviour acceptable to clerici.

Wojciech Iwańczak – Kielce University (8E)
"Geography and cartography in Germany at the end of the Middle Ages and the beginning of the Modern Epoch"

The turn of the Middle Ages and the modern times was an epoch of significant acceleration in respect to the acquisition of knowledge about the world, a time of geographical discoveries and the European's travels beyond the boundaries of their own

continent. In this paper I would like to concentrate on one particular centre, whose role in broadening geographical horizons was enormous. Nuremberg, whose origins are sometimes dated back as far as ancient Roman times, flourished at the turn of the Middle Ages and the modern epoch. Dynamic expansion of trade was an important pillar of the town's versatile development. Nuremberg's exceptionally advantageous geographical location at the juncture of the dense network of trade and transportation routes was decisive for its role as a trading center. The role of Nuremberg as an important economic , commercial and craft centre was in keeping with the town's significance as the centre of science, knowledge and culture. There lived many famous scholars, geographers, cartographers as Martin Behaim, Regiomontanus, Johannes Schoner, Erhard Etzlaub and the others. The end of the 15th and the first half of the 16th century was a time of numerous trends and directions in geography and cartography. Despite references to ancient tradition of Ptolemaeus and Strabon, a practical approach based on accuracy of calculations and data, emerged. Directed to all those on the move – pilgrims, sailors, diplomats and all kinds of globe-trotters, they were aimed at making traveling easier. The role of Nuremberg and its intellectual circles in this process was significant.

Johnny G. Jakobsen – University of Copenhagen (10D)
"How to avoid sin? Dominican consultancy against soul-damaging behaviour"

The fight against sin in High and Late medieval society was of the highest importance for the Order of Preachers. To a far larger extent than in the secular church, the main task of the friars was to preach and hear confessions in order to help lay people repent their sins – or, even better, help them avoid sinning in the first place. The paper will give an overall introduction to the various ways in which the Dominicans strived to reach this pious goal, illustrated by examples from Northern Europe.

Carolyn James – Monash University (6E)
"Female virtue and the defence of women in the Italian Renaissance court: Margherita Cantelmo and her humanist allies"

The late fifteenth and the early sixteenth century witnessed a proliferation of writings by Italian humanists on the woman question. These texts emerged in the small, secular courts of northern Italy where aristocratic women were more visible, better educated than in the sternly patriarchal republics of Florence and Venice and might, in certain circumstances, legitimately exercise authority. This paper will focus on the circumstances behind the commissioning by Margherita Cantelmo, a Mantuan noblewoman and close friend of the marchioness, Isabella d'Este, of two important pro-woman texts, written by Mario Equicola and Agostino Strozzi in 1501. Both texts argue that the inferiority of women, rather than being innate and inevitable, was a result of social customs that limited their access to an adequate education and confined them to the domestic sphere.

Although Equicola's career has been studied in detail by Stephen Kolsky, Agostino Strozzi, an Augustinian canon, remains a mysterious figure. I will use new archival evidence to explore in more detail the complex relationship between Margherita Cantelmo and her clerical cousin, Stozzi. Cantelmo's literary patronage was tied to an active and determined campaign by her – and, perhaps through their close

association, by Isabella d'Este - to demolish the traditional philosophical foundations of misogyny and to gain wider recognition of new formulations of female virtue. The evidence presented here will suggest that, like Equicola, Strozzi cooperated closely with Cantelmo, not only in her literary campaign in defence of women, but in her ambitious struggle for self-improvement. Bound to his cousin by a deep affection, Strozzi agreed, in the late 1490s, to act as her tutor and intellectual mentor, as well as spiritual advisor. A number of letters he wrote to Margherita Cantelmo in 1497 are characterized by the same synthesis of classical and Christian philosophy that is evident in his *Difensione delle donne* of 1501. Strozzi's youthful humanist training at the University of Ferrara, and his clerical calling, account for his marked tendency to Christianise even unlikely pagan figures such as Pandora, whose negative attributes are nowhere to be found in his writings. She indeed becomes a poetic muse, endowed with every grace and virtue, who is closely identified with Margherita Cantelmo.

The notion of female virtue that Strozzi recommends to Margherita in his letters is strongly influenced by Neo-Platonism and underpinned by the Christian notion that men and women were spiritual equals. He argues that an intelligent and pious woman such as Margherita, through a strict regime of philosophical contemplation, virtuous living, and proper guidance could be a new exemplum of womanhood that would challenge the pervasive misogynist tradition. This epistolary evidence suggests that there was a close personal as well as literary alliance between the writer and patron of a significant, early sixteenth century text defending women against their calumniators and confirms that aristocratic women such as Margherita Cantelmo took an active role in the debate about their proper role in Italian court society.

Diana Jefferies – University of Sydney (3A)

"Ethnic Identity and the Fall of the Round Table in Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur*"

This paper investigates how the various ethnic identities found in Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte Darthur* allocate various attributes to the knights, and examines what this reveals about the text's structure and how new meanings can be elicited from this structure.

The influence of ethnic identity becomes prominent in the final tragedy and destruction of the Arthurian civilization in book 8 of the *Morte Darthur* when civil war breaks out between Gawain and Lancelot. Mordred usurps the throne and Arthurian civilisation is destroyed in the final battle on Salisbury Plain. Gawain and Mordred are brought up in the household of Lot, king of the Orkneys and Lothian, and are Scottish. Lancelot and his family are identified as French. The contrasting attitudes of these family groupings, divided along lines of ethnic identity, to these wars is significant when they are examined in the light of how each family is introduced into the *Morte Darthur* in book 1.

This examination reveals that attitudes to war can be framed by the ethnic identity of the knight, rather than his own personal beliefs, demonstrating the complexity of Malory's text. This is most interesting if it is examined in the light of historical relations between the English, French and Scots as well as the depiction of these three ethnic identities in earlier Arthurian literature such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. I would argue that the characterisation of the various knights has been influenced by the geographical origins of the family, revealing that Malory's text tells us much about how ethnic identity is seen to determine an individual's attitude to war.

Kurt Villads Jensen – University of Southern Denmark (10D)
"Physical extermination of physical sin"

The conversion of a population in the Middle Ages required the physical extermination of signs of the former religion and the establishment of dominant symbols of Christianity in the landscape. These acts enabled the purification of the landscape; when the blood and tears of the missionaries and the crusaders irrigated the barren land it turned into the vineyard of the Lord. This paper will discuss how modern theories of symbolism and representation can contribute to understanding conversion processes in the crusading period (twelfth and thirteenth centuries).

Katerina Kasapidis – La Trobe University (11C)
"Situating Pain in Julie Taymor's *Titus*"

The depiction of physical pain often bars a sympathetic response when it is embedded in the phenomenal excesses of a revenge plot such as Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus. The difficulty, therefore, of the play's reception is firstly rooted in its over tendency to infuse the tragedy of physical pain with retaliatory violence and revenge making the reader at once morally skeptical, indifferent and estranged from the traumatic experiences of the characters. Also central to the play's lack of tragic conviction is what Elaine Scarry has described as pain's resistance to language. According to Scarry pain is a pre-linguistic phenomenon that both resists and destroys language. Scarry sets forth the challenge of removing pain from the isolating realm of the aversive and she grants this responsibility to material culture. Indeed, literature has failed in this task, she argues, instead sublimating or conferring the representation of physical pain into other forms of distress. For pain to have a voice and to tell a story, Scarry anticipates, its felt-characteristics must be objectified and brought visibly into our midst which offers an explanation of why Titus Andronicus has failed to captivate contemporary readers. The play merely fills the experience of suffering and pain with rhetoric which becomes confined to the world of the imagination distorting, in turn, our perception of what we potentially can and cannot bear to witness in real life. Arguably, the tragic effect of the play is lost in our attempts to decipher the limits of our tolerance regarding both pain and violent spectacle. Working closely with Scarry's notion of pain and Julie Taymor's film adaptation, Titus, my paper primarily focuses on Lavinia's suffering as a personification of the communal being. Furthermore, I will be discussing the ways that Taymor's Lavinia serves as a reference point through which pain is to be understood and unified through the testing of the human body.

Sylvia Kershaw – University of Western Australia (4A)
"'Impossibly modern': The Anxiety of Scholarship in Gillian Polack's *Illuminations*"

Unlike the terms 'medieval' and 'medievalism,' the terms 'Arthurian' and 'Arthurianism' have no clear temporal boundaries, but represent instead one continuous tradition of adaptation and innovation. Despite this, scholars often draw a sharp line between Arthurian texts which are seen as authentically medieval and texts which were produced after the medieval period. My paper will focus upon the 2003 novel *Illuminations* by Australian author Gillian Polack. *Illuminations* is the story of Rose Lumen, an Australian medievalist on a research trip in modern France, who discovers

an Arthurian romance that challenges everything she thinks she knows about the Arthurian tradition and the medieval past. The novel itself is temporally uncertain, consisting as it does both of Rose's translation and adaptation of the 'twelfth century romance' and letters home to her mother in Australia. The romance relates the adventures of two young women, Guenloie and Ailinn, and is a curious mix of elements from both the French and Welsh Arthurian traditions. The manuscript is the cause of much anxiety for Rose; despite its impeccable provenance, it seems at times to be 'impossibly modern'. The way in which Rose reacts to the discovered manuscript highlights and reveals anxieties surrounding the making of meaning in history and scholarship, and about the nature of the past. Throughout the novel, both through her engagements with the romance and more prosaic interactions with friends and family, Rose expresses concern about the nature of historical knowledge, about how to tell 'fake' from 'real', and about the 'dangers' of getting it wrong. My paper will examine Rose's anxiety in relation to the novel's Arthurianism, elucidating how the novel's approach to its Arthurian subject reflects the way in which scholars and authors draw boundaries between past and present, creating cultural meaning in the distinction between 'medieval' and 'modern'.

Rina Lahav – Monash University (4E)
"*The Speculum Dominarum:* Contexts and Precedents"

The *Speculum Dominarum* was written for Jeanne of Navarre, the only daughter and heir of Henry I, king of Navarre. Although it is aimed at a woman, it instructs on the effective and virtuous rule. Looking into the intended audience of the *Speculum Dominarum*, I shall both examine the directions given in the treatise itself and follow the institutions these directions were aimed to influence. I would argue that *The Speculum Dominarum* is both conventional and innovative. It was structured in the same manner as if it was the mirror of princes, thematically and structurally, compared to Vincent of Beauvais, Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome and others, dealing with the various ways of administration of justice to the people. It was, however, written for the queen urging her to take the initiative and complement her husband's rule, when it wasn't adequately applied.

The *Speculum Dominarum* indicates, I believe, the line between the male and female roles in the French court of the end of the thirteenth century, even if it does promote a more active role for a ruling lady. It does so within the accepted rules of discourse and stays firmly within orthodoxy while doing so.

Julian Lamb – Chinese University of Hong Kong (2F)
"Richard Mulcaster's Right Writing"

This paper has two main thrusts. Firstly, I argue that Richard Mulcaster's The First Part of the Elementarie (1582) signifies an important departure from previous failed orthographical reforms, especially those phonetic systems offered by Thomas Smith and John Hart, in that it emphasises the process by which a standard would come about rather than what that standard would actually be. Indeed, Mulcaster's understanding that linguistic change is not dangerously subversive, but an integral part of an envisioned standard is motivated by an ongoing faith that custom through pedagogy would actualise in practice what he could not foresee in theory. Secondly, I would like to

consider how it is we can provide a theoretically informed analysis of a pedagogical text such as Mulcaster's which is not itself systematic philosophy. Here I will draw on the language philosophy of Wittgenstein and J.L. Austin.

Cal Ledsham – Catholic Theological College, Melbourne (5D)
"John Duns Scotus, Reason, and Revelation"

This paper considers John Duns Scotus' theory of contingency in relation to his attempt to prove that some revelation is necessary for the viator. Scotus was among the first of the scholastic commentators on Lombard's Sentences to attempt to prove the necessity of revelation by natural reason. This proof was undertaken in his prologue to his first Sentences commentary (at Oxford, ~1300). Scotus is also celebrated for giving the first major adumbration of a truly Christian theory of synchronic contingency. This theology of radical contingency licences the use of the potentia absoluta/potentia ordinata distinction as a tool of theological analysis.

I argue that Scotus came to see that his attempts to prove the necessity of revelation by natural reason were incompatible with (1) his analysis of contingency, (2) the employment of the potentia ordinata/potentia absoluta distinction, and in particular, (3) the use of the distinction within his account of the infused virtues in relation to the limits of natural reason. As a result, whatever the grandeur of his account of contingency (as it is presented by some contemporary scholars of medieval philosophy), its price was that he could not prove the necessity of revelation. Among its other ramifications, this failure had enormous significance for the structure of Sentences commentary prologues in the period thereafter.

Anne-Marie Legaré – Université de Lille 3 – Charles de Gaulle (6E)
"Constructing the Ideal and Universal Princess: The Iconography of Female Virtue in the Entry of Joanna of Castille in the city of Brussels on December 9, 1496"

On December 9, 1496, Joanna of Castille solemnly entered the city of Brussels. Still extant is a manuscript kept today in Berlin which bears 60 watercolor drawings that witness the greatness of the event (Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, inv. 78 D 5). It is the only surviving manuscript describing in such iconographic detail a princely entry, before that of Charles V in 1515 in Bruges, which is known through 33 lithographs.

My intention is to analyze the images of the virtuous woman in the Berlin manuscript, focusing not only on the iconography of the nine female Worthies which hold a predominant place in the series of images, but also of that of numerous other female Old and New Testament figures that were presented in the form of "tableaux vivants" during the fabulous ceremony centered around Joanna of Castille. The relations of these worthies to the short Latin texts which accompany them will address the reasons of their choice for this entry.

The sustained presence of the Nine Worthies will be situated in the context of the didactic literature meant for women and circulating among Burgundian contemporary princesses, such as Philipe Bouton's *Miroir des Dames* composed around 1480 for Mary of Burgundy. The iconographic motif of the Female warrior was used, as will be demonstrated, as a strong incentive to develop specific knightly virtues that

should be used by the princesses in their political role, acting as close partners to their governing husbands.

Courage, determination and combativeness are among these virtues but other qualities of the perfect princess, such as compassion and understanding, embodied by famous religious figures, starting with the Virgin Mary and Child, are crucial tools in her role of mediator between the prince and his subjects.

The presence of the *Judgment of Paris* among the "tableaux vivants" of Joanna's entry is also very telling, although ambiguous. This complex theme was not an innovation in the context of royal entries, as attested by Jean Molinet who specifies that the three deities were shown "au nud et de femmes vives". It is a typical Burgundian theme, already investigated by Christine de Pizan, in her *Épître Othea* and later by Jean Lemaire de Belges in his *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularités de Troie* which needs more investigation in order to understand its paradox meaning. The three deities of the Judgment point to Concordia, Fortitudo and Sapientia, three major virtues of the perfect knight, associated with Contemplation, Action and Love. But what about Venus, traditionally associated to Luxuria? Her double nature, as stressed by Jean Lemaire de Belges, will be closely investigated in order to better define the perfect virtuous female model to which Joanna was invited to identify if she was to embody the ideal and universal princess of Burgundy.

Kate Lilley – University of Sydney (8C)
"Dido's Farewell and The Case of Madam Mary Carleton (1663)"

Mary Moders Carleton aka the *German Princess* (1642-1673) was the subject of a sensational trial in 1663 in which she successfully defended herself against charges of bigamy and imposture brought by her new husband, John Carleton, an 18 year old lawyer*s clerk. Acquitted for lack of evidence, Mary had become a figure of scandalous celebrity with a reputation for formidable arts of deception and persuasion even before the trial began, the heroine of a series of bestselling pamphlets on both sides of the case. Of those surrounding the trial the most substantial and fascinating is The Case of Madam Mary Carleton, lately Stiled the German Princess, truely stated, with an historical relation of her birth, education, and fortunes (1663) by *M. Carleton*, a sophisticated and sexually suggestive narrative which moves skilfully between different generic registers. This paper concentrates on the front matter of The Case and especially considers the significance of its Latin epigraph from Dido*s farewell in The Aeneid Book 4.

Andrew Lynch – University of Western Australia (4A)
"Arthur, Empire and Australia"

Problems arise in medieval Arthurian narrative when the British king aspires to be a European emperor: imperial ambition potentially lures Arthur into excess and transgression; the idea of 'home' constituted by Arthur's 'British'-imperial role of unifier and protector can be read as either strengthened or destabilised by the Roman wars that take him 'away'; the theme of *translatio imperii* that justifies Arthur's succession to Rome comes to prefigure his own 'passing'. It is perhaps not surprising that many revisers of the story from Tennyson onwards cut or downplayed Arthur's wars against Rome, often re-casting him as a Romano-Briton who defends a shared

'civilisation' against invading barbarians. Nevertheless, other forms of Arthurian imperialism have often replaced those of the medieval tradition. This paper will look at how modern and contemporary instances of the Arthur story, including Australian examples, construct its relation to ideas of Empire.

Dolly MacKinnon – University of Melbourne (6B)
"Scratched in history: Early modern English Graffiti"

It is the autumn of 1694. The alabaster monument in St Andrew's Church, Earls Colne easily gives way under the pressure of James Potter's precise incisions. Potter carefully and calculatedly marks into the stone his initial, his last name, and the date 2 September. His private clandestine act is now complete, and becomes part of a permanent public memorial. The target of his graffiti is a small eighty-year-old monument inset on the north side of the east end of the chancel wall commemorating the infants Jane Harlakenden (c.1602) and her sister Mabel (1613), erected by their grieving parents Richard and Margaret Harlakenden in 1614. In the early modern world, initials and texts were everywhere. Some of them were authorised and some of them were opportunistic. Commemorative texts, biblical texts, and maxims adorned the walls of public buildings and private dwellings offering worlds of praise, piety, or admonishment. These official texts were sometimes also subjected to additions and elaborations in the form of graffiti designed to alter, add to, or obfuscate the original meaning. This paper briefly analyses examples of early modern graffiti found in parish churches, abbeys, and in the Tower of London, demonstrating how graffiti successfully created an alternate and often troubling memorial within the politics of everyday life.

Philippa Maddern – University of Western Australia (11B)
"Church court depositions"

See entry for Merridee Bailey.

Clark Maines – Wesleyan University (5F)
"Theorizing the Three Sisters of Provence: Making and Unmaking an Architectural Geneology in the Cistercian Romanesque"

Since 1857 when the relationship was first characterized by an inspector of monuments, it has become something of a commonplace in scholarship on Cistercian romanesque architecture to describe the abbeys of Le Thoronet, Sénanque and Silvacane as "the three sisters of Provence." Based on similarities of plan, size, construction techniques and detail articulation, the idea has been adopted by Cistercian specialists like Père Anselme Dimier and by secular scholars like Erlande-Brandenburg. Recently challenged by the historian Constance Berman, two critical questions arise. First, why did this architectural geneology arise in modern scholarship, and why has it been maintained? Second, and perhaps more important, could such an architectural geneology have had meaning in the middle ages? Answers to the first question are complicated and range across the spectrum from cultural resource management and the stimulation of tourism to a kind of romanticized notion of the relationship among Cistercian churches. Answers to the second question are more complex and require

consideration of what model—copy relationships in medieval architecture entail. This paper will consider possible answers to both of these questions.

Simone Marshall – University of Otago (12B)
"Authorial Anonymity in The Assembly of Ladies"

The Assembly of Ladies is an anonymous poem in Middle English that exists in three manuscripts dating from the fifteenth century: Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.3.19, Warminster, Longleat MS 258, and London, British Library Additional MS 34360.

The poem is of scholarly interest because, among other features, it has remained in literary canons for largely spurious reasons: the manuscripts containing the poem were not preserved because they contained The Assembly of Ladies, but because they contained other works (by Chaucer and Lydgate) deemed to be of literary merit. Likewise, early print editions preserve the poem because it was widely attributed to Chaucer.

Later editions and scholarship aligned the poem with another fifteenth-century poem, The Floure and the Leafe, and valued them as examples of women's writing. Walter Skeat famously stated that The Assembly of Ladies and The Floure and the Leafe must have been authored by the same woman because surely there could not have been two women poets in fifteenth-century England.

Derek Pearsall suggested The Assembly of Ladies had been written by a woman because the manuscripts in which it appears seem to be amateur compilations. This scholarship has been taken up in recent decades by those pursuing the recovering of medieval women's literature.

Ann McMillan, Colleen Donnelly, Ruth Evans, and Jane Chance have all argued in support of the recovery of this poem as responding to the general category of women's literature, and Alexandra Barratt has argued logically for female authorship simply because the narrator of the poem says she is the author.

This paper re-examines the poem because, in the scholarly focus on the question of authorship, it seems to me that one feature that has not been considered is that the poem may well be intentionally anonymous.

Susan Marti – Historical Museum, Bern (1D)
"Singing Nuns and Celebrating Clerics – Gender Specific Decorations in Liturgical Manuscripts from Late Medieval Germany"

The art of female monasticism – a long term neglected field of art history – attracts more and more interest in the last years. Especially rich and yet still full of unexpected results are the material remains of late medieval convents in Germany. One of these houses, a Dominican convent near the famous Hanseatic town of Soest in modern-day Westphalia, called "Paradies", stands at the core of my paper.

Recently, a group of richly illuminated liturgical manuscripts has been recognized as being a product of the scriptorium at Paradies. Its abundance of textual, ornamental, and figurative additions to a music manuscript reveals the special visual culture at the convent, its unusual high level of Latin knowledge, the artistic ideals of the nuns working as scribes and illuminators, and the exchange between the world behind the cloistered walls of the convent and the citizens of a merchant town with contacts all over Northern Europe. Moreover, a comparison between a manuscript made

at Paradies for a male Dominican house in the nearby city of Dortmund and the contemporary manuscripts made for the use in the own convent gives us the rare opportunity to study the importance and the specific use of figurative and textual decoration for male and female monasteries in direct relation. The role of images for female piety is a much discussed topic, but very rare are the possibilities for such direct contemporary comparisons as allows the material from Paradies.

John Martyn – University of Melbourne (2D)
"Saint Leander's 'rule' for his sister, Florentine"

After a brief biography of Leander, this paper will show how his wealthy young sister was persuaded not to make a splendid match with some Byzantine lord, but chose instead to join a convent as a nun, joined by her mother it seems. Leander's 'rule' is unique, both for its early date and for its rhetorical and very personal nature, written essentially for his wealthy sister. Its title 'On the Teaching of Nuns and Contempt for the other World' shows from the start that he is her teacher, as he had been for her two brothers, and the loaded 'contempt' foreshadows his sustained attack on the corrupting and ephemeral charms of upper-class life.

After a lengthy and very persuasive introduction, encouraging her to choose Christ as her bridegroom, not a wealthy suitor, Leander then lists twenty-one requirements for a nun. He deals in turn with laywomen, young priests, young laymen, abstinence, talking to men, prayers and bible reading, not taking the Hebraic scriptures literally, fasting, wine-drinking, bathing, laughter, ex-slave nuns, older nuns, poverty, meat, privacy, ownership, oaths, talking with single nuns and a determination not to return to the secular world.

Liz Herbert McAvoy – Swansea University (2D)
"Mapping the Borderlands: Anchorites and Liminal Spaces in the Marcher Towns of Chester and Shrewsbury"

Beginning with the reference to the religious female communities of Chester and Shrewsbury in the Corpus revision of the thirteenth-century guide for anchoresses, Ancrene Wisse, this paper will trace the incidences of anchoritism in these two border towns and its relationship to the community of solitaries for whom this important guidance text was originally written. It will argue for the early importance and influence of the anchoritic way of life in these areas, particularly that undertaken by women, drawing also in part on a protracted account of a Shrewsbury anchoress as documented in the Latin Chronicle of Lanercost, which documents the period between 1201-1346. In addressing the question of why anchoritism should have taken off so rapidly in this borderland between England and Wales, generating some of the most complex and intriguing thirteenth-century texts included in the so-called 'Wooing' and 'Katherine' Groups, it will use the spatial theories of Gaston Bachelard and Henri Lefebvre to investigate how the liminality of the border region (for the Ancrene Wisse author part of 'the end of England'), had a bearing upon the type of liminality embraced within the urban anchorhold by the anchorites of these two burgeoning medieval towns and their environs.

Roderick McDonald – University of Sydney (2C)
"Comics from the 12th century: Vikings, pictorial narrative and the inferred readers of the C12th MS *Life of Edmund* and C20th comics"

This paper explores the elements of pictorial narrative found in twentieth century comic books, and considers the pictorial narrative sequence in the C12th MS M736 against a backdrop of the characteristic representation of Vikings in both media. The comparison across the millennium has implications for how we may want to theorise the role of the reader in both narratives.

Joanne McEwan – University of Western Australia (12A)
"Two Sides to any Story: Support and Reputation in the Elizabeth Canning Case"

In January 1753, Elizabeth Canning, an eighteen-year-old London servant girl, turned up at her mother's door in a dirty, bloody, weak and emaciated condition. She had been missing for twenty-nine days. She told a harrowing tale of being accosted, kidnapped, robbed and imprisoned in a house by a woman who tried to coax her into prostitution. At the ensuing trial, two old women whom Canning had identified as her captors, Mary Squires and Susannah Wells, were convicted and sentenced respectively to death and imprisonment. However, a number of unresolved contradictions and inconsistencies had surfaced, and the Lord Mayor, unsatisfied with the outcome, decided to investigate the matter further. The following year, Elizabeth Canning was convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, in what was undoubtedly one of the cause célèbre cases of the eighteenth century. In excess of a hundred witnesses appeared at the Old Bailey when she was tried. They testified to completely contradictory versions of events, so that although the jury was finally left with no doubt that perjury had been committed, the question was by which side? Scholars have too often viewed this case with an eye towards solving the mystery and, like contemporary commentators, have debated the plausibility of discrepancies in the conflicting accounts, and resolutely championed either Canning's or Squires' story. Rather than attempt to assess the conflicting evidence, this paper will examine the significant role that reputation played in determining witness credibility and in influencing public support. It will ask how developments in the case affected the reputations of the various individuals involved, what influence this had on public attitudes towards and sympathy for Elizabeth Canning, and the bearing that this had on the case.

Joanne McEwan – University of Western Australia (9A)
"Old Bailey records"

See entry for Susan Broomhall.

Claire McIlroy – ARC Network for Early European Research/University of Western Australia (3D)
"The Withdrawal into the Wilderness of the Self: Religious Solitude in Fourteenth-century England"

One of the key shared experiences of the anchoritic and eremitic vocations is the adherence to a life of solitude. However, hermits, who were almost always male, were individuals licensed to the solitary life in a ceremony of dedication but free to "roam at will" whereas anchorites, who were more often than not women, were enclosed in a cell having undergone a ceremony that emphasised their death to the world. And then there were those on the margins of these vocations, visionaries such as Margery Kempe who struggled to practice a type of religious withdrawal while living in the world.

It is clear that the fourteenth-century writers of contemplative literature drew heavily on their own personal experiences of the solitary life, as well as from anchoritic and scriptural traditions, to share their experience of the spiritual journey but does the *type* of solitude they experienced translate to the language they use regarding the struggle towards spiritual perfection?

The question I would like raise in this paper is to what extent did the differing experiences of solitude, and/or the practice of the contemplative life, inform the language used by writers of devotional and anchoritic literature in fourteenth century England? To what extent, if any, did the actual spacial wilderness of biblical figures and the desert fathers and mothers inform their solitary lives? In short, is there any wilderness left or has the urbanisation of the contemplative religious life caused an erosion of the actual solitary experience?

Anne McKendry – University of Melbourne (11A)

"The Pleasure of Medieval Romance: Sacrificing Chivalry and Courtly Love in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight"

Pleasure is a concept that is simultaneously elusive and ubiquitous. It is deceptively easy to define as "a feeling of happy satisfaction and enjoyment" (OED), but this definition is immediately complicated by the second entry offered by the OED: "one's wish or desire." Is pleasure concerned with the fulfilment of the present or the desire for the future? That it can be one, or the other, or both, imbues pleasure with an often-unrecognised complexity. Pleasure is multi-layered and multi-faceted. It swirls around and through the conscious and unconscious mind, both individual and collective, directing thoughts and determining actions. All decisions are informed by the possibility of pleasure for the self; even seemingly difficult or distasteful actions are, in fact, the result of desire functioning as sacrifice, as Louise Fradenburg has so convincingly shown. Pleasure is able to operate in this all-pervasive manner because it forms part of the imaginary through which the subject engages in dialogue with the self, with the Other, and with others.

This paper will consider the operation of pleasure in the late-fourteenth-century poem Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. It will explore the obscene pleasure of sacrifice and how this complicates chivalry, as well as considering briefly the pleasure of an imagined medieval nation. This analysis will rely heavily upon Fradenburg's Lacanian framework, while also employing the Bakhtinian concepts of dialogism and the chronotope. Roland Barthes has differentiated between a text of pleasure and a text of bliss (jouissance) and it will be argued that Sir Gawain and the Green Knight meets the criteria of the latter through its (blissful) rupture with medieval traditions of courtly love.

Shane McLeod – University of Western Australia (9B)
"A missionary free zone? The conversion of the Norse in ninth-century England"

There are few pagan remains known from the early Norse settlement period in England, suggesting that the settlers in the late ninth century quickly adopted aspects of the culture of the local population, including Christianity. This rapid adoption of Christianity is especially unusual as there is no evidence of any missionary work undertaken to convert the new settlers, and indeed much evidence that church institutions did not always survive in the Norse settlement areas. The relative lack of Norse pagan remains is sometimes treated with a degree of surprise as the invaders were traditionally depicted as strongly anti-Christian, especially in the martyrdom of St Edmund by the stereotypical cruel Viking leader Ivar. Yet such representations obscure the likelihood that many of the early settlers had had peaceful contact with Christians and Christianity long before settlement. This paper will briefly examine the evidence for Norse pagan practices in England and the survival of the church in the settlement areas, before exploring how the conversion of the Norse settlers may have been achieved.

Jenna Mead – University of Tasmania (7A)
"Chaucer's Feet: Thinking about Numbers"

Abstract not available at time of printing.

Leidulf Melve – University of Bergen (9D)
"Papal biographies in the service of church reform (ca. 1060-1120)"

The Investiture Contest initiated the re-examination of the relationship between the secular and the ecclesiastical powers. Among the numerous issues which emerged in the contemporary discourse there was the attempt to come to terms with the secular behaviour of the reformers. One particular grave instance of such secular behaviour was the extent to which the reforming popes were involved in acts of war. The paper offers a look at how vitae of eleventh- and twelfth century reformers approach the question of holiness in the wake of struggles with secular power.

Helen Merritt – University of Melbourne (6B)
"A warning to others: Popish Plot informers and the conversion narrative"

Between 1678 and 1682 London was gripped by fear of a Catholic conspiracy to assassinate Charles II and to destroy the Protestant establishment. Numerous informers came forward to claim knowledge of the design before the Privy Council with several of them having their information printed for public satisfaction. The conversion and reconversion of the Plot informers between Protestantism and Catholicism was an important theme of the Plot. The process of conversion helped explain how the informers came to know details of the alleged conspiracy and added to the growing body of anti-Catholic polemic. Many of the informer's pamphlets were structured around the conversion narrative. Although the Popish Plot has been the subject of much historical enquiry few studies have focused attention on the informers and their role. As part of a broader investigation into the authority of the informer the following paper

examines the significance of conversion and the conversion narrative to constructing the informer's authority on the Plot.

Constant Mews – Monash University (4E)
"The *Miroir des dames* and vernacular transformations of the literature of instruction for women"

This paper explores the literary sources of the *Speculum dominarum*, written in Latin c. 1300 by the Franciscan chaplain to Queen Jeanne of Navarre, Durand de Champagne, as well as the transformation of this text into a much more influential vernacular version, the *Miroir des dames*. It compares the text to traditional Latin religious ethical treatises, like the *Speculum virginum*, while also commenting on the significance of its continuing popularity between the fourteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Graeme Miles – University of Tasmania (3C)
"Stones, Wood and Woven Papyrus: Porphyry on Text and Image"

This paper will consider some developments in Neoplatonic thought regarding aesthetics and the interpretation of texts (both visual and literary) in the late third and early fourth centuries. Though it is, admittedly, anachronistic to consider 'aesthetics' a separate area of philosophy in this period, there is nonetheless thinking which from a modern perspective is classifiable in this way, despite its intimate connection in all cases with other areas of philosophy. Starting from the background in Plotinus' Enneads, the paper will explore Porphyry's thoughts on art and literature, in particular in his On the Cave of the Nymphs (the first surviving critical essay on a literary text) and On Statues (a study of the role of cult images, their iconography and interpretation), to elucidate an understudied, but important aspect of Late Antique thought, and one which was to prove influential in subsequent periods.

Anna Milne – University of Canterbury (2A)
"'I was close enough to touch him': Authority and Franciscan Experience in the Chronicle of Salimbene de Adam"

One of the central notions that define historians' attitudes towards Franciscan chronicler Salimbene de Adam is that he is un-representative figure of the thirteenth century, both as an historian and as a Franciscan. His chronicle is often thought to be a subjective, biased, and an ahistorical incarnation of traditional medieval universal histories. Because of his supposedly inappropriate interest in himself, posterity has marked both writer and text as a curiosity that defies any sort of logical definition. This mind-set has served to disconnect Salimbene and his chronicle from the cultural, religious, and social influences of the thirteenth century age, presenting his chronicle as an oddity or aberration. This paper seeks to address these issues by grounding Salimbene's chronicle firmly within his direct socio-cosmological and cultural contexts; by reclaiming his 'self' and the experiences that defined him as a Franciscan and as an historian. This paper considers one particular passage of the chronicle that seems to encapsulate some of the areas of Salimbene's narrative style that have been criticized or marginalized by historians. Providing an alternative reading of particular phrases of the

passage illustrates the type of narrative strategy that Salimbene employed to render his chronicle distinctive but certainly not ahistorical. At the same time, by drawing attention to some of the embodied frameworks exemplified by the passage, and by considering some of the wider cultural and social conditions within the Franciscan Order that may have engendered this particular narrative strategy, some of the prevailing issues over textuality, authority, and legitimacy that converged in thirteenth-century history writing can be addressed.

Marea Mitchell – Macquarie University, and Dianne Osland – University of Newcastle, Australia (8C)
"Mrs Stanley's Moderniz'd *Arcadia* 1725: Readings and Rewritings"

In 1725 the production by Mrs D Stanley of a completely revised version of Sidney's *Arcadia* followed hot on the heels of the fourteenth edition of Sidney's work. While claiming "not even in the minutest Point to vary from his Tract," she has in fact left "no sentence unchanged", as Salzman noted. This paper represents work in progress on Stanley's "Moderniz'd" *Arcadia*, and focuses on how Stanley has translated the sixteenth century text particularly in relation to gender and narrative style. While attention has been paid to other re-writers of Sidney, such as Wroth and Weamys, very little analysis has so far been carried out on Stanley and her work. Lack of biographical information has partly contributed to this, and this paper hopes to begin to fill in some of the gaps in her story.

For instance, her dedication of the book to the Princess of Wales carries a conventional example of the modesty topos, asserting that she undertook the mammoth task of reworking *Arcadia* "employing a Waste of Time I had upon my Hands, and which I knew not how better to dispose of: That continual Round of Gallantry, play and Dress, which engrosses the Time of most of our Ladies, has no charms for me." However, it now seems likely that the production of the work was at least partly influenced by necessity, according to a description by an eighteenth century antiquarian who seems to have known her personally. We wonder, too, how to make sense of any connection between the fourteenth edition of Sidney's work (printed by Samuel Richardson), Stanley's work, and Richardson's own *Pamela* (1741), particularly given that some critics have suggested that Richardson named his heroine after the character not in Sidney's original text, but in Stanley's.

While biographical information on its own cannot, of course, explain a text, using new insights into who Mrs Stanley was we hope to make some sense of why she took on the huge task of rewriting *Arcadia*. This paper is part of ongoing collaborative work on the cultural dynamics of reading and rewriting from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries using *Arcadia* and *Pamela* as case studies.

Adelina Modesti – La Trobe University (1E)
"Margherita de' Medici Farnese (1612-1676), Duchess of Parma and Piacenza: a Medici princess at the Farnese court"

Margherita de' Medici Farnese (1612-1676), daughter of Grand Duke Cosimo II and Maria Maddalena von Hapsburg of Austria, was the consort of Duke Odoardo Farnese. From her husband's demise in 1646 till her own death in 1679, the Dowager Duchess, a politically astute figure, effectively ruled Parma and Piacenza, firstly as regent for her

son Ranuccio II, then as his advisor. Margherita systematically reshaped the Farnese court's identity in her own image through her cultural activities, building projects and spiritual philanthropy. She was an extremely active patron of religious and educational institutions, oversaw many an architectural project, both domestic and public in both cities, as well as organizing the apparati (staged ephemera) for the dynasty's public festivities and spectacles. Despite her political and cultural achievements no study has yet brought together the multi faceted nature of this important Seicento matron. This paper will introduce the cultural patronage of Margherita de'Medici Farnese, one of the three "networking" women who are the subject of my ARC interdisciplinary study on matronage in early modern Italy. It will also examine the Duchess' character and diplomatic affairs through an analysis of her correspondence with various members of her family in Florence. These letters reveal Margherita's strong personality and identity as belonging to the powerful grand ducal Medici family, whilst at the same time protecting her own interests and those of the Farnese, as well as point to the political tensions that could arise between natal and marital families when such elite women married into other ruling dynasties.

Clare Monagle – Monash University (6D)
"Premodernity and the logic of Postmodernity"

In "The Premodern Condition" Bruce Holsinger makes some compelling arguments for the role of the "medieval" in the making of post-modernity. Charting thinkers such as Lacan, Derrida, Bataille and Bourdieu, he maps a genealogy that makes a deep scholarly interest in the Middle Ages as a key site of intellectual formation for these thinkers. In this paper I will consider the work to which Holsinger puts the "medieval", and critically evaluate his understanding of its applications.

Tessa Morrison – University of Newcastle, Australia (1A)
"Isaac Newton: The Principia and the Temple of Solomon"

Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica was original published in 1687 and it has never been out of print since. It is the most remarkable book in the history of science and its originality and the power of thought have no equal. A. Rupert Hall claimed "No other approached its authority in vindicating the mechanistic view of nature." Although from a modern perspective this is the end result of the theory in the Principia it is in fact a misconception of Newton's philosophy behind the Principia. Newton was repelled by the concept of a mechanistic view of nature which had been promulgated by Descartes in Principia Philosophiae published in 1644. For Newton, a clock-universe that has been wound up and left to run had no room for God – this was inconceivable.

In the Principia he noted small variations in the orbits of Jupiter and Saturn. Also in Opticks, published in 1703, he claimed that Comets could not keep their orbs. Newton concluded that the designer of the universe, God, had to intervene to occasionally to 'repair' and 'restore' the balance of the universe. God was not only the First Cause but he continually sustained the universe – God was a necessary presence. This view of the purpose of God is supported by Newton's unpublished papers, particularly in his writings on prophecy. He conceived the Principia as the exoteric knowledge of nature while the prophets held the esoteric knowledge of nature. The prophets could only be interpreted through hieroglyphs understood through the

framework of the architecture of Solomon's Temple. Newton studied the architecture of the Temple, in detail; he believed that to understand the structure of the Temple was to understand the prophets and thus the mind of God. This paper examines Newton's architecture of the Temple and the Temple as the esoteric knowledge of nature.

Frances Muecke – University of Sydney (4C)
"On reading Biondo's Roma triumphans"

'He revealed to us the whole world of antiquity.' (omnem nobis vetustatem aperuit) So said the humanist Pope Pius II in 1458 (De Europa c. 58) of the great trilogy on antiquity of his admired contemporary, Flavio Biondo. Flavio Biondo (Forlì 1392 - Rome 1463) was one of the most significant of the humanists who viewed Rome with new eyes in the mid-fifteenth century.

Of his three great works, Roma triumphans (c. 1453-9) is the least well known – one of the great unread books. Making this point in 1959, Denys Hay attributed this neglect not to lack of importance but to the sheer physical difficulty of reading it in the grand sixteenth-century Latin folio editions, with their dense type, lack of paragraphs and frequent printing errors. The vulgate Latin text that stems from that of the first edition is unreliable. There has been no translation into any language since Lucio Fauno's Italian version (Venice 1544, 1548, 1549).

Roma triumphans is the first systematic account of Rome's institutions: Books 1-2, religion (gods, priesthoods, cult and sacrifice, ceremonies and festivals); Books 3-5, public administration (magistrates, provincial government, elections, the senate, administrative functions, law and the penal code, citizenship, the treatment of slaves, fiscal arrangements); Books 6-7, the army (its formations and ranks, military discipline, pay and privileges of soldiers, their retirement, order of battle, insignia, the fleet); Books 8-9, private life (marriage, divorce, education, agriculture, city and country buildings, furniture, clothes, roads, means of transport); Book 10, Roman triumphs.

What did this enormous work offer its readers in the early modern period and in subsequent centuries, and why should one bother with it today?

Catherine M. Müller – Independent scholar (6E)
"Like Mother like Daughter: Moral and Literary Virtues in French Renaissance Women's Writings"

This essay examines the place of virtues in the texts scholarly women addressed to and received from their daughters.

It takes as a starting point the striking statement made by Marguerite de Navarre in a letter to Jeanne d'Albret that she would rather see her dead than non virtuous, and briefly recalls the nature of moral and spiritual excellence a woman of power was to embody in early modern French courts.

The second and most important part of this study focuses on the intellectual expectations placed on female offspring. In fact, if the ethical and didactic aspects of a princess's education have been amply treated by specialists of conduct books, the literary virtues erudite mothers instilled in their daughters have not received the attention they deserve, possibly because some of the textual productions concerned are yet unknown, unedited, or difficult to find.

This paper will fill this gap by looking at the auctorial influence three female writers exerted upon daughters who became authors themselves: the above-mentioned queens of Navarre, Antoinette de Loynes and Camille de Morel, as well as Madeleine and Catherine des Roches. The poetic exchanges which took place between them reveal how these virtuous mothers became spiritual conductors, scholarly mentors, muses, and *auctoritates* for their daughters. In turn, each of these daughters was considered by her mother as a personal source of inspiration and a universal model of virtue, both moral and literary.

Kathleen Neal – University of Melbourne (7E)
"Address and relationships in the letters of Eleanor of Provence and her contemporaries"

Literary studies have embraced the social significance of forms and modes of address as a locus of investigation in, for example, examinations of Chaucer or romances such as Gawain and the Green Knight. Comparatively, scholars of diplomatic and bureaucratic sources have neglected the potential of formulaic elements (such as address clauses) to yield a rich vein of information about social relationships, hierarchies and medieval communication. Instead, diplomatists have traditionally focussed on such clauses as an aid to dating or authenticating texts. However, while address clauses may be constrained by formality, politeness, and convention, they nevertheless encode specific relationships between communicants. In particular, there is fertile ground for enquiry where changes in address are discernable over time, place, between individuals or contexts. This paper will draw on related, imaginative approaches to the structure and vocabulary of early Norman and Anglo-Norman writs and charters to analyse address clauses in the letters of Eleanor of Provence and her correspondents in the mid-to-late thirteenth century. Such features as the order of addressee and sender, the completeness of formal titles and the vocabulary of address will be assessed chronologically, according to the identity of sender or addressee, and by the diplomatic importance of the letter itself. This analysis will begin to elucidate how medieval people manipulated the epistolary medium to express and develop social and political relationships.

Emma Nicholls – Monash University (12E)
"The Symbolic Power of Silk in Renaissance Florence"

Over the course of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the silk industry grew to become one of Florence's most profitable enterprises. It is perplexing, then, that only a limited range of scholarly attention has thus far been granted to the meaning of silk in Renaissance Florence. As numerous commentators have pointed out, a comprehensive study of the Florentine silk industry has yet to be written. The piecemeal nature of research into the role of female workers has been noted as especially egregious. Women made up a sizeable proportion of the workforce and a detailed social history is clearly called for. I would like to suggest, however, that the conspicuous nature of women's labour in the production of silk is also significant. From its introduction to the Roman Empire, silk has been associated with female sexuality and the display of power. In Renaissance Florence, the capacity of silk to publicize and legitimize authority was complicated by its role as a nexus for debate surrounding female sexuality and the

feminisation of men. This paper will use silk to explore ways in which symbols of femaleness were utilised by men in the civic sphere.

Mike Nolan – La Trobe University (10E)
"The corruptible body and the Femme Fatale in The Maid's Tragedy"

In Beaumont and Fletcher's The Maid's Tragedy, the female body of Evadne becomes the site for the struggle between masculine desire and masculine revulsion. This paper will examine the anomalies of her status as both private and public object of desire, as well as exploring the contradictions associated with her roles as virginal bride, political whore and sacred murderess. In the light of my research into points of connection between Jacobean drama and Film Noir I will be proposing that Evadne be considered as a femme fatale and in order to clarify this, some comparison with women from selected films noir will be made.

Lesley O'Brien – University of Western Australia (5F)
"Churchwardens, Rectors and Parish Economies: Intra-parish financial relations in late medieval London"

It is a peculiar feature of the English Church that the benefice, or priest's 'living', that was attached to each parish functioned largely independently of the funding required to provide religious services within the parish. While recent exploration of England's pre-Reformation parochial records has revealed that there was indeed more to parish economies than that represented by the churchwardens' accounts, these studies have concentrated on other aspects of lay administration. A full picture of a parish economy must also take into account the funds and assets associated with the benefice. This paper examines the surviving evidence offered by London's pre-Reformation churchwardens' accounts for the financial interactions between the benefice and the churchwardens' accounts. Using the concept of ledgers, it can be demonstrated that the demarcation between rectors and parishioners was not as definitive as is often thought. Rather, for those within the parish, clergy and laity alike, the priority was the efficient functioning of religious services and rectors could be surprisingly flexible in the name of cooperation.

Kathleen Olive – University of Western Sydney (2E)
"A Fifteenth-Century Florentine Memory Palace in Jerusalem"

In his 1596 advice on building a memory palace, the Italian Jesuit missionary, Matteo Ricci, noted that there were a number of different approaches to construction. Memory 'places' or *loci*, he posited, could use real buildings or objects seen and then brought forth from one's memory; they could be entirely the product of one's imagination; and, finally, they could constitute half-real and half-fictive structures. This latter structure could use, as Jonathan D. Spence relates in *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci*, "a building one knew well and through the back wall of which one broke an imaginary door as a shortcut to new spaces."

Here I discuss such a structure, created by a Florentine goldsmith in the fifteenth century. In his pilgrimage account-cum-commonplace book, Marco di Bartolomeo

Rustici describes "Ptolemy's palace," supposedly the residence of the Alexandrian and located near the city of Jerusalem. In dreaming this place, Rustici breaks through the back wall of Florence to create a hybrid and mythologised ideal. The palace is a refuge and delight for artists and architects, humanists and philosophers, even zoologists and botanists – but its inspiration is resolutely Florentime. The structure thus memorialises Florence as Rustici knew it, but also creates a new Florence, the centre of an eternal cosmos.

Pamela O'Neill – University of Sydney (9B)
"Stones, sites, tides and topography: locating ecclesiastical activity in early medieval Scotland"

The material remains of the earliest Christian activity in Scotland seem to fall into two distinct categories. On the one hand, there are sites of ecclesiastical settlements, which were once called monasteries. These sites generally show signs of intensive occupation, religious activity including church buildings and grave markers, and frequently some level of defensibility. By contrast, there are other locations, of obvious significance to early Christian activity, which contain nothing other than a single cross-marked stone. This paper seeks to unravel what these sites can tell us about the activity of clerics in early medieval Scotland. What did it mean to be a monk, a priest, or even a Christian? In what ways was Christianity observed and practised in this formative period?

Laurie Ormond – University of Western Australia (8A)
"How to Grow a Tale in the Telling: Reading Contemporary Fantasy Fiction"

Medieval settings, medieval social institutions and the "matter" of early narrative tradition are often taken to be signifying aspects of fantasy fiction. Yet when Australian fantasists such as Sara Douglass and Alison Croggon construct their contemporary fantasies, they manipulate a powerful and still-developing set of conventions that derive directly from a genre of popular fiction, rather than from medievalist literary tradition.

In this paper I will argue that Australian fantasy fiction in fact works very hard to create and to sustain a notion of "the fantasy genre" and its conventions. "Genre" is thus discussed as a kind of reading practice that sets up and then confirms the reader's sense of an "appropriate" fantasy convention. Looking at both Australian and other English-language works of popular fantasy fiction, I will discuss some of the ways in which contemporary fantasy fiction makes use of "myth" and "story" to invoke and legitimise the generic conventions of "fantasy".

Dianne Osland – University of Newcastle, Australia (8C)
See the entry for Marea Mitchell

Catherine Padmore – La Trobe University (9C)
"The voice of Amy Dudley"

This paper explores the some of the processes used by a contemporary novelist to create the voice of an early modern woman, Amy Dudley (1532-1560), for a work of historical

fiction. While the discussion centres on a particular creative project, the challenges and strategies discussed are relevant for others writing about the past.

Amy Dudley (nee Robsart) was the wife of Robert Dudley, who was the favourite of Queen Elizabeth I and widely rumoured to have been her lover. She died in mysterious circumstances, with speculations including murder, suicide, illness or accident. Amy has appeared in a number of novels over the last two hundred years (book-ended by Walter Scott's Kenilworth (1821) and Philippa Gregory's The Virgin's Lover (2004)). On the whole these novels either portray her in deeply unsympathetic ways or swerve far from the established record.

My novel-in-progress explores the last months of Amy's life and attempts to portray a realistic sense of her experiences and emotions. The challenges posed by this project are multiple, but I will examine one in particular: how to write across the gulf between the different worlds we inhabit and find the right voice to tell this story. In attempting to write Amy's voice I have used a number of strategies that engage in archival and place-based research, including reading texts from the early modern period and visiting the historical sites to obtain accurate and concrete detail about place.

My hope is that the project will allow a fictional version of Amy Dudley's voice to speak to contemporary readers, creating a sense of her lived reality that is both historically accurate and sensitive to the difficulties of her position.

Nicola Parsons – University of Sydney (8C)

"Queen Anne in the Bedchamber: Publicity, Domesticity, and Writing Women"

Queen Anne is not an important figure in historical accounts of the eighteenth century. Most judge her to be hopelessly ordinary, a dim-witted women who preferred trivial pastimes to the task of governing the nation. The considerable successes of her reign are routinely ascribed to the wisdom of those men who occupied high office, while the influence of her ladies-in-waiting – Abigail Masham and Sarah Churchill, the Duchess of Marlborough – percolates disturbingly in the background. This paper argues that this disregard results from Anne's implication (and that of her reign) in competing discursive regimes of privacy and publicity, gender and sexuality.

To make this argument, I focus on the copious letters exchanged between Queen Anne and the Duchess of Marlborough and the liminal space of the royal bedchamber in which these letters circulated. These letters, exchanged privately but the subject of intense public speculation, draw upon the tropes of heroic romance in order to perform female intimacy through the respective personas of Mrs Morley and Mrs Freeman. In using such tropes to figure both her relationship to Sarah and her relationship to her subjects, Anne represents an important example of the interimplication of power, sexuality, and domesticity in the construction of a female writing voice.

Patricia Pender – University of Newcastle, Australia (10C)

"Reading Bale Reading Askew: Contested Collaboration in *The Examinations*"

From her provocative public reading of the Bible in Lincoln cathedral to her eventual execution as a heretic in 1546, Anne Askew's *Examinations* bear witness to the pivotal role that reading played in religious debates of the English Reformation. In defiance of the Act of the Six Articles, Askew maintained the Protestant position on the sacrament, affirming that, rather than being the actual body of Christ, the bread "is onlye a sygne or

sacrament" and "but a remembraunce of hys death." In maintaining her right to interpret the sacrament symbolically, in submitting to torture rather than offering the recantation demanded of her, and in recording her own spirited testimony of her trials, Askew herself became a powerful sign of the religious battles being waged between English Catholics and Protestant Reformers in the last years of Henry VIII's reign. Askew's willingness to defend and die for her beliefs has made her an important figure for feminist literary history. However, her recovery in the twentieth century has also been attended by concern about the extent to which her text has been obscured by the work of male editors. Recent scholarship has seen Askew's text as overwhelmed, undermined, and even occluded by her editors, most notably by her Reformation contemporary, John Bale, who interspersed Askew's text with his own voluminous "elucydacyons." This paper will explore the complex network of interpretation and framing which informs the *Examinations* by focusing on three acts of reading *as* editing: the first is Askew's selective reading of the Scripture, which she uses to confound her Catholic interrogators, the second is Bale's strategic "elucydacyon" of Askew, which he uses to position her in a tradition of Protestant dissent, and third are contemporary critical paradigms which tend to mourn Askew as the victim of masculinist literary tradition but which might also reassess her as a sophisticated reader and rhetorical agent in her own right. Attention to the "interpretive struggle" evident in Bale's editions of Askew can help us extend our understanding both of early modern editorial practice and role that gender played, and continues to play, in these "contested collaborations."

Leigh Penman – University of Melbourne (5C)

"'Hidden in divers Places in Walls': Authority, Wisdom and Legitimacy in Prophetic and Magical Texts of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries"

If we are to believe the dozens of accounts written during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, mysterious prophecies, rare and curious books and manuscripts, alchemical recipes, or magical relics were being discovered throughout Europe with alarming regularity. They were hidden away, by famous or anonymous forbearers, in graves, crypts, tombs, ruins, pillars, churches, tablets and various other places, only to be rediscovered by unsuspecting people.

Of course, not all of these accounts were true. The discovery of deliberately hidden items or wisdom was in fact a popular literary trope of the period: but like all such conventions, it reflected the apparent discursive requirements of authority and legitimacy that also plagued contemporary Europe in matters political and religious.

In this presentation, I will recount and examine several of the most unusual and significant of these discoveries, as well as their discoverers, including: the German philosopher Jakob Böhme, Paracelsus, Basil Valentine, Nicholas Flamel, the Rosicrucian Fraternity, and John Dee's skryer Edward Kelley, to name but a few. I shall emphasize that the simple act of discovery could be portrayed in several different ways, and that these representations illuminate the broader questioning of authority and legitimacy in a multiplicity of contemporary contexts.

Kim M. Phillips – University of Auckland (6C)
"The Polygamous East in Late Medieval Travel Writing"

Monogamous marriage is central to Western culture and society, and the monogamy expected of Christian married couples today was, naturally, also demanded of their medieval counterparts in the Latin West. European writers and readers of the later medieval period were aware, however, that marriages and sexual relationships were arranged rather differently beyond the boundaries of Christendom. Late medieval travellers to central, south, east, and south-east Asia and their readers found that forms of polygamy - most usually polygyny, or polygyny with concubinage - and other varieties of what today might be called polyamory were the norm in distant kingdoms of the east. This paper considers a number of descriptions of oriental polygamy, promiscuity and sensual delights in later medieval travel narratives, and asks what purposes these accounts served for European readers, whether they may be read alongside any contemporary debates within Europe on the nature and practice of Christian marriage, and what they contributed to a developing Western sense of itself in relation to others. The paper is part of my ongoing attempt to establish a model for reading late medieval constructions of Asian cultures in a pre-colonialist context to which classic Orientalism does not fully apply.

Janice Pinder – Monash University (4E)
"A Lady's Guide to Salvation: the Miroir des Dames compilation of London, British Library Addit. 29986, Brussels, Royal Library 9555-58 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France français 5232"

The *Speculum Dominarum* of Durandus of Champagne draws both on the Christian ascetic virtue tradition and the classical civic virtue tradition. While concerning itself overall with the queen's salvation, within this framework it lends importance to her role in government. Although the French translation of this work is broadly faithful to the original, it is subject to the subtle omissions and recastings that characterise medieval translation, which was generally a matter of adapting a work for a new audience. This process has been observed at work in the French translations of Boethius by Keith Atkinson, who points out the importance of the other texts that translations were copied alongside as a clue to shifts in their orientation.* In the case of the *Miroir des Dames*, an anthology produced in the fourteenth century for women close to the court is instructive. This paper will examine that anthology, which survives in three copies, and argue that both the nature of the texts included, and the way they relate to the *Miroir des Dames*, indicate a privileging of the ascetic over the civic.

* J. Keith Atkinson, "Manuscript Context as a Guide to Generic Shift. Some Middle French Consolations," in *Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation. Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, ed. Peter Rolfe Monks and D.D.R Owen (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

Lucy Potter – University of Adelaide (4C)
"Marlowe's Dido and the 'Dark Side' of the Aeneid: Evidence and Implications"

We are very sure that Marlowe had the Aeneid on his desk when he was writing his tragedy of Dido. And yet there is much about the play that seems un-Virgilian in both content and tone, for Dido appears in many ways to flout the high seriousness of the Aeneid. A strong critical strand has formed around Dido's treatment of the Aeneid that looks to Ovid for an explanation of Marlowe's embellishments. This strand of analysis relies on books 1, 2, and 4 of the Aeneid. It has constructed a Virgil/Ovid binary that inflects readings of both Marlowe's plays and his poems, and may be seen at work in criticism of other early modern texts that engage with the Aeneid. In this paper, I suggest that critics have over-invested in the influence of Ovid to explain Marlowe's handling of the Aeneid in Dido, and that a more generous model of influence is needed to accommodate the ways in which texts of the early modern period negotiate Virgil's epic.

The Aeneid has its dark side, and in the 1970s and '80s, critics of the so-called Harvard school began foregrounding the epic's pessimistic elements and Virgil's ambivalent treatment of the hero. Taking the work of these scholars of the Aeneid into account, and reading beyond books 1, 2, and 4 of the epic, I aim to demonstrate that Dido makes dramatic capital out of some of the problems and tensions in the Aeneid, and its ambivalent hero. Putting it another way, I propose that the Aeneid can account for what critics currently think of as un-Virgilian about Marlowe's play. The paper concludes with a consideration of the implications of this line of inquiry into the Aeneid's dark side for work on early modern textual engagements with Virgil's epic.

Wilfrid Prest – University of Adelaide (8F)
"The Rise of the Middle Temple, c. 1550-1750"

During the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the four London Inns of Court, in common with other educational institutions, experienced a significant expansion in student admissions. While Gray's Inn then led the way, under the later Stuarts and the early Hanoverians student numbers stagnated and then shrank, even more markedly at Gray's Inn than elsewhere. The new market leader was the Middle Temple, which not only admitted significantly more student members than any other Inn of Court during the first half of the eighteenth century, but also accounted for some 40 per cent of the total output of barristers produced by the four inns between the 1720s and the first decade of George III's reign. This paper will examine the causes and consequences of these fluctuations; it is part of a project to write a new history of the Middle Temple.

Edward Purkiss – University of Tasmania (10F)
"Principles and Practicalities: Early Tudor Responses to War in Northwestern England"

This paper is intended as a discussion of regional and governmental responses to prolonged Anglo-Scottish hostilities on the English West March during the early Tudor period. The wishes of the Westminster government and the activities of regional communities in the English borderlands were often completely at odds with one another with regard to attitudes towards the prosecution of the war with Scotland. The early Tudor monarchs sought various solutions to the problems of administration in a region troubled by endemic warfare. These solutions often espoused high flown principles such as Henry VIII's famous comment that he 'would not be bound to be served by none but

lords' on the borders. These principles, however, often collapsed in the face of the realities of border administration. This paper will examine the tension between regional and governmental attitudes towards the conflict and how government policy with regard to the administration of the northwestern frontier was largely determined by external factors.

Sarah Randles – University of Technology, Sydney (3A)
"'Clothed in whyght samyte': Textiles and Clothing in Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte Darthur*"

Malory is sparing in his use of textile terminology in *Le Morte Darthur*, but nonetheless textiles and clothing resonate at significant points in the text and produce some of its most enduring images. This paper will explore the roles played by cloth and clothing in Malory's text, identifying them in the contexts of medieval material culture and belief as objects of desire, enchantment and power.

Anthony Ray – University of Tasmania (1D)
"'Far Away in the Province of Liège...': an Encounter between Abbot Philip of Clairvaux and Elizabeth of Spalbeek in the Later Thirteenth Century"

A number of Cistercian scholars have characterised the latter half of the thirteenth century as a period of deteriorating relationships between Cistercian monks and women; chiefly, as a deterioration in interest shown by male monks toward the female religious life. But such a characterisation is gradually being regarded as a misnomer and my own work seeks to demonstrate that in the 1260s and 1270s especially, a reinvigorated interest in the female religious life emerged from within the Cistercian Order. In this paper I wish to discuss one source that illuminates this reinvigoration of interest, the account of Elizabeth of Spalbeek (d. pre-1304) written by the Cistercian abbot, Philip of Clairvaux (d. 1273). What interest did this abbot of the most influential Cistercian monastery in Europe find in a holy woman from a small village in the Low Countries?

Kriston R. Rennie – University of Queensland (8D)
"Demand for Justice: The Laity and Church Councils in Eleventh-Century France"

In France as elsewhere in Latin Christendom during the eleventh century, the laity's interest in church councils increased greatly after the Peace and Truce of God. Particularly striking for this period is the level of participation and initiative taken by the nobility in ecclesiastical business, as conveners of regional and local church assemblies, and as active judges. Narrowing the focus to the last quarter of the eleventh century, a pattern emerges at French councils in which influential members of the lay elite began taking judicial matters into their own hands. By-passing the traditional channels of justice served by the papal court in Rome, the flow of ecclesiastical business between the centre and the periphery was no longer a constant or expected measure. Profiting especially from the papal legates perambulating in France during this period, the laity came to rely more exclusively on representative papal authority in dealing with matters of purely local interest. This paper will examine one case from the

early 1080s, thereby offering an exceptional example of demand for justice in eleventh-century France.

Earl Jeffrey Richards – University of Wuppertal (3E)
"Jean Gerson's Writings to His Sisters: An Education in Virtue and Popular Theology"

In this paper I will examine the position on women's education held by Jean Gerson, one of the leading theologians of the early fifteen century whose writings had enormous impact all across Western Europe. Gerson's attitude toward female education is best known from his work, *La montagne de contemplation*, which was addressed to his sisters. In the last ten years the discussion of his position on educating women has come to include his position on female mystics, especially because – and we are in the midst of the Great Schism - Catharine of Siena supported the return of the Papacy to Rome, and Gerson's own position on this topic was influenced both by his loyalty to the French monarchy and to a conciliar solution to the Schism.

Two different analyses of Gerson have been proposed in the last ten years. Brian Patrick McGuire, in "Late Medieval Care and the Control of Women: Jean Gerson and His Sisters," *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 92 (1997): 5–36, tries to show how Gerson's writings, subsequently used (or abused) to justify witch-hunts, were more complex than later scholars have assumed. Yelena Mazour-Matusevich, in "La position de Jean Gerson (1363-1429) envers les femmes,2 *Le moyen âge* 112 (2006): 337-353, furnishes a wider study of Gerson's position, and shows how Gerson supported very carefully delineated female forms of mysticism.

I wish to review the question both in light of a new work by Marc Vial, *Jean Gerson, theoricien de la théologie mystique* (Vrin, 2007), and in light of Gerson's relationship to Christine de Pizan. I will at the same time go back to the still unsurpassed two-volume German-language study of Gerson by Johann Baptist Schwab from 1858. I will also emphasize how Gerson follows Thomas Aquinas' analysis of virtue in the *Summa* in his attempt at popularizing or vulgarizing theology (as in the *ABC des simples gens*), and argue that Gerson's devotion to the Virgin is the key to his attitude toward women's education in virtue. I believe that the Marian aspects of Gerson's theology, largely ignored in the discussion hitherto, are extremely important in showing that Gerson's position is far more subtle than hitherto believed.

Kate Riley – University of Western Australia (1B)
"George Mackenzie and the Question of Solitude"

In 1665 the Edinburgh stationer Robert Brown published an anonymous tract entitled *A Moral Essay Preferring Solitude to Publick Employment* and offered it for sale in his shop next to the Mercat Cross. The *Essay* was the latest foray into print of a precocious young lawyer named George Mackenzie, who later distinguished himself in the Scottish parliament and was created lord advocate. Such a candid expression of disdain for civic responsibility inevitably aroused the attention of contemporaries, culminating with the publication of a rebuttal in February 1667, *Publick Employment... prefer'd to Solitude*, written by John Evelyn. This paper will consider Mackenzie's *Essay Preferring Solitude* and the responses it elicited, not principally in terms of the 'public duty'/'private conscience' discussion in early modern studies but rather to investigate attitudes towards solitude in the post-reformation, pre-Romantic era.

Kate Riley – University of Western Australia (11B)
"Ferrar family letters"

See entry for Susan Broomhall.

Andrea Rizzi – University of Melbourne (2F)
"Translating Current News in Elizabethan England: Petruccio Ubaldini's 'Commentario del successo dell'Armata Spagnola' (1589)"

The proliferation of dispatches, reports, descriptions and relations of proceedings in sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe were the result of an ever-expanding need to understand and share political, social, economic and historic issues. The printing of these pamphlets offered a fast, efficient and accessible way to exchange such information (about wars, battles, the New World, etc.). Accordingly, governments and rulers demanded ambassadors, travellers and scholars to act as political observers, and compile brief accounts of crucial events, or simply personal analyses of current affairs. Further, political propaganda, self-promotion and the ambition of political entourages encouraged the translation of these texts into foreign languages. This is hardly surprising for Renaissance England, for several foreign men of letters, politicians and artists lived and worked at the court of Elizabeth I.

By discussing Ubaldini's translation of High Admiral Howard's 'Relation' of the events leading to the 1588 defeat of the Spanish Armada, this paper will discuss the following aspects of this ubiquitous type of texts: 1. The little-studied role of the translator in the production and transmission of news quartos; 2. The need to investigate -whenever possible- the production process of these pamphlets, from their preliminary materials, to their translation and/ publication.

Julie Robarts – University of Melbourne (12B)
"Holy envy and mimetic rivalry: Imitation and discourses of authority in Arcangela Tarabotti's Paradiso Monacale, (The Monastic Paradise)"

The Venetian writer Arcangela Tarabotti (1604-1653) took Dante's Paradiso and Purgatorio as the model for her first published work, the Paradiso Monacale (1643), however the 175 page work only has two direct quotations from the Commedia. Between forty and fifty imitations, allusions and borrowings from the Commedia are submerged in Tarabotti's text. A consideration of a number of examples, and the structure of the text as a whole may shed light on the relationship in Tarabotti's work between imitation and authorising a writing self that is female.

Emily Ross – University of Otago (10C)
"Traces, Whispers and Lies: The Case of the Crying Bride"

While legal documents may attest that early modern women were born, married and died, getting a more qualitative sense of their experiences and others' perceptions of them is often difficult. In my thesis I have examined documents of all kinds in an attempt to glean more nuanced accounts of the lives of two women, Arbella Stuart and Frances Coke, considering texts written both by themselves and others. My method

involves focussing on episodes of their lives which were fictionalised through gossip in order to gain an understanding of cultural, rather than historical, meanings.

Sarah Ross – Massey University (9C)
"Seventeenth-century women writers and Biblical verse: Lucy Hutchinson's *Order and Disorder* and Mary Roper's *An Sacred Historie*"

Since David Norbrook's attribution of *Order and Disorder* to Lucy Hutchinson, this Biblical narrative verse has been compared most frequently to *Paradise Lost*, Hutchinson's extraordinary poetic skill, her puritan piety and her republican politics rendering her the Milton of the feminist canon. Hutchinson's engagement as a woman writer in the genre of Biblical narrative verse has been less fully explored; entirely unexplored is the comparison with another woman's verse retelling of Genesis, Mary Roper's *An Sacred Historie*. Roper constructs an extended Biblical verse with overt application to the British political situation, weaving royalist commentary into her history of Joseph and pasting in illustrations which reinforce her manuscript's function as a royalist artifact. This paper will examine the republican Hutchinson and the royalist Roper's respective uses of Biblical narrative verse, exploring the deceptive safety of the genre, and its radical potential as a poetic site for re-envisioning divine authority and worldly politics.

Katherine Rowe – Monash University (1E)
"Sisterly Love and Friendship in the Early Letters of Isabella d'Este and Elisabetta Gonzaga"

Blood relationships were of great importance in early modern society, especially for the members of a ruling dynasty, where issues of legitimacy and birth order affected succession. While historians have demonstrated the importance of kinship and of the family as a social unit, and have studied vertical familial relationships, little attention has been given to siblings in the Italian courts. This is despite the fact that sibling relationships affected those between the Italian courtly states. Here I examine the epistolary production between the rulers of Mantua and Urbino: between a sister and brother, Elisabetta and Francesco Gonzaga, and between a pair of sisters-by-marriage, Elisabetta Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este.

Friendship and sibling relationships have much in common. Friends, like siblings, frequently share emotional attachments and common interests. In the early modern context, it is likely that siblings or friends of the same gender would have had similar upbringings and similar political or dynastic interests, yet both friendships and sibling relationships were vulnerable to rivalry of some sort. Both friendship and, as I shall demonstrate, sibling relationships also shared aspects of the patron-client relationship. Why, then, did the subjects of my inquiry choose to privilege the sibling bond above any other that may simultaneously have been shared? My answer is that they sought to express the intensity of the connection between them, with recourse to what was ideally the most intimate and lasting link of all: their shared blood.

This paper will examine what the letters reveal about what a sister was, what her duties to her siblings were, and the ways in which communication by letter contributed to the correspondents' definition and experience of sisterhood itself. It examines questions of gender that the letters might raise, comparing the correspondence between

a pair of sisters and a sister-brother pair. I argue that the letters manipulate ideas of sibling-hood and of sisterly and brotherly love and duty in order to define relationships and to create deeper affective bonds. These affective ties would simultaneously contribute to individuals' psychological well-being and constitute the basis for positive diplomatic relations between the rulers of Mantua and Urbino.

Kirsi Salonen – University of Tampere (10D)
"Getting Rid of the Burden of Sins. The Apostolic Penitentiary and Sinners in the Late Middle Ages"

The paper will discuss the role of one of the papal offices, the Apostolic Penitentiary, in granting absolutions to Christians who had incurred excommunication by committing an especially severe sin, like murder or assault of a priest, sacrilege, simony, or severe sexual misconduct.

Rosa Salzberg – Queen Mary College, University of London (4C)
"'Vendens storias et multa alias res'. Tracing Street Pedlars in Sixteenth-Century Italy"

War, famine and political upheaval swelled the size of the floating population, on the streets and roads of sixteenth-century Italy. Looking for ways to make a soldo, the poor and itinerant often turned to ambulant peddling and street-selling of small consumer goods including cheap printed pamphlets and images, soap, medicines and haberdashery, frequently enticing customers with verbal hawking or performances of some kind. Thus, before organised and extensive peddling networks emerged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, more ad hoc street selling and peddling was a common feature of life in Italian cities. These small-time commercial operations grew up around the fringes of established urban trading, in competition or collaboration with permanent sellers. Various sources illuminate what they sold and how they sold it, and in what times and spaces. There was on-going debate about the place of such marginal figures in the social body, and in the urban environment. For example, civic and guild authorities legislated against their incursion into established trades, and sought to control or eliminate altogether their presence in the city. In Florence, the guild of doctors and spice-dealers registered large numbers of small-time street sellers of goods of all sorts; in Venice, we find the mercers' guild, the guild of the printers and booksellers, the health and the blasphemy magistrates at various times preoccupied with their activity. Although difficult to quantify, the activity of such figures forms an important facet of commercial culture in the Renaissance that needs further exploration. This paper considers pedlars of cheap print and other items in sixteenth-century Florence and Venice and seeks to evaluate the social, cultural and economic role of street-sellers in these cities in this crucial period.

Paul Salzman – La Trobe University (9C)
"Anne Clifford: Writing for Oneself/Writing for others"

In this paper I want to explore the way that Anne Clifford's Great Books relate to a series of communities, starting with her household, moving through her immediate family and to their descendants, and then out into the legal and court worlds. I also

want to contrast the unconvivial and in many respects uncongenial Clifford manifested in the great Books with her younger 'self" as revealed in the 1616-19 diary. While the differences between the two diaries are in some way purely fortuitous, I want to analyse the kinds of audience implied by each 'Clifford'. The Clifford of the early diary has been seen as isolated and beleaguered, but the diary also evokes and addresses a circle of intimates, including Clifford's mother. The Great Books, in contrast, establish something like a court for the triumphant Clifford, and they reach out to a widening series of family members, clients, legal experts and 'subjects' in an attempt to reassert Clifford's triumph, not just as an individual, but as a representative of a specific family line. As part of this discussion I want to touch on the differences between the three sets of Great Books and offer some suggestions about how these differences relate to their different implied readers.

Alison V. Scott – University of Queensland (1B)
"Venus' Predatory Trap: Luxury and Enchantment in Early Modern London"

As Gail Kern Paster observes, two "opposing attitudes" of the city emerge in the literature of Jacobean age – in the first it is perceived as "a visionary embodiment of ideal community", and in the other it is deemed "a predatory trap". If the city was a trap, we might simply conclude that its bait was sin. Yet to do so would be to overlook the complexities of relationships among urbane space, commodity culture, and discourses of feminine enchantment in Stuart culture. Contemporary urban satire, for example, often characterizes the lures of the city specifically in terms of luxury; London becomes a kind of bower of bliss with a Venus-Luxuria enchantress at its centre. In Robert Anton's little-read satire "Of Venus" (Philosopher's Satyrs, 1616), then, London is envisaged as a trap for unwary men enticed by the luxurious "sports" of Venus. In Jonson's preface to The Alchemist, meanwhile, London is a fertile hothouse of prostitution and illusion, its unnatural economy effectively rendering the satirist a satiated glutton. What he feeds upon -- as Pennyboy Senior illuminates in The Staple of News – are the vices of a "public riot" that "[p]rostitutes all". His food rots the idealized city as surely as the luxurious sports of Venus "rust" them in Anton's satire. In both cases, we might assume that the community's new venereal disease is money, but the object of the satirist's pen is not merely avarice. Indeed, when early Stuart writers envisage the city of London as a "predatory trap," it is not Money that sits at its centre, luring men and women to avarice; but rather a specter of feminine Luxury, replete with illusions of social distinction, luring men to wasteful ruin, and to the corrosion of ordered urbanity.

Anne M. Scott – ARC Network for Early European Research/University of Western Australia (3D)
"A voice crying in the wilderness': the prophetic role of Will in Piers Plowman"

To retreat to the wilderness is a time-honoured mode of life for those who wish to seek the way of perfection. The character Will in Piers Plowman seems to follow the hermit's life of withdrawal. Yet in the course of the long poem, Langland explores the ambiguities that Will experiences as he tries to live a poor and detached life in the busy and conflicted world of fourteenth-century England. Not only are those who follow a life of religion subject to intense social criticism, but Will himself experiences many of

the temptations that would lay him open to this criticism. At the same time, in his visions, he sets to work the deepest faculties of mind, imagination and emotion, in this experiencing something akin to the visionary processes of solitary fourteenth-century mystics. The poem makes it clear that Will, dressed in sheepskins and often destitute, is on the margins of society, yet from those margins he is able to act as authoritative observer. My paper will explore some of the strands of marginality, solitude and authority experienced by Will in Piers Plowman.

Celia Scott – University of Melbourne (8B)
"Healing Miracles in Early Irish Hagiography"

Healing miracles have long been noted as being central in the construction and portrayal of medieval sanctity, making up nine-tenths of the recorded miracles in both hagiography and at shrines. In contrast to the early medieval continental norms, however, there are relatively few healing miracles in the early Irish *vitae sanctorum*. Previously it has been concluded that for the early Irish "it was no great problem to support the long-term sick: people were prepared to wait until the sick recovered". This paper aims to show that not only is this intrinsically implausible, but also that it is not supported by the evidence. A closer reading of the material indicates that the people of early Ireland did in fact seek out and receive miraculous healing from their saints, but that early Irish clerical writers did not consider this particular miraculous function central when constructing a picture of the saint, their sanctity and their power. Two independent but compatible explanations will be offered as to why there is such a degree of discrepancy between continental and Irish approaches to portrayals of miraculous healing in the *vitae sanctorum*.

Inna Semetsky – University of Newcastle, Australia (3C)
"The language of symbols: history, mystery, philosophy"

This paper addresses the symbolic system of Tarot in terms of its history, mystery and philosophy.

The only factual evidence of the possible origins of Tarot images is the collection of seventeen cards in the Bibliotheque Nationale in Paris, documented in the French Court ledger as dating back to 1392. The collection located at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York contains thirty-five cards from a full deck of seventy-eight, whose origin goes back to the middle of fifteenth century.

However the Tarots might have been circulating the world since much earlier times and only surfaced and attracted attention at the time of the Renaissance and the revival of Gnosticism. Frances Yates notices that the movements of the Renaissance derived their vigour from looking back to the Golden Age and the Hermetic philosophy. Indeed, the Greek God of communication, the messenger Hermes, has been identified with the Egyptian mystical god Thoth, the latter is said to having 'given' his name to a Tarot deck known as the Book of Thoth.

The Egyptian-born Plotinus reconstructed ancient Greek metaphysics by incorporating elements of the Hermetic tradition, thereby founding the system of Neo-platonism. Revived by Marsilo Ficino, Pico della Mirandelo and Giordano Bruno, it informed the Renaissance, since then being manifested in a plurality of forms, including the symbolic representation of this knowledge in the Tarot pictures. Valentin Tomberg

cites sources as diverse as Plato and St. John on the Cross, Zohar and St. Paul, Bergson and Ouspensky, Dionysus and Leibniz, St. Augustine and Teihard de Chardin, as representatives of the ancient mystical, Hermetic, thinking.

This paper is devoted to a certain de-mystification of the ancient mystery by means of constructing a metaphysical (semiotic) framework that explains the functioning of the Tarot.

Pam Sharpe – University of Tasmania (12A)
"On the Beach: Scientific Dreams and Aspirations in Eighteenth-Century Nevis and Van Diemen's Land"

This paper looks at the development of scientific dreams and aspirations on the geographical limits of the eighteenth-century British colonial world by considering the shell collecting activities of William Smith in Nevis in the Caribbean and George Harris here in Van Diemen's Land. It will examine how these men developed scientific reputations while they had more mundane business to undertake in the colonies. What do they tell us about ambition and reputation in conchology or the articulation between these men's daily lives and their aspirations about the future? The paper looks at conflicts between conservation and consumption and how evident these already were in the eighteenth-century world.

Peter Sherlock – Melbourne College of Divinity (10A)
"The Monuments of Westminster Abbey"

Westminster Abbey is home to some six hundred monuments, from the tombs of the saint-king Edward the Confessor and his royal progeny, through military and cultural icons, to the recent statues of twelve twentieth-century martyrs. This paper will introduce my new project: the first attempt to produce a history of the Abbey monuments. Since 1600 antiquaries have produced catalogues of the tombs, but none of these analyses what kinds of people are buried there, who organised their commemoration, and what their monuments attempt to communicate. My key concern is to examine how the expression of memory shapes and is shaped by conceptions of national identity and destiny, and how such expressions develop over an entire millennium. A secondary concern is the nature of cultural tourism from the sixteenth century onwards. The particular focus of this paper will be the evolution of the Abbey in the Elizabethan period as a major site of monumental commemoration.

Charlotte Smith – University of Melbourne (2B)
"Ottoman Dress in Sixteenth-Century German Print"

Costume books and Encyclopaedia serve as important sources for understanding the visual construction of the Turk in early modern Germany. In particular, they show how artists used costume studies to explain fundamental aspects of the history and structure of the Ottoman Empire and its peoples. Of great influence on these German representations were costume illustrations produced in Constantinople and brought back to Europe. These books have, however, been little studied. This paper will focus on representations of the Ottomans and their subjects in encyclopaedic works of the

sixteenth century, whether costume studies, chronicles or histories. It will especially consider their relationship to the costume studies brought to Europe from Constantinople created by both Ottoman and European artists.

Julie Ann Smith – University of Sydney (2D)
"One Rule and Life in the House of the Lord: the First Rule for Dominican Nuns"

The requirement of the second Lateran Council that all nuns were to follow either the Benedictine or Augustinian Rule was extended at Lateran IV to include all monastics. While most women's orders were placed under the Benedictine Rule, St Dominic chose the Augustinian Rule as the basis for the nun's *religio*. This was a remarkable choice, as St Augustine had premised his rule on an apostolic lifestyle and had not required enclosure for either men or women, yet strict enclosure had come to be considered essential for the spiritual welfare of nuns by the 13th century. Shortly before his death Dominic formulated an *instituta* for the nuns of the new monastery of San Sisto in Rome in which he imposed strict enclosure. This paper will explore the implications for Dominican nuns of observing the apostolic spirit of the Augustinian Rule whilst also living under the strict enclosure that Dominic had prescribed.

Michelle Smith – University of Auckland (3F)
"Manly Women and Heroes in Drag: Gender-Bending and Medieval Scottish Identity"

Scottish history and literature are littered with the real and fictitious heroic deeds of both men and women. However, it is usually the actions of men that dominate with women often cast into the passive role of the romantic heroine. Today, there are those who believe that Scottish history is "so insistently male in construction" that women's experiences "cannot be fitted into any narrative founded on the nation," (Cairns Craig). What I intend to argue is that this is not true. Whilst there is a definite masculine focus in the chronicles and literature of the period, by looking at both masculinity and femininity one sees a different perspective of Scottish history that contributes to building more knowledge around how gender fits with the construct of the Scottish nation. This paper will briefly look at two examples of heroic action; the cross-dressing of William Wallace in Blind Hary's epic poem and the actions of defence by Agnes Dunbar in historical chronicles. How these episodes in such nationalistic writings were gendered, and what this contributes to Scottish identity at the time, will also be discussed.

Rosalind Smith – University of Newcastle, Australia (10C)
"Gallows confession and female lyric subjectivity"

This paper examines a body of female complaints within gallows confessions that were widely circulated as broadside black letter ballads in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Through an analysis of these texts, it argues that popular literature is a productive but underused resource in the critical field surrounding early modern women's writing, particularly in reading texts currently perceived as marginal, idiosyncratic or inauthentic. These complaints offer a model of feminine lyric subjectivity that is surprisingly unfamiliar in a critical field that privileges early modern

women's production of their own authority, whether social, political or textual. The female subjects of gallows confession are visceral, emotional and concerned with the material practices of everyday life, and are constructed through the affective appeal of early modern sensationalism. Although female complaints of this kind were widely circulated in the period, their influence upon women's writing has been obscured: both by early modern women's textual practice in other courtly cultural forms and, until recently, by the critical focus on those elite forms by scholars of early modern women's writing. This paper is interested in the ways in which these female lyric subjects, less securely linked to early modern women's historical bodies than other forms of women's writing in the period, might provide a glimpse of another kind of early modern woman writer: one very familiar to her contemporaries, but misrecognised or pointedly ignored by new historicist critics who have sought to privilege early modern women's textual and political agency.

Kathryn Smithies – University of Melbourne (11A)
"Petticoats, deception and wilful blindness: Lessons in morality from the old French fabliau"

The old French fabliau is a collection of approximately 150 short, humorous and frequently ribald tales composed between c.1150-c.1340. They are often mocking in nature, depicting stereotypical characters: the lecherous priest, the wanton wife, the greedy merchant or the cuckolded husband. Yet, despite their label as a 'popular' genre, many of the fabliau share their storylines with the exempla of the sermon literature. Whilst scholars do not deny the didactic qualities of the exempla, fabliau scholars, however, are divided as to whether or not these ribald tales do have a didactic purpose. Of those scholars who do consider the fabliau to have an instructional element they have primarily concentrated on the addendum as a means of instruction.

In this paper, I intend to focus on the fabliau narrative as a didactic conduit and compare one specific fabliau, The Petticoat, to two analogous, though exemplar tales, one from the Gesta Romanorum, the other from the Disciplina Clericalis; each tale contains an act of deception. I will explore how the lesson from the Gesta exemplum, when applied to the two other tales, can offer several new didactic interpretations based on different constructs of blindness: blind to the truth embodied in the Christian faith, an anti-clerical blindness and the blindness of humankind. Focusing predominantly on the fabliau I will discuss how medieval constructs of blindness and deception appear related and how the fabler conceivably constructed his ribald tale within a Christian paradigm.

Nicholas Sparks – Fitzwilliam College, Cambridge (2A)
"The Parker Chronicle, chronology gone awry"

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle cannot be viewed critically until we consider the different modes of reckoning assumed into its narrative. I propose to examine the number of alternatives in matters of chronology found in the version of the 'common-stock' in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 173, also known as the Parker Chronicle. I shall demonstrate how the Chronicle's annalistic framework was a defining feature of medieval historiography which synchronized different modes of reckoning into the smooth, linear progression of time. The concept of a continuous chronicle will be shown

to be a carefully worked out model designed to ensure the coherence of narrative rather than preserve the accurate chronology of dates and time. Omissions, discrepancies, and dislocations are skillfully woven into the visible framework of annals producing an account that breaches the unity of time in order to serve the unity of action.

Emily Sutherland – Flinders University (11D)
"Searching for Brigid"

There are three Brigids who were prominent in early Irish history. The first is the goddess Brigid who represented poetry and wisdom. The second was Brigid Bethra the Law-giver. who lived about the time of Christ. The third is St Brigid (b. 451) who is noted for her missionary work and for founding abbeys and schools. This paper will explore the influence each Brigid had on the status of women in medieval Ireland, as evidenced in the laws governing marriage and ownership of property. In contrast, women in France at that same period, enjoyed far less freedom and privilege.

Francisc Szekely – University of Auckland (George Yule prize – Friday 5:20-5:55pm)
"Unreliable Observers: Early Microscopy and the Problem of Specimen Manipulation"

The paper examines the narrative discourse characteristic of early microscopic observations, and asks an important question: whether the microscopists of late seventeenth century and beginning of eighteenth century were capable of giving reliable accounts of facts largely unknown to their audience. The argument looks at works by Robert Hooke, Henry Power and Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, and tries to identify the prominent features of each of these microscopists' style of writing and manner of manipulating the specimens. The paper will refer to what Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer have called "the fabrication of evidence": use of witnesses, argumentation through matters of fact, highlighting of measurements and evaluations; in other words: aspects that make a set scientific account trustworthy. On the other hand, the three early microscopists under scrutiny will be seen through their manifest unreliability. Robert Hooke, for instance, used to embellish his specimens too much, and the drawings he attached to his major work, Micrographia (1665), are extremely idealized. In a similar way, Henry Power's descriptions are characterized by a Baroque display of details and an excessive beautification of the specimens. The Dutch Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, one of the most prolific microscopists employed by the Royal Society of London at this turn of the century, presents other striking peculiarities that cast doubts on his credibility: he had no formal scientific education, knew no Latin (the language of educated scientists) or English (the language of his audience) and when it came to visual representations he always employed artists who reproduced on paper what he had seen through his microscope. Cumulated, these characteristics will point out the major shortcomings of early microscopy and will bring forward the reliability of the two major preconditions of scientific representation, as sketched by Robert Hooke: "a sincere Hand, and a faithful Eye".

Julja I. Szuster – Elder Conservatorium, University of Adelaide (3B)
"Music and morality in late 17th century Rome"

In the latter years of the 17th century there emerged in Rome a particular fascination with the production of moral cantatas, written by some of the best-known poets of the mannerist school and set to music by composers associated with the courts of high-ranking clerics and Queen Christina of Sweden. These moral cantatas for solo singers were invariably non-religious tales or legends that were morally edifying to the audience and commissioned for private performance by cardinals and other high-ranking church prelates.

The paper discusses the role and function of this repertoire as well as identifying the literary sources and commissioners, and exploring some specific editorial challenges. Alessandro Stradella wrote eight moral cantatas when he was at the height of his popularity in Rome in the 1670s. Stradella was famously murdered by an unknown assassin in Genoa in 1682, at the age of 43: stabbed to death for what was assumed to be a revenge for some sexual misdeed committed at an earlier time. There were a number of operas, plays, novels and poems written about Stradella in the 19th century, due the legends surrounding his life. But very few of his works are known or performed today, due to the unavailability of his music in modern editions.

Stradella's moral cantatas provide the focus for a discussion on the concept of "morality" in the cultural life of counter-reformation Rome in the late 17th Century.

The author is a member of a team of musicologists currently engaged in the editing and publication of over 300 compositions by Stradella for the Edizione Nazionale dell'Opera di Alessandro Stradella under the general editorship of Professor Carolyn Gianturco, University of Pisa.

Jason Taliadoros – Monash University (8D)
"Rule and Revelation in Ricardus: The Use of Law and Theology in the Twelfth-century *Distinctiones decretorum* of Ricardus Anglicus"

The Anglo-Norman canonist Ricardus Anglicus (aka de Mores or de Morins) (d. 1242) features prominently in Brian Tierney's landmark account of the beginnings of 'rights language' in twelfth-century post-Gratian canon law commentators (*The Idea of Natural Rights*, 1997). But as Giulio Silano's 1982 PhD thesis argues, Ricardus was as interested in biblical theology as he was in canon law, a product of his time in the Parisian schools. How then did his influential commentary on Gratian's *Decretum*, the *Distinctiones decretorum* (composed in the 1190s) – and one of the key sources in Tierney's thesis – use theological concepts in this legal context? And further, what does this combination of law and theology mean in terms of understanding Ricardus's comments on *ius*, or medieval notions of the idea of 'individual rights'? This paper attempts to explore these issues in the context of a wider examination of the interaction of law and theology in the mid- to later twelfth-century, particularly in the schools, courts, and *familia* of England. Such an examination attempts to contribute to our understanding of the content and contexts of pre-modern notions of individual and 'human' rights.

Stephanie Trigg –University of Melbourne (6D)
"Transgression, perversion, and fanaticism": Postmodern medieval conditions"

In The Premodern Condition, Bruce Holsinger draws a contrast between contemporary culture, where "the Middle Ages represent a semiotically rich site of transgression, perversion, and fanaticism", and the 1960s avant-garde, whose theorists disclose a medieval "archive of cultural and intellectual production". But is the contrast really this strong?

And does it signal a historical shift from the 1960s to the present or, rather, the longstanding divide between popular culture and high theory? This paper will explore the implications of Holsinger's book for our reading of contemporary and popular medievalism, paying particular attention to the persistent division between the world of high theory and the world of postmodern medievalist pastiche.

Jared van Duinen – University of New South Wales (7B)
"English Erastianism, Calvinism, and Dissident Action under Charles I"

Erastianism in a seventeenth century English (British) context is the precept that the ecclesiastical sphere should be subject to the authority of the civil magistrate. As such, it is very closely associated to the English concept of the royal supremacy. Probably the most famous English Erastian of the seventeenth century is Thomas Hobbes and for this reason the precept has often been associated with ideas of monarchical absolutism and royalism generally. However, in the wake of the burgeoning clericalism ushered in by William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the 1630s, Erastianism was often utilised by godly Calvinists as a means of resistance to Laudianism. As Charles I closely associated himself with, and often explicitly approved of, this Laudian ecclesiology, resistance to Laudianism increasingly blurred with resistance to Charles. This paper will explore the ways in which Erastianism – what was ostensibly and most commonly a royalist concept – was appropriated by Charles's critics and employed against him in the years leading up to the outbreak of the English Civil War. In this way, it will shed light on the interrelationship between religion and secular politics in the seventeenth century more broadly.

Jacqueline Van Gent – University of Western Australia (9A)
"Necrologies of children"

See entry for Susan Broomhall.

Darius von Guettner – University of Melbourne (9D)
"The Christianisation of Prussia: politics and war"

The gradual spread of Christianity in Europe meant that by the twelfth century pagan Prussia had become a frontier where the borderlands' inhabitants were increasingly defined in terms of religion. This paper explores successive attempts to bring the Cross to the Prussians before the arrival of the Teutonic Knights in 1230 and in particular the interrelationship between mission, just war and politics.

Claire Walker – University of Adelaide (9A)
"Nuns' letters and convent documents"

See entry for Merridee Bailey.

Katherine Wallace – National University of Singapore (3B)
"Muses and Sirens- Petrarchan Images of Performing Women"

Italy in the sixteenth century was fascinated with the female singing voice. Whether listening to Venetian courtesans, ruling duchesses, *concerte delle donne*, Milanese nuns, *commedia dell'arte* actresses or virtuosic ladies-in-waiting, chroniclers and eyewitnesses outdo each other in describing the exquisite vocal beauty of these female singers. Despite the very different social contexts and musical styles, two metaphors occur over and over again, establishing a dual image of the performing woman as alluring siren and angelic muse. The frequent use of such imagery is evidence of the cultural saturation of poetic conceits which have shaped Italian rhetoric since the fourteenth century, particularly those of Ovid and Petrarch, reflecting the highly developed social and literary construct of the courtly lady. The prevalent image of muse and siren, found in performance reception literature, musical and poetic dedications, theoretical treatises and in the song texts themselves, also reveals contemporary gender biases which colored the perception of and response to female singers and the female singing voice. This paper will explore the bipartite epithet of "muse and siren" within the discourse of patriarchal gender construction, a dialectic which combines the divine transcendence of the ideal courtly lady and the physical allurement of the sexually available performing woman. It will also present in performance a few of the lute songs whose texts embody this dichotomy, and discuss the delicately balanced position of the female performer in Renaissance society.

John O. Ward – University of Sydney (7E)
"European Philology and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance"

This paper begins by defining "philology" – one of the supreme accomplishments of the human mind – and takes as axiomatic that a considerable aspect of a "Renaissance" in European history will be found to have been the attainment of new levels of interest in and competence concerning the great texts of past ages, real or invented, from the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* to Dante's *Divine Comedy* and beyond. Of especial interest in this regard are the surviving classics of the Graeco-Roman past. These "classics" are largely the result of the Carolingian "Renaissance", but attention to them has characterized the "revivals" known as the "twelfth-century renaissance" and the "Italian Renaissance" in European history. I demonstrate this by looking at some traditional classic texts on the twelfth-century Renaissance (including those by Haskins, Paré-Bouvet-Tremblay, Ghellinck, Heer, Manitius) and briefly glancing at scholarship on the Italian Renaissance, but I then note how in recent classics on the twelfth-century Renaissance (among others, by Otten, Godman, Mews, Moore and Evans), the emphasis has shifted and the canvas broadened to include the body, gender, monstrosities and related topics. I note how the same phenomenon has occurred in studies of the Italian Renaissance. I then look more closely at the phenomenon of philology and humanism in the "renaissance of the twelfth century" to find that it conforms less to our own

definitions of philology and humanism – descended as these are from the Italian Renaissance and the heyday of philology in the nineteenth century – and more to pragmatic concerns popularized lately in Jardine and Grafton's *From Humanism to the Humanities*. I illustrate the – by our standards – shortcomings of twelfth-century humanism and philology from the glosses on Cicero's *Rhetoric* and the *Polyhistor* of William of Malmesbury. I conclude by "revising" our assessment of the "twelfth-century Renaissance" in the light of my conclusions regarding philology and humanism.

Lawrence Warner – University of Sydney (12B)
"Was Chaucer Langland? A New Eighteenth-Century Candidate for the Author of Piers Plowman"

Until Thomas Tyrwhitt's proposal of 1775, for the wrong reasons, that one "William Langland" wrote Piers Plowman, the most widely-cited candidates were "Robert Langland," as proposed by Bale, or "John Malverne," Stow's idea. But there was another widely-known candidate too, though he has never been mentioned in our modern histories of the scholarship of the poem or the authorship debate. This is Geoffrey Chaucer. To be sure, it is well known that Leland had referred to "the tale of Piers Plowman, which by the common consent of the learned is attributed to Chaucer as its true author has been suppressed in each edition," but there is no evidence that he was thinking of the poem we call Piers Plowman; his likely referent was the spurious "Plowman's Tale," which would be incorporated into Thynne's 1542 edition of the Canterbury Tales. But at least one major figure early in the eighteenth century proposed Chaucer as the author of Piers Plowman itself, another (Tyrwhitt) plagiarized this claim for different ends (ie to propose William Langland), and a third, I will suggest, had this in mind when over some two decades he mocked the belief in all three major candidates without ever offering his alternative. This paper will for the most part tell this story. It will also suggest some ways in which this intriguing episode sheds light on our own concepts of authorship and the nature of textuality.

Katherine Watson – University of Sydney (10E)
"The Chivalric World – Natural or Not?: The Pre-History of English Poetry"

The eighteenth century Romanticist, Thomas Warton, saw medieval chivalric practices as being so 'inspirational' as to affect a change in humanity, bringing 'savage and ignorant people' to a state of 'gallantry and civility' (Thomas Warton, *Observations on the Fairy Queen of Spenser*, 1762, II, p. 267). He found that these practices were evident in early Arthurian romances, such as Malory's Morte Arthur (Warton, 1762, I, p. 19), and argued that both chivalry itself and stories about it had persisted into Elizabethan times, influencing writers such as Edmund Spenser. But how could he justify this argument when, at the same time, he was investing heavily in the popular idea that the very essence of romantic writing was its occupation with the unreal world: the world of 'unnatural events, the machinations of imaginary beings, and adventures entertaining only as they were improbable' (Warton, 1762, I, p.1). Warton ascribes the manifestation of imagination in English literature to Eastern influences, and tries to pinpoint its arrival in the West, looking to the Crusaders, and even back to the Trojans. He finds traces of its effect in English architecture and, using this as a rhetorical trope

for the progress of literature, devises a plan for the early history of English poetry. So where does English poetry begin?

Suzanne Wijsman – University Western Australia (3D)
"Wild Men in Hebrew Manuscript Art of the Late Middle Ages"

Images of the wild man—the hairy and powerful mythological figure who lived in the forest or wilderness, outside the bounds and rules of civilized medieval Christian society—occur frequently in figurative art of the late Middle Ages. Found in engravings, manuscript illuminations, monumental sculpture, tapestries, wood carvings and metalwork, when portrayed as an active figure he exhibits a wide range of characteristics: menacing, uncontrolled in his passions, violent, withdrawn from society or penitent to the point of debasement, images of wild men express extreme states of being; as Timothy Husband puts it: the wild man was "the abstract concept of 'noncivilization' rendered as a fearful physical reality". When represented in a more passive mode as appears often in heraldic art of the later Middle Ages, the very characteristics associated with the wild man that previously had such negative connotations are transformed, becoming emblematic of power, strength and fertility

Despite the many iconographical correspondences between illuminated Hebrew manuscripts and medieval Christian art, including their shared repertoire of motifs and stylistic features, wild men appear very rarely in Hebrew manuscripts. We find representations of wild men in five Hebrew manuscripts, dating between c.1370-1480. Of these manuscripts, images of wild men in four may be classified as the heraldic type, with the wild men in a passive pose flanking and supporting shields, text blocks or initial word panels. One manuscript, an Ashkenazic prayer book (*siddur*) made in Germany in 1471, the wild man appears in a completely different way: adapted to a Jewish context, wild men are depicted in an active mode in two illustrations, both of which serve as glosses on accompanying texts. Because this highly decorated and illuminated manuscript was not a commissioned work, having been copied by the scribe for personal family use, the two images of wild men in this manuscript gain extra significance. The likelihood that the owner-scribe directed the decoration program or even executed the artwork himself means that the iconography in this manuscript expresses his unique and personal perspective, and one which may reflect a Jewish adaptation and unconventional reinterpretation of the notion of "wildness".

This paper will discuss the wild man motif as it appears in these five Hebrew manuscripts, its derivation from the art of the surrounding Christian cultures, and the reinterpretation of the wild man image in this Jewish liturgical context.

Kim Wilkins – University of Queensland (8A)
"Cutting off the head of the king: Australian fantasy fiction's struggle with unsettlement"

My paper begins by asking why Australian fantasy fiction, which draws on many European mythologies, has largely avoided local, Aboriginal mythology. I will argue that medievalism, particularly the representation of feudal political structures, is central to the expectations that readers, writers, and institutions bring to the fantasy fiction genre. A model of what Foucault called "sovereign power" is starkly at odds with the discourses Australian society employs to deal with Aboriginal issues. These discourses

are complex and heterogeneous: one need only call to mind the debates about Aboriginal spirituality that surrounded the Hindmarsh Island affair. Rather than see such plurality as negative, Gelder and Jacobs see "unsettlement" as "a productive feature of the postcolonial landscape" (*Uncanny Australia* xvi).

Sovereign power and productive unsettlement do not play well together. When a fantasy fiction text is forced to grapple with this antagonism, that text risks not reproducing its genre at all. To demonstrate, I will analyse two Australian fantasy fiction texts that have attempted to represent Aboriginal mythology: Sean Williams's *The Storm Mage and the Sea*, and Traci Harding's *Book of Dreams*.

Andrea Williams – University of Sydney (3A)
"Is Lancelot the true hero of the quest for the Holy Grail? Some illuminated manuscripts of *La Queste del Saint Graal*"

This paper considers how the Grail is depicted (textually and iconographically) in French manuscripts from the 13th to the 15th centuries, examining in particular the scene from *La Queste del Saint Graal* in which Lancelot finds himself unable to respond to the presence of the Holy Vessel when it appears in answer to the prayers of an ailing knight in the Gaste Lande. This episode is particularly significant in its connection with others in the narrative (especially Lancelot's Grail vision at Corbenic) and the question naturally arises as to whether such parallels are reflected in the iconography, and what this in turn might tell us about the relationships between text and image in these manuscripts.

Michael Woodcock – University of Western Australia (11C)
"Political Aspirations or Individual Integrity? The Masculine Worlds of *Henry V*"

In film William Shakespeare's *Henry V (1599)* has been constructed as a patriotic hymn to both the fallen and the valour of fighting a 'just' war as in the film of *Henry V* (1944) directed and starring Lawrence Olivier. It has also been created as a polemic against the futility and chaos of war as in the film of *Henry V* (1989) directed and starring Kenneth Branagh. Both directors describe a wild young king reaching maturity who comes to grips with the serious nature of Kingship and of the decisions such Kingship entails, thereby constructing a relationship with Shakespeare's time and political culture. However each represent different kings with different preoccupations and in doing so they depict the life and times of different ages. Both films also reflect something of their times and of the masculine preoccupations of their period. Through visual imagery both films continue a tradition demonstrated by Peter Brook aged twenty in 1946. Brook, in this production of *Love's Labour's Lost* starring an unknown Paul Scofield for the newly created Royal Shakespeare Company created what he called a 'visual corrective,'* a quality that he said would cut across the centuries. Through representations of manhood and the masculine world both films give their audiences a completely new relationship, or conversation with which to engage. This as Stephen Greenblatt argues is an exchange of textual traces, 'from one culturally demarcated zone to another'†. This presentation examines how the representation of the masculine culture of 1599, 1944 and 1989 impacts on the representation of *Henry V* in the script and the two films of *Henry V*.

* Dennis Kennedy. *Looking at Shakespeare*. Cambridge University Press. 2001 p166.
† Greenblatt, Stephen. *Shakespeare Negotiations*. University of California Press. Berkeley 1988, p. 7.

Helen Young – University of Sydney (3F)
"'Des gestes des Englays': A Narrative of Englishness in Anglo-Norman"

Modern examinations of how England and Englishness are constructed in late medieval chronicles are generally restricted to works in Middle English, or occasionally, in Latin. Works in Anglo-Norman, the other vernacular of medieval England, however, were often also produced under the same or very similar social and cultural conditions and so might be expected to have like concerns. Robert Mannyng of Brunne's Story of England has featured in many discussions of Englishness in the early fourteenth century, but his chief source for the post-British era of history, Pierre de Langtoft's Chronicle, has received relatively little attention.

This paper will argue that Langtoft's work is deeply concerned with representing Englishness, and the English, positively. It will show that the model of history followed departs significantly from what had gone before it in its construction of the English as a race, focussing on the depiction of the Norman Conquest. The dominant discourse of history in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw the immediately pre-Conquest English as sunken into moral decay, and presented the Conquest as their punishment. Langtoft departs from this model to offer a construction in which the English were ancestors to be remembered, not rejected, as part of history. This paper will argue that the modern tendency to connect interest in English identity with the English vernacular is misplaced by demonstrating the ways that Langtoft's Anglo-Norman work is concerned with this issue.

Tomas Zahora – Monash University (8D)
"Moral education, Aristotle's Ethics and the Potential for Heresy at the Beginning of the Thirteenth Century"

The arrival of new translations of Aristotelian texts in Western Europe in the second half of the twelfth century was by no means a straightforward process. Scholarly responses ranged from enthusiastic acceptance to equally enthusiastic condemnation as intellectuals faced the dilemma of balancing the traditional reverence due to Aristotle with the unsettling implications of his works on ethics, metaphysics and natural philosophy. One of those scholars was the English Augustinian canon Alexander Neckam (1157-1217), whose encyclopaedic and theological works will be the focus of this presentation. Neckam's interest in natural phenomena and his awareness of the works of the Salernitan masters and the new translations of Aristotle earned him an important place in medieval historiography as a crucial link between the Platonizing tendencies of the twelfth century and the scholastic innovations of the thirteenth. But Neckam was above all a moralist keenly interested, among other things, in the in the state of *mores* among scholars. The arrival of the new Aristotle provided him and his contemporaries with the dual challenge of distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable Aristotelian ideas, and of exploring the moral implications of scholars' examination of texts that were potentially ruinous for their spiritual well-being. Neckam's rejection of Aristotle's theory of virtue, and the associations he makes

between Aristotle, Pelagian heresy and the secular masters teaching in the urban schools, bring us to the heart of a major debate at the turn of the thirteenth century. The consistency and clarity of Neckam's rejection of Aristotle's ethics offers us a clear insight into the methods and attitudes of theologians writing at the beginning of the thirteenth century and helps explain the reasoning behind his contemporaries' often seemingly contradictory reactions to the newly accessible corpus of Aristotelian texts.

Charles Zika – University of Melbourne (5C)
"The Biblical Witch of Endor in Late Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts"

The biblical figure of the witch of Endor has been given little attention by historians and art historians. She is the woman who conjured up the ghost of Samuel on behalf of king Saul, heard Samuel's announcement that Saul had been abandoned by God and that he and his three sons would die in battle on the following day, and then revived and comforted the traumatised king by preparing him a meal. The story features prominently in early modern European religious discourse. It is a critical biblical exemplum found in almost all early modern writings on visions and ghostly apparitions, divining, magic and witchcraft. The woman of Endor is also the most commonly depicted witch figure in European culture.

Medieval illustrations of the story have been thought to be rare and uncomplicated images – little more than a prelude to the new interest in the story and its iconography in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stimulated by widespread concern over the diabolical power of witchcraft. In this paper I shall attempt to show that such claims are quite inadequate: the story is widely and variously disseminated through texts and images in the late middle ages.

The paper will examine different versions of the story, its manuscript transmission and pictorial representation from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries – such as in the World Chronicle of Rudolf von Ems and of Heinrich of Munich, in various History Bibles, and in the Historia Scholastica of Petrus Comestor. I shall explore the variety of meanings in such texts and their illustrative cycles, and how these reflect changing attitudes towards magic and necromancy, as well as to the role of Saul as a biblical warning for later Christian societies.

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Elizabeth Freeman (co-convenor)
Martin Grimmer
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