Keynote: "Passion, Lament, Glory: Moving the Passions Through Performance" – Professor Jane Davidson

Twenty-first century perceptions of Baroque religious music are often described as being "beautiful," "spiritual," "restful," and "uplifting." For many, a preference for the musical genre also signifies an expression of social and cultural sophistication. Given that much of this music was originally written for an educated elite, social status and style were clearly aspects that shaped reception of this music. A strong difference exists, however, between the eighteenth century ceremonial practices integral to those religious works and our modern day consumption of the same music. Understanding Baroque religious music as apprehended in its historical context, and attempting to communicate at least some of its emotional intension to a modern day audience is a complex challenge. What, if any, of the historical emotions can be stirred in modern spectators of Baroque religious repertoire? In this paper, a history of emotions analysis is coupled with perceptual feedback from twenty-first century performers and their audience to offer some answers to this question. The discussion focuses around a production devised by the current author entitled *Passion, Lament, Glory* that combined music by Handel and Pergolesi to explore the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, performed at St Paul's Cathedral in Melbourne. Compositionally, emotional representation is conveyed through musical means as well as being expressed in the singers' words. When enacted, this meaning is clarified through physical and visual means. What happens when a modern enactment provides a perceptual experience that may have stronger emotional resonances to the original, yet be at odds with the audience's overarching expectations of Baroque religious music and its emotional meaning and expressive power? What happens when confronted through musico-theatrical means by pain and grief in a manner that not only clarifies the meaning of acts such as scourging and crucifixion, but also draws parallel to modern day social and political events in which similar acts have been perpetrated?

Parallel Session 8

a. *Complaint and the Early Modern Woman Writer II*

"The permeable boundaries of early modern women's prison literature: A case study of Lady Katherine Grey" – Kelly Peihopa

Recent scholarship has highlighted the under-researched genre of early modern prison literature, claiming that prison writings were reinvented and revived in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to become a central cultural and literary form in the period. Some of history's most significant writers and thinkers emerged from prison, with the foundation of several works patterned after canonical prison writers such as St Paul and Boethius, whose carceral experiences were a crucible for literary expression through various forms of confinement rhetoric. As systematic incarceration emerged and evolved, the boundaries enforced were porous, with varying degrees of confinement, including house arrest, part of the prison experience. Similarly, the category of prison writing by women is also permeable and unbounded: their work under-researched and generally not considered in the categories that define prison literature. Literary history itself tends to place boundaries on the woman prison writer, favouring nineteenth-century constructions of the "myth" of the incarcerated woman through representations of tragic poetic verse carved on a wall, or a forged love sonnet. In my paper I will begin to redefine the categories and expand the boundaries of early modern women's prison literature through a case study of the use of feminine confinement rhetoric and complaint by Lady Katherine Grey (1540-68), who wrote petitions, love letters, graffiti and inscribed messages on jewellery during her prolonged house arrest. Through examining Grey's writings and drawing upon the earliest precursors of prison literature, this research asks questions about its rhetorical sophistication across a range of forms and how women's prison literature might expand our understanding of writing under conditions of confinement, reinventing this tradition through new contexts.

"Crying and Laughing with Mary Wroth" – Paul Salzman

In this paper I will be exploring the relationship between Mary Wroth's play *Love's Victory* and her prose romance *Urania*, with an emphasis on how genre interacts with the representation of female complaint and what I am calling narrative alternatives. All of Wroth's writing can be seen as part of the construction of a highly politicised world, which reimagines personal details of Wroth herself, her family, and the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts. I am especially interested in how *Love's Victory* replays both Wroth's personal and her political situation with a (fantasised) positive conclusion, where *Urania* offers in contrast constantly recurring 'solutions', political and personal, which keep falling short. Wroth is, I want to argue, especially interested in split genres: for example, tragicomedy, or what I see as a new hybrid genre that combines complaint and resignation to produce something like a dialectic of political/personal intervention.

"Complaining About the Past in Margaret Cavendish's *Playes* (1662)" – Diana G. Barnes

Although Margaret Cavendish claims in the opening dedicatory poem that her plays were drawn from her own mind ('My brain the Stage') and translated to the page for her own pleasure, as others have argued, the volume serves more than a personal need for artistic expression. As a whole Cavendish's collection of plays engage in royalist renewal of a genre that had been politicized by the closure of the theatres in 1642. Cavendish conceives of that renewal in terms of reasserting generic order. Describing how her plays should be treated when read aloud she explains that 'Playes must be read to the nature of those several humours, or passions, as are exprest by Writing'. What she is getting at here is not simply

bad acting, or misreading of her plays, but generic decorum, that is, the appropriate alignment of discourse, emotion and literary form. She continues 'Comedies should be read a Mimick way, and the sound of their Voice must be according to the sense of the Scene; and as for Tragedies, or Tragick Scenes, they must not be read in a pueling whining Voice, but a sad serious Voice, as deploring or complaining'. This paper will argue that the female complaint, an established feature of English history plays of the pre-war period, is key to Cavendish's dramatic recasting of the recent history of civil war and interregnum in her collection *Playes* (1662).

b. *Categories of Conflict 2: Early Modernity*

"War, Politics and Inheritance in the Auld Alliance: A Review of the Inheritance of Sir John Stewart of Darnley's French Titles following his death in 1429" – Elizabeth Bonner

On 12th February 1429 Sir John Stewart of Darnley, Lord of Aubigny and Concressault, Count of Evreux and Constable of the Scottish army in France, was slain at the battle of Rouvray, colloquially known as the battle of the Herrings, when he and his brother Sir William Stewart of Castlemilk who was also slain, were attempting to relieve the Siege of Orléans. This paper will review the sequence of events regarding Charles VII's intervention in the inheritance of Sir John Stewart's French offices and titles, which led to the establishment of the Lennox-Stuart/Stewart family in France until 1672. Until recently there has been an histigraphical difference of opinion as to whether Sir John's son and heir, Alan, was (as the French in the twentieth-century would have it) or was not (as the eighteenth-and nineteenth-century Scottish and English Antiquarians had claimed) the 2nd seigneur d'Aubigny, a fascinating original and unpublished document has come to light. A full transcription, however, of the *'Lettres de l'Amortissement de biens du Priorié d'Aubigny'* in 1437 by Alan Stewart, reveals that the French were correct, although this document was probably not available to the Antiquarians at the time. Recent research into the private 'Stuart' archive at the Château de La Verrerie, however, reveals a number of certified copies of original documents which demonstrate the rationale and legal mechanisms by which Charles VII intervened in 1437 regarding the inheritance of Sir Alan Stewart of Darnley's seigneuries of Aubigny and Concressault by his youngest brother John. These certified copies of the original 1437 document are important as they set a precedent for the subsequent inheritance and legal transfer of these titles, which were approved again by Charles VII, Louis XI and by Francis I that transferred the title to the Scottish Lennox-Stuarts/Stewarts in the sixteenth century. In time they were to become possibly the single most important family involved in the politics and diplomacy of the monarchies and government in the kingdoms of Scotland, France and England during the entire fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

"Strange and hideous cries: Besieged communities during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms" – Jane Fitzgerald

Early modern sieges formed distinctive emotional sites for besieged communities, who became trapped observers, as well as targeted and incidental recipients of violence and privation.[1] This paper will focus on several of the many sieges that occurred during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, including the sieges of Basing House in England and the Castle of Catherlagh in Ireland. The spectre of a siege conjures up a surrounded and fixed space, representing relative safety for the inhabitants, or perhaps a less pleasant atmosphere of confinement, an early modern form of claustrophobia. In addition to their condition of confinement, civilians were also subject to the violence wrought through hunger and other

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[1] Martha Pollak, *Cities at war in early modern Europe*, (Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 109-110. Charles Carlton, *Going to the wars: the experience of the British civil wars, 1638-1651*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 309.

forms of privation during a long siege. Further, besieged communities had to contend with the knowledge that, 'by the laws of siege warfare, any garrison which put the other side to the trouble of taking it by storm, was not entitled to expect quarter.' This paper will analyse representations of those emotions most in evidence in civilians – generally fear-related anxieties associated with privation (hunger and thirst), and exposure to violence, or the threat of violence (peril).

Significantly, an analysis of communities under siege reveals a great deal about encounters between civilians and combatants, including their forced coexistence in everyday life and coming face to face during stormings, and the inevitable emotional effects of these confrontations. This is borne out by Martha Pollak's observation that sieges were 'the most dramatic and direct civilian confrontation with the military.'[2]

"War by other means: The British economic diplomacy in Spain: actors, networks, and enemies (1783-1796)" – Claire Rioult

Much has been written about the economic and commercial dimension of the conflict between Great Britain, France and Spain in the last decades of the eighteenth century. If these studies often emphasise the imperial and colonial developments of this antagonism and the consequences on the Atlantic trade, they tend to overlook and neglect the pivotal role played in that regard by the diplomatic actors on the peninsular theatre.

From the Peace of Paris in 1783 to the dramatic rupture of 1796 and the subsequent alliance of Spain with Revolutionary France, the necessity for Great Britain to gain, protect and advance its economic and commercial interests in Spain was deemed by contemporaries as essential and the ultimate measure of success for the British diplomatists posted in Madrid. In their endeavours, these men were not alone but in fierce competition with their French counterparts to influence the decisions of the Spanish government and undermine each other's economic position in peninsular Spain and overseas. However, this was undoubtedly an unequal 'war' as France had enjoyed an unrivalled proximity in the political, commercial and religious spheres with the cadet branch of the Bourbons since the signature of the Third Family Compact in 1761.

This communication sheds a new light on the British diplomatic actors of this competition, the networks they built, the strategies they pursued and the challenges they faced in Spain. From London to Madrid, from the Manchester merchants to the Gibraltar smugglers, this paper proposes to uncover and re-evaluate the role of the British diplomatic service in the economic and commercial struggle against France for the control of Spain and *in fine* global hegemony.

c. *Medieval Body Parts: Breasts, Faces and Feet in Late Medieval Culture*

"Stepping Out: Bipedal Sign Language in Hoccleve's Poetry and Beyond" – Helen Hickey

Feet occupy a robust position in medieval mystical discourse through their allegorical function. Philippe de Vitry (c. 14th century), after Augustine, compares the feet to the two faculties of the soul - *pes intellectus* and *pes affectus* (intellect and emotion). However, within much medieval literature, place, space and embodied motion are key organising forces - Langland's countryside of wandering friars, Mandeville's exotic worlds of the notional traveller, and Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrimage trail of merry tale-tellers. Hoccleve, though,

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[2] Pollak, *Cities at War*, 109, 111, 116 & 122. Donagan, *The War in England*, 293.

offers a peculiar case of poetic corporality as a subject whose feet drive and mimic his 'as if' first-hand emotional dramas.

In the *Regiment of Princes*, Hoccleve travels to and from particular places: his bed in Chester's Inn, a field on the outskirts of London, and a Carmelite Church near Smithfield. His pace and poetic rhythm fluctuate: he walks afield, beats the Westminster pavement, or speeds to the tavern. In the *Balade to Henry V, for Money* he imagines a 'trot' to Newgate. Hoccleve presents a lively subject who constructs a pedestrian poetics. Although Hoccleve's textual responses are conditioned by various political, religious and fiscal challenges occurring in late medieval England, his dominant poetic tactic is to engage with these challenges experientially, as lived and felt.

This paper re-engages with Hoccleve's moving subject to propose that the *pes intellectus* and *pes affectus* underpin the dialogic tension in his work. Further, while studies of gesture have privileged hands and facial expression, feet can provide a profitable way to read affect in medieval narrative and art.

"Looking at Faces: Gesture and Cognition in *Piers Plowman*" – Stephanie Trigg

This paper honours the work of John Burrow by re-visiting his work in *Gestures and Looks in Medieval Narrative* (2002) and especially his study 'Gestures and Looks in *Piers Plowman*,' *YLS* 14 (2000): 75-83. Burrow draws attention to Langland's mastery of *verba visibilia*, the language of silent looks and gestures. Other scholars, too, have analysed Langland's facial expressions and gestures, and traced their implications for performances of the poem (e.g. Horobin and Wiggins, 2008).

References to facial expressions, the face or bodily gesture as a site of character or emotion in *Piers Plowman* are not extensive, but repay attention through the newer approaches developed through both the history of emotions and cognitive literary studies. This paper will draw on the work of Guillemette Bolens, whose *The Style of Gestures* (2012) offers insights and models for literary interpretation (medieval through to modern) based on "kinesic intelligence": our shared cultural and embodied knowledge. Bolens writes, "Perceptual simulations are triggered when we interact with others and cognitively process perceived or imagined movements in real life situations. We equally trigger them in verbal exchanges and when we read (or hear) kinesic information in literature, for instance when we understand a fictional gesture, a character's gait, or an action verb." ('Kinesis in Literature,' 2018).

Following Bolens' cues, this paper will re-examine the shared social contexts in which looks and glances are exchanged in *Piers Plowman*. How can we read and diagnose Langland's own sense of 'kinesic intelligence' and how might those embodied contexts of reading and interpretation have changed since the fourteenth century?

"Her Graceful Hand: Maternal Gestures and the Breast in Iconography of the *Madonna Lactans*, c. 1200-c.1500" – Kim Phillips

My paper will explore the development and meanings associated with a particular hand gesture associated with artistic portrayals of the Madonna and Child. The gesture, which I

shall call the 'Nursing Hand', is one in which the Virgin holds one hand to her breast--which is sometimes fully and sometimes partially exposed--to facilitate feeding of the infant Christ. The characteristic splayed posture of the hand has a practical utility, helping guide the nipple to the child's mouth while supporting the breast, as well as visual implications. It at once draws attention to and partly conceals the Virgin's breast. The visual theme dates from the early Christian era with ancient Pagan antecedents, though its heyday in Christian art was during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is connected, also, to the tradition of the Venus Pudica, although with postural differences of the hands and also the whole body. My paper will trace the history of the iconography, linking it to other visual tropes of touching between Virgin and Child that signal humanist elements in Christian art, and explore the implications of changes to the visual theme. It will argue for considerable overlap between the maternal and the erotic in *Madonna lactans* imagery, as attested in contemporary critiques, and show how the Nursing Hand could come to stand for the breast itself at moments of heightened moral anxiety concerning the erotic potential of the Virgin's body.

d. *Rereading the Medieval and Early Modern*

"Philippa Gregory and Hilary Mantel: the author as 'historian' and rereading Tudor History" – Hilary Jane Locke

Historical fiction is everywhere: bookshelves, bestsellers lists, and history-drama TV are scattered through pop-culture reading and viewing. Devoured for being escapism and sensationalism, historical fiction is often irresistible to the public. Understandably ,then, it shapes opinions of historical events, figures, and the overall general understanding of history. Thus, historical fiction is an inescapably self-conscious genre with its authors frequently having to defend the presentation of fact and truth in their work. Both Philippa Gregory (The *Tudor Court* series and *The Cousins' War* series) and Hilary Mantel (*Wolf Hall* and *Bring Up the Bodies*) have *very* different perspectives on the writing of historical fiction. Taking these author's own processes and views into consideration, the complex problem of historical knowledge in popular culture arises, alongside authorship and authority. When retelling, adapting, or, in essence, rereading a historical period for the genre of fiction, what responsibilities and considerations do fiction authors take into consideration when representing historical facts and stories? This paper will examine the commentary, and the comments of Gregory and Mantel themselves, to argue that their methods of adaptation have considerable effect on the consuming public's historical knowledge. Furthermore, the paper will explore the way in which historical fiction authors are given authority in the public sphere. The complex issues when rereading historical content for fictional works and authority of historical adaptation, problematically influences popular understanding. This is further complicated by their presence as cultural and public commentators on historical discourse and discussions. By exploring the relationship between Mantel and Gregory's work and history, this paper will discuss the considerable place they hold as commentators, broadcasters, authors, and self proclaimed historians, assessing their presence in public and reflecting the vexing link between historical fiction and the influence on public historical knowledge.

"Suri Hustvedt's Retelling of Margaret Cavendish's *The Blazing World*" – Inhye Ha

Suri Hustvedt's *The Blazing World* (2014) borrows the title of the seventeenth-century prose fiction written by Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle (1623-1673). Hustvedt's allusion to Cavendish's *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* (1666) is daring and deliberate. Tellingly, this twenty-first century retelling of Cavendish's proto science fiction turns out to be a nuanced narrative interwoven with critical theory, art history, and postmodern literary techniques. In it, Hustvedt captures the rawness of a myriad of emotions the protagonist named Harry/Harriet Burden has been through as a result of her

lifelong struggles to gain social recognition. Compelling is the fact that Burden's entire life decisions and sense of self-fulfilment are bound by her sex, gender, and body. Hustvedt, through her careful juxtapositions of these two key figures – Cavendish (historical) and Burden (fictitious) – addresses systematic discriminations against women eager to participate in male-dominant spheres. At the same time, the author chronicles Burden's manifold struggles to recognize, reclaim, and attain her own subjecthood. In doing so, Hustvedt poses a series of questions about female authorship, self-representation, and self-realization. What happens when all the heroic efforts to find one's own voice fail? How to come to terms with repeated failures? What if all these failures are already predicated on her sex and gender? Who/What is accountable? What does it mean to soldier on for a female artist-to-be? It should be noted that there are a set of questions Cavendish posed in her seventeenth-century prose fiction. Putting together such disparate modes of writing, Hustvedt successfully reveal how women's body is placed under such rigorous, oftentimes dehumanizing, scrutiny.

My paper therefore argues that Hustvedt's 2014 retelling of Cavendish's *The Blazing World* exemplifies a superb 'rereading.' Hustvedt's *The Blazing World* is made possible by the author's numerous rereadings and astute reinterpretations of Cavendish's seventeenth-century prose fiction that resonates with an early modern woman's struggle to achieve autonomy, social recognition, and ultimately public fame. Lastly, Hustvedt's modern (or postmodern) literary mosaic nicely illuminates the multidimensional complexity of women's desire.

"John Austen's Ophelia: Re-reading Autonomy" – Luisa Moore

Can the visual arts offer Shakespeare criticism today new and exciting re-readings of the plays? Can traditional methods of reading artistic character portraits be enhanced or revised? As recent scholarship reflects, eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth-century visual representations of Shakespeare's characters have garnered major critical attention; debate has largely centred around the revealing interface between the plays, contemporary theatrical practice, and past assumptions about gender, class and race. However, thanks to Stuart Sillars' 2006 publication *Painting Shakespeare: The Artist as Critic*, the artist's interpretation of implied visual states has made an impact on Shakespearean literary scholarship. Despite this, much of this interdisciplinary pool remains untapped: published works to date (including Sillars') are overwhelmingly encyclopaedic in nature, paving the way for future scholars to develop this approach via individual case studies.

Solely neglected in art historical scholarship, John Austen's 1922 illustrated Art Nouveau edition of *Hamlet* will be used as a platform to explore how the non-verbal, non-explicit mode of interpretation afforded by visual art allowed Austen to surpass the increasingly exaggerated sexuality, independence and eventual insanity of contemporary stage Ophelias, and subvert her sentimentalised (initially Victorian) reception. Put simply, this paper explores whether words, symbols and ideas in *Hamlet* provoke Austen's creation of artistic visual material which privileges Ophelia's individualism and agency. It is hoped that as Shakespeare Studies continue to evolve, more visual artistic works (where appropriate) will be regarded as a form of character criticism.

e. *Dread, Fear and Awe in the Middle Ages*

"Love, Hatred and Revenge Among Heretics" – Yvette Debergue

In 1245 the Inquisition into Heretical Depravity was established in the Languedoc region in the South of France in the wake of the Albigenisan Crusade. Thousands of women and men were asked to recall their interactions with the heretical sect known to history as the Cathars and these were recorded in a series of manuscripts known as MS609, now held in the *Biblioteque Municipale* in Toulouse. Despite the passage of time and the various lenses or filters that can be applied to the depositions, it is argued here that the original narrative and its

meaning are still visible. Thus it is seen that despite the invariably formulaic ritual of question and answer detailed in the manuscripts of the Inquisition, and that these were designed to elicit only the innocence, or preferably the guilt, of the witness, many emotions were recorded and it is seen that much of the collective *vox populi* was permitted to remain within the text.

Surviving testimony allows insights into many emotions, recalled by both female and male witnesses. These emotions are simply, yet eloquently, expressed: witnesses say that they did or did not do something through love or through fear, or they relate the doings of others, attributing these actions to hatred or revenge. Women are underrepresented in MS609 and yet are more likely to mention their feelings about an event or person than their male compatriots. And it was usually love of which they spoke – love of family, of God, or of the heretics themselves. Men, on the other hand, spoke mainly of fear, and of hatred. This paper examines those emotions in the context of pre-existing gendered roles and relations.

"Dancing with Death: The Practice of Fear in Late Medieval Europe" – Vanessa Crosby

The cult of the saints and intercessory rituals for the dead ensured that the boundary between the living and the dead was permeable in pre-Reformation Europe. Nonetheless, the hour of death, when the living crossed over into the ranks of the dead, was the decisive moment in an individual's salvation. Visual representations of the moment of passing, from depictions of the drama of the deathbed, to popular images of the Three Living and the Three Dead and the *Dance Macabre,* reflect a deep fear of a sudden death that left no time for the spiritual preparations necessary for salvation. In these works, the facial expressions of the living capture a wide array of emotions from dismay, alarm, to fear, and denial when confronted with grinning countenance of Death. Interpretations of these images focus on the didactic power of the macabre to shock the viewer out of their worldly complacence and prepare their soul for death. However, it is questionable how effective such images would have been in producing such a response. These were images experienced through repeated encounters in the course of daily religious practice, whether on the walls of the local parish church, or within the pages of devotional books read. Moreover, a focus on the macabre aspects of these images occludes their oftentimes humorous or visually and materially alluring nature. This paper considers images of the moment of transition between life and death in relation to the socially produced spaces and bodies that framed their reception in order to uncover the ways in which they enabled late medieval subjects to move back on forth across the boundary between life and death, rehearsing hope and becoming intimate with the face of death.

"Medical Humanities: The suicidal impulse in Malory's *Morte darthur* and the *Book of Margery Kempe* – Diana Jefferies – WITHDRAWN

f. *Texts, Objects and Places in Medieval Religion*

"Encounters in the Margins: Illuminations in the Sherborne Missal (c. 1399-1407)" – Susanne Chadbourne

The Sherborne Missal (British Library Add. MS 59874) was likely produced for the Benedictine Abbey of St Mary's in Sherborne, Dorset at the opening of the fifteenth century. It is one of the most spectacular service books to survive from the Middle Ages, yet despite the size and lavishness of its decorations, the Missal has received limited scholarly attention to date.

Executed on a grand scale, the liturgical book includes some of the finest decorative microarchitectural illuminations of the period. While architectural motifs were common in contemporary illuminated manuscripts, the exquisite detail, intricate and illusionistic

elements and status given to architectonic objects throughout the Missal is unique. These remarkable illustrations defy categorisation as sculptural, architectural or decorative items. No architectonic device is repeated twice which demanded a wide retine of architectural motifs from which to draw from.

This paper will consider the status given to architectonic devices in the Missal and what the prominence of architectural motifs were intended to convey: what models were used and why and what did they signify for contemporary viewers. An overarching consideration will be on how these decorative and fanciful architectonic creations communicated religious, political and social encounters through visual and cultural exchange within the local community.

"Reconsidering Royston Cave: Beyond the Templars and Freemasonry" – Carole M. Cusack

Royston, a town of approximately fifteen thousand in north Hertfordshire, is located at the intersection of two ancient roads, the Icknield Way and Ermine Street. In August 1742 an artificial cave was discovered; two months later antiquarian William Stukeley investigated the Cave, and in 1852 Joseph Beldam published a more detailed account of the site. Two interesting features of Royston Cave are the carved figures and scenes that decorate the walls, and the octagonal ledge that may have been for users to kneel upon and contemplate the images. Since 1923 Royston Cave has been managed by English Heritage and in 1973 an archaeological investigation took place. Local historians Sylvia P. Beamon and P. T. Houldcroft have promoted the Cave as a site used by the Templars before and after their condemnation and the burning of Grand Master Jacques de Molay (1243-1314), and having connections with the Hospitallers, Freemasons, Rosicrucians, and other "usual suspects" from the Western Esoteric tradition (and popular conspiracy theories) that are called upon to explain unusual phenomena. Historically verified links between the Templars and Royston exist, and much interesting comparative evidence (subterranean chapels, similar iconographical schemes, and so on) can be adduced, but there are limitations to accepting the definition of Royston Cave as a Templar site. This inherited categorization acts as a distorting lens that preselects comparative material and occludes other interpretations. Further, there are no scholarly studies of Royston Cave apart from archaeological conservation. This paper draws upon inter- and multi-disciplinary research in material religion and the author's fieldwork in Royston in 2018 to re-evaluate the antiquarian and popular historical interpretations of Royston Cave, seeking a less speculative and controversial explanation of this unique structure.

g. *Subverting Pilgrimage: Reconceiving Sacred Journeys in Early Modern Europe*

"Subverting St. James: Spain and the British Isles in Early Modern Europe and Today" – Sharenda Barlar

Pilgrimage is a time for personal reflection, spiritual transformation, and penance. The Camino de Santiago, an ancient Christian pilgrimage in Spain with various routes, reaches its final destination in Santiago de Compostela where devoted pilgrims still to this day walk 100-800 kilometers to the site of what are believed to be the remains of St. James.

Historically, the ninth century was important to Spain because it was in the midst of the *Reconquista*, a bitter long-standing war between Moors and Christians. Under Alfonso II, king of Asturias and Galicia (792-842 AD) and Bishop Theodemir, the long-forgotten tomb of St. James was miraculously re-discovered in the northwest corner of the Iberian Peninsula and the first church in Santiago de Compostela was built on this site in 899 AD. As his fame grew, legends and stories increased, thereby attracting pilgrims from all over Europe to visit his relics and pay penance.

With the marriage of Fernando of Aragón and Isabela of Castilla y León in the late 15th century, Spain rose to be a super power both in religion and politics. England, seeking to increase its own world power, proposed marriage between Arthur and Catherine of Aragon, the daughter of Fernando and Isabela. The marriage between Arthur and Catherine (and then Catherine and Henry) deepened connections to Spain and reinforced the importance of the Camino. In addition, pilgrim badges from Santiago de Compostela have been found along the Thames River and throughout the British Isles. Henry VIII, breaking with the Catholic Church, destroyed images of St. James and discouraged pilgrimage. This paper, however, will show that the St. James pilgrimage never died in the United Kingdom during the Reformation. In fact, evidence shows that pilgrimage to St. James continued throughout the British Isles and is practiced with more interest today.

"Staging Sacred Queenship: Memory of Pilgrimage and the Sacred Feminine in Elizabethan Progress Entertainments" – Susan Dunn-Hensley

Traveling to a sacred space such as The Shrine to Our Lady of Walsingham allowed pilgrims to symbolically leave behind their earthly homes to pursue the spiritual home. For female pilgrims, this journey also allowed a connection with the Virgin Mary, the female members of the Holy Family, and the female saints. The Reformation brought an end to the literal pilgrimages to Our Lady of Walsingham. However, while pilgrimage was prohibited by the Injunctions of 1536 and 1538 and the Shrine to Our Lady of Walsingham was destroyed in July 1538, the Reformation did not erase the importance of pilgrimage as metaphor, nor did it erase the image of the feminine sacred. As Grace Tiffany succinctly puts it, many years after Henry VIII's last pilgrimage to Our Lady, his daughter Elizabeth "Staged **herself** for her people's veneration [as she embarked] on costly royal progresses" (26).

Elizabeth's staging of her royal person represents a fascinating inversion of pilgrimage, allowing the image of the feminine sacred to walk among her people. The royal progresses, which involved a literal journey and often took the queen to East Anglia, a region associated with the Marian shrines of Ipswich and Walsingham, evoked memory of medieval pilgrimage. However, although Elizabethan progresses continued to foreground the feminine sacred, the means of doing so and the implications for real women became increasingly complicated. This paper will consider the ways in which Elizabethan progresses evoked the idea of the sacred feminine, as well as how they fostered networks of female power. However, I will argue that, while the state could reappropriate the sacred for its own political ends, Elizabeth I's progresses could not replicate the effects of pilgrimage. Elizabethan progress could – through entertainments and Elizabeth's healing touch – restage the sacred virgin. However, they could not recreate the sense of feminine community that connected female pilgrims to each other and to the divine.

"Saints' ways and pilgrims paths: Contemporary re-imaginings of Medieval Pilgrimage in Cornwall" – Dominique Wilson

Recent times have seen the emergence of two coast to coast walking paths in Cornwall: *The Saints Way* and *Saint Michael's Way.* The creation of these *Ways* has been inspired by evidence suggesting that overland routes across Cornwall were used by merchants and pilgrims to avoid the treacherous sea voyage around Land's End. This paper combines a personal account of walking 'The Saints Way' with an investigation into the legitimacy of both routes, based on historical accounts, archaeological evidence, and possible tracks identified on Medieval and Early Modern maps.

h. ***Boundaries and Inclusion of Race, Gender and Ability in Medieval Religion***

"Deafness, Ethnicity, and Teresa de Cartagena" – Jonathan Hsy

This paper examines how the surprisingly divergent reception histories of one medieval author open up productive pathways to interrogate modern notions of disability, ethnicity, and cultural belonging. Teresa de Cartagena, a deaf 15th-century nun from a *converso* family, composed two learned autobiographical treatises in the Castilian vernacular known as *Arboleda de los enfermos* (*Grove of the Infirm*) and *Admiración operum dey* (*Wonder at the Works of God*). Early literary criticism reclaimed Teresa as a foundational woman writer who champions protofeminist modes of gendered authority; Hispanophone scholars framed her work as prefiguring the mystical writing of Teresa of Ávila; and current work in Deaf Studies positions her in a tradition of Deaf life writing.

In this presentation, I explore how Teresa de Cartagena might be placed in a long history of racializing deafness. Nineteenth-century oralist discourses (especially as advocated by Alexander Graham Bell) discouraged sign language education due to fears of the creation of a separate "deaf race" set apart from the (English-)speaking majority, and contemporary scholarship has framed a signing Deaf community as the "people of the eye" (a phrase not without religious and ethnic implications); indigenous and Deaf Studies approaches have since nuanced this claim to posit d/Deaf community as "Deafnicity" instead. In the Middle Ages, medieval monastics who took vows of silence created sign lexicons that deliberately set themselves apart from the world, enacting a richly embodied separatism. Teresa de Cartagena draws upon monastic sign lexicons to construct a language for an imagined community of "enfermos" (infirm bodies): a non-spoken lingua franca that employs visual-gestural rhetoric. The formal, rhetorical, and narrative innovations of Teresa de Cartagena demonstrate how seemingly disparate facets of embodied difference—gendered, disabled, and racialized—can intersect and radically transform one another.

"The God Loki and the Norse: An evaluation of Queerness and its social changes during the Viking Age and its loss at the Conversion" – Lar Romsdal

This research is to answer this question statement, of which there are two parts:

Part 1. What is the queerness of Loki?

Part 2. How does this interact within traditional Norse society of the Viking Age pre-and-post conversion to Christianity?

The concepts of identity in the world of the Norse Vikings are viewed by most scholars as a simple model, centred around a binary perception of sexuality and gender identity. Often these models demonstrate the expected roles of men and women in a binary construction. By investigating the intricacies of Norse religion and its later Mythology, we can see a complicated narrative, and one that has not yet been stated within scholarship.

Through a study of Norse religion, and the God Loki, we can begin to understand this complicated revised narrative of identity. In doing, this thesis can provide one an application to modern day understandings.

Research aims:

To openly discuss the queerness of the Norse God, which historically has been left ambiguous amongst the wider scholarship; to illuminate the changes to Norse religion, and loss of social norms and practices by the implementation of Christianity on Norse peoples; and thirdly, to understand further the complex relationships in ancient Norse religion and

mythology with regards generally to the study, and more widely the interaction of a converted society.

This also includes the work of Meletinskji (1973, 73-4, 1977) and of Petrucic to ground our understanding of the Norse Worldview conception. Additionally this research will be informed by the original Tri-Partite system of Dumézil (1924), the revised system of Frakes, alongside my own contribution to this system theory.

This methodology utilises holistically the comparative evidence for Norse society and culture from the availability of literature, archaeology, art, and mythological imagery.

Parallel Sessions 9

a. ***The Afterlives of Kings and Queens (Sponsored by the Royal Studies Network)***

"The Rise and Fall of the Afterlife of an Ottonian Empress and a Tuscan Countess" – Penelope Nash

Empress Adelheid's triumphant afterlife began almost immediately after her death in AD 999. She proceeded rapidly to papal sainthood but her cult was diminished in the fourteenth century by the overflow of the banks of the Rhine that washed away her remains. Nevertheless images of her from the tenth century endure and were created and re-created over several centuries up to current times. She remains a canonized saint in the Catholic church.

Countess Matilda of Tuscany, active a century later, became a 'most prudent warrior of St. Peter', directed archbishops, and advised and was patronised by seven successive popes during her lifetime. Four hundred years after her death, emissaries from Pope Urban VIII stole her body from San Benedetto Po and took it back to Rome. She currently lies buried in St Peters under a grand statue by Bernini of her in military attire, one of only five women buried there.

Why was Adelheid made a saint and not Matilda? The former was active in Germany and Italy in the late tenth century and the latter active in Italy during the great church revolutionary movement that began in the eleventh century, often known by the term "the Investiture Contest". This paper seeks to present the most likely reasons for the differences in attitude towards the two women over the centuries and the modern attitudes to their place in history.

"Representing kingship in Matthew Paris's manuscripts" – Judith Collard

Matthew Paris was a thirteenth-century chronicler, artist and hagiographer who gave kings a very prominent place in his works. The naming of kings and the remembering of their deeds plays a prominent role in Matthew Paris's writings and illuminations. In his chronicles he provides genealogies and does elaborate series of kings in the prefatory material that accompanies them. I am interested in what these works reveal about his understanding of kingship, his ideas on legitimacy, good government and how this view of kingship is further supported by the venerability of the royal line. To demonstrate the significant role of histories for recording this, we know that there was contemporary interest in this project. The practical and political implications of his work led to the commissioning of related manuscripts such as the Flores Historiarum by Westminster Abbey showing their importance to the wider community. Henry III's active intervention in the content of the chronicles and his listing of the English kings also demonstrates their relevance at the time. Paris's illustrations draw on the writings of Geoffrey of Monmouth as well as more recent kings, with particular emphasis on post-Conquest kings up to Henry III. His illustrations also emphasised kings that were of particular importance to Paris himself and to St Albans Abbey, including King Offa, the apparent founder of the abbey. How he depicted kings from England's past provides us with an insight into how Paris viewed the institution, how he perceived both good and bad rulership, and how he legitimated the monarchy. His emphasis was very much on the importance of Conquest, on legitimate descent and thus bloodlines, and the seeking of good counsel. As such he also proffered criticism of his contemporary king, Henry III, and providing a very negative portrait of his father, King John.

b. *Language and Agency: From Medieval to the Early Modern*

"Pronouncing…some [un]doubted phrase': speech, agency, and editing in *Hamlet* via Montaigne's *Essais*" – Jennifer E. Nicholson

In this paper I discuss how reading Montaignian editing alongside *Hamlet* affects the agency of both author and subject in the play texts. In *Hamlet and the Vision of Darkness*, Rhodri Lewis suggests that Shakespeare employs aposiopesis "to frustrate completion, closure, and meaning" in *Hamlet* (38). Hamlet's closing words in Q2 and the Folio invite, and indeed implore, that readers reconsider the text in light of its completion: "tell my story…the rest is silence" (V.ii.328,337). In *De l'Expérience*, the final instalment of his essays, Michel de Montaigne sardonically asks: "When is it agreed between us that 'this book has enough, and there is nothing more to say about it'?" (1067). The uncertainty that drives Montaigne's constant "essaying" of himself is present in both Hamlet's "essaying" and the inconsistencies between the printed *Hamlet* texts. Michael Neill suggests the idea of "narrative anxiety", where the "end is what the tragic dramatist most wishes to bring about, but it is also what (in common with his characters) he most dreads; it is both the end of his writing, and the very thing it wishes to defer" (*Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy*, 204). Montaigne insists on the end of his work even as he rewrites it in *Expérience,* going so far as to leave annotations for a posthumous edition. Hamlet insists that the story is over but asks Horatio to retell it. Unlike Montaigne's work, whatever form Shakespeare's true editing process took is now silent to us. However, by examining Montaigne's editing philosophy, I suggest that his self-reflexive analysis of how to finish writing exemplifies the uncertainty of author and subjects' agencies in *Hamlet*.

"The Will of The Goddess: Gender and Agency in *The Mists of Avalon*" – Laura Collier

Whilst superficially *The Mists of Avalon* appears to be wholly devoted to a feminist retelling of the Arthurian legend, it is evident through close examination that the feminine characters are far from able to exert their own power, on their own terms, throughout the narrative. Through the use of the character Morgaine, the reader is witness to the many instances in which she becomes a vessel for the demands of both the mortal and the divine. This paper intends to challenge the assumption of character agency within *The Mists of Avalon*, and to examine both instances in which divine agency is subverted; first, that which is driven by mortal desire and second, that of the personified deity acting through human and environmental mediums.

This paper also examines the tropes of human and divine agency for female characters within *The Mists of Avalon*, and particularly focuses on the construction of gender as a "glass ceiling" within romantic fantasy narratives. Equally, this paper also seeks to deconstruct the nature in which Arthurian characters are believed to have acted of their own will and power, by examining the way all major actions that direct the course of the narrative stem from a character's desire to act on behalf of a higher, divine power.

In acting upon the authority of this higher power, or being under the enchantment of another human, characters such as Morgaine, the Merlin, Gwenhwyfar and Lancelot are removed from the retribution that would befall them, had the actions been their own and not motivated by external factors. This paper finally asserts that this lack of ownership of individual actions reflects within the dark heart of Camelot and results in the collective downfall of King Arthur, his knights, the priestesses of Avalon and Gwenhwyfar.

"It's in the way you use it…King Alfred of Wessex's use of the Anglo-Saxon vernacular to forge a community" – Georgina Pitt

In 878 AD, the small kingdom of Wessex faced extinction by the Vikings. King Alfred interpreted the Vikings as divine punishment. In response, he initiated sweeping reforms, designed to reorient his people back to God. Alfred could not impose his reforms without the active participation of his magnates. To succeed, he had to create a shared enterprise.

Alfredian reform encompassed a particular kind of knowledge, found in specific texts. Crucially, these texts were distributed in the Anglo-Saxon vernacular, translated from Latin, the established language of learning. That decision was startlingly novel: it would be another two centuries before a culture of writing in the vernacular was developed on the continent.

Any society consists of a complex meshwork of, inter alia, people, ideas and things. Change almost invariably requires new ideas and new ways of 'doing'. Agency is not a uniquely human attribute, nor do humans necessarily bestow agency on things. Rather, agency emerges from relationships between humans, ideas and things.

In this paper I want to examine the relationships between the vernacular and other components of Alfredian reform. The texts emphasised the divinely-appointed nature of kingship. There was a cultural tradition of authority imbued in translation itself; a source of political power. In the framing pieces of the distributed texts, Alfred deployed emotion talk, to entice and persuade the recipients. Early medieval cultural norms of reading aloud to an audience, of communal affective response, existed in a social context of elite fostering and education.

This paper will show that Alfred's reforms were a sophisticated meshwork. Agency emerged from the relationships between language, text-as-content, text-as-handled, and Anglo-Saxon cultural norms of learning. Alfred succeeded in his reforms because he harnessed that agency and used it to foster a communal endeavour.

c. *Madness and Medicine*

"The subtle boundary between medicine and magic in the German medieval and early modern tradition" – Chiara Benati

Medieval and Early Modern medical compendia (*Arzneibücher*) include longer or shorter treatises, prescriptions and other materials of various origin. For this reason, it is not uncommon for scholars working on them to come across charms and blessings aimed at healing a given pathology or at helping in its treatment (e.g. charms for staunching blood, for a good wound progress, against worms, etc.). Some of these verbal remedies are explicitly recognized and introduced as such by the author of the medical compilation, some others are not distinguished from other prescriptions explaining, for example, how to prepare a powder or a drink.

On the other hand, some healing-related charms seem to be specifically addressed to physicians and surgeons and to be aimed not so much at healing – through the power of spoken word – the patient from his/her pathology, by rather at magically reinforcing the effectiveness or propitiating the good outcome of another, in our modern eyes, more conventional medical remedy. In this contribution, I will focus on a corpus of these "only-for-specialist" charms in the German language area comparing them with other, analogous, healing formulas not referring to the performing of any or surgical procedure and trying to outline the development of this particular category of charms within magical tradition.

"The Category of Madness and Boundaries of Learning in John Milton's Early Works" – Hasting Chen

As the preeminent English author living at the cusp of Early Modern and Neoclassical ages, John Milton arguably represents a serious and radical effort in recapitulating classical learning in the dramatic social and political changes of his time. In view of Michel Foucault's

study on the history of madness as a concept that was first seen as a reflection of wisdom and then treated as a disease in the mind to be treated and even segregated from society, Milton's writings too reflect and challenge such temporal trend of madness in their references to the theme. To trace back to their origins, I will look at that the references to madness in Milton's early writings (up to 1645 Poems. From these I will argue that these references comprise an attempt to categorize madness into its various forms, both before an audience and in private domain. Not only prefiguring Milton's later and more well-known works, such categorization is also significant for its implications in defining the boundaries of reason and society with which the author was to engage and negotiate as an aspiring writer. On one hand, citing various vivid and scurrilous imageries of folly and madness in Prolusions VI, the young Milton was attempting to set the scene for the jovial occasion of an academic feast, in order to blend in with the society and to exclude things alien to its existence. On the other, with furor poeticus, a Platonic idea developed by Marsilo Ficino and extensively invoked by poets, Milton in "In adventum veris" reveals his poetic aspiration and intense desire to go beyond the limitations, both of his time and of his learning. With these two strands of thought, I will discuss how they contribute to the mode of prophetic melancholy that defines Milton.

d. *Crossing the Boundaries of Human Experience 1100-1600: Divinity, Humanity and Animality*

"A Twelfth-Century Image of the world: Changing boundaries of the natural world in the *Imago mundi*" – Hannah Skipworth

The *Imago mundi* (*Image of the World*) by Canon regular, Honorius Augustodunensis (c. 1080-c.1156) presents the totality of the universe in a compact and comprehendible format. Honorius framed his encyclopaedic text with the allegory of the cosmic egg: a vision of the universe divided into distinct though interconnected components. The cosmic egg as a structural paradigm diverged from the authoritative encyclopaedic models of Isidore of Seville (560 – 636) and Hrabanus Maurus (780 – 856), both of which prioritised the linguistic pathways to the divine. In this paper, I explore the boundaries of the encyclopaedic genre in the twelfth century, with particular focus on representations of the natural world. The *Imago mundi* existed within an intellectual landscape characterised by extravagant descriptions of *Natura*, the primordial force that created the natural world. Yet, *Natura* plays no role in Honorius' explanation of the created world. This research extends our understanding of the twelfth century by putting new emphasis on the natural world. It requires the historian to ask: how did the medieval religious understand the world around them, and did this change over time? This text suggests that from the mid-twelfth century, individuals and groups yearned for information that better informed their religious experiences and daily lives.

"The Paradoxical Medieval Ass: Transgressing the Human-Animal Boundary" – Kathryn L. Smithies

In the old French fabliau, *Le Testament de l'asne* or *The Testament of the Ass*, an ass achieves human status, not only transgressing the human-animal divide, but doing so with the sanction of the Church. In this paper, I consider how the paradoxical nature of the fabliau mirrors that of an ass, which crosses the animal-human boundary to assure personhood. In medieval texts, the ass was a paradoxical animal: a metaphor for profane-holy, stubborn-obedient, natural-unnatural. The ass also crossed the human-animal boundary; consider for instance, Balaam's talking ass (Old Testament) and humans behaving as asses (the Feast of the Ass). Yet in the Christian world of medieval Europe, crossing the boundary between animal and human was not looked upon favourably. After all, the bible had declared man to have dominion over the animals [Gen 1:26]; and people who assumed animal forms "put themselves on a level with asses" (Peter Chrysologos [5thC]). Arguably, however, a fabliau ass went further than demonstrating a human trait, instead assuming human status.

"Trading with the Dead: Negotiations for the Soul Bridging the Divide Between the Living and the Dead" – Gianna Lenzi

For the city of Florence, persistent epidemics, religious uncertainty – both theological and ecclesiastical – and political instability created a fractured and often discordant corner of Christendom. This paper explores how ideas of death and dying, working to ensure the safety of the deceased's soul, often traversed the divide between the living and the dead. Using carefully worded wills and testaments demanding prayers and alms from the living, the dead, in return, provided a watchful eye over their living contemporaries, as well as promises of charity and patronage after their death. For some, like Francesco Turchetto or Bonifacio Lupi, donations to churches and family chapels of money, clothing, and decorative ornaments, meticulously detailed in wills, were remunerated with prayers. For others, such as Francesco di Marco Datini, intercession of the community on his behalf came as reward for the assurance of a hospice for the indigent. This paper seeks to depict the transactional relationship in which the living and the deceased Christians coexisted.

"Mirrors of the Extended Mind: The Glass of Government and the Mirror of Madness" – Jenny Smith

Extended mind theory proposes that an intellectual product, such as an idea or book, is constituted partly by interaction with others and with the material world, blurring the boundaries between abstract and material, individual and collective. This paper analyses two Elizabethan texts, George Gascoigne's play *The Glasse of Government* (1575) and James Sandford's treatise *A Mirror of Madness* (1576), to show how they draw on cultural and material knowledge for both social satire and individual advancement in Elizabeth's court. *The Glasse of Government* uses the contemporary genre of the mirror as model to construct a persona of its author as a reformed prodigal. *The Mirror of Madness* is a philosophical satire in the vein of Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*, using the quality of reversal to construct a false encomium of madness that satirises social division and argues for social harmony. Like Gascoigne, Sandford was a skilled translator and moved between professional writing and the court. This paper shows how the text as mirror illustrates the close relationship between self-reflection and social satire, and how the idea of 'reflection' was constructed across material and social boundaries.

e. *Order and disorder in the liturgy: Pope John XXII and new trends in musical theory and practice 1270-1330*

"Universal musical reform beyond the Decretals: The Example of the Council of Lyon, 1274" – Catherine Jeffreys

Musicological perspectives on universal reforms to liturgical music during the medieval period tend to focus on the small number of official proclamations with enduring effect, a prime example of which is Pope John XXII's decretal *Docta sanctorum* from 1324–1325. The sparsity of papal legislation proposing global reforms to liturgical music prior to 1324 might give the impression of a lack of papal interest in the subject. But popes showed an interest in musical reform in other ways, such as through instructing individual religious orders on particular musical practices or reminding them of the importance of liturgical uniformity within their order. A number of practical barriers also existed to giving universal effect to musical reforms, the limitations of musical notation and an inability to mass produce liturgical books being just two of these.

In this paper, I hone in on proposed universal reforms to liturgical music surrounding the Council of Lyon in 1274, 50 years before *Docta sanctorum*. A number of high-ranking churchmen, including Humbert of Romans (one-time master general of the Dominican order) and Ottobuono de Fieschi (papal legate to England and future Pope Adrian V) agitated for universal musical reforms, and some attempt was made to bring this to papal attention. I argue that the example of Lyon illustrates some of the difficulties in promoting music as a worthy subject for universal reform, let alone giving reforms expression in legislation. It also perhaps provides a background for the emphasis in *Docta sanctorum* on reforms that proscribe musical practices, not establish new ones.

"*Docta sanctorum partum*, the line in the sand between *ars antiqua* and *ars nova?*" – Carol J. Williams

The bull *Docta sanctorum patrum*, a cleverly constructed demonstration of acuity of musical perception, seems a surprising product of Pope John XXII who was not otherwise known for his musical interests. He condemned in the strongest terms the essential features of the *ars nova* including:

1. Semibreves and minims and any other short note,
2. Descant,
3. Hocket,
4. Part-singing other than unison,
5. Motet using vernacular,
6. Expressive singing or lewdness.

He decreed that the test for considering any addition to the plainchant was based on the questions:

1. Does it preserve the integrity of the chant melody?
2. Is the original chant rhythm retained?

If those tests are passed the second tier interrogation insists that:

1. It assists the sensory appreciation of the chant;
2. It encourages devotion or deepens the faith, and
3. It prevents cantors from losing concentration away from the liturgy.

This paper considers the contemporary musical and theological experts, particularly Pierre de la Palude and Jacobus of many who might have advised the pope.

"The politics of orthodoxy and liturgical uniformity in the age of the *ars nova*" – Constant J. Mews

This paper examines the tension between two competing models of liturgical practice and theory that were circulating in France during the early fourteenth century, that led to John XXII issuing an edict seeking to forbid new musical practices taking place in the liturgy. One of these recognised the legitimacy of different musical practices, promoted by the *Ars musice* of Johannes de Grocheio (c. 1275), and followed through in relation to the practice of plainchant by the Benedictine theorist, Guy of Saint-Denis in the early fourteenth century. The other was a normative approach, promoted at about the same time as Grocheio by the Dominican theorist Jerome of Moray, whose precepts were imposed on the practice of plainchant in an Order which prided itself on uniformity of observance, on the pattern of the Cistercians. This paper looks at the vast *Speculum musice* of Jacobus (of Liège, in the traditional identification) as expanding on the enthusiasm of Jerome of Moray for the theoretical model of Boethius, as underpinning

the precepts of *Docta sanctorum patrum*, informed by a Platonizing understanding of Aristotle shaped by Robert Kilwardby. By contrast, Jean de Murs, a theorist of the *ars nova*, was redefining the relationship between the mathematical foundations of music and the diversity of their manifestation in musical practice. From his palace at Avignon, Pope John XXII sought to impose on the Church a vision of uniformity in liturgical practice, theology and devotion such as no previous Pope had been able to achieve.

f. *Religious Women: Redefining Boundaries and Space*

"The Cistercian Charter of Charity of 1119 and its Relevance for Communities of Cistercian Nuns in the Middle Ages"- Elizabeth Freeman

Nine-hundred years ago, in December 1119, Pope Calixtus II confirmed the *Carta caritatis prior*. This *Charter of Charity*, which developed via a process of multiple versions from around 1113 and throughout subsequent decades, specifies elements of Cistercian life that would go on to be fundamental to Cistercian organisation for centuries to come – the annual chapter of abbots, the system of monastic filiations and annual visitations, and more. But what, if anything, did the *Charter of Charity* mean for communities of medieval Cistercian nuns? Or is this even the right question to ask? In this paper I will examine the confusing relationship between this normative document and female Cistercian communities in the Middle Ages, and try to identify what this confusing relationship might tell us about the nature of the Cistercian institution in the Middle Ages, including both its female and male expressions.

"Re-forming Space: Architecture and Identity in late fifteenth-century Convents in Germany" – Julie Hotchin

Spaces have the ability to produce multiple meanings, presenting simultaneously conflicting or complementary ideas for various audiences. Research into female monastic spaces has drawn attention to how conventual architectural and decorative programs produce ideas about female religious identity. Yet certain spaces within female monastic communities were also designed, used and inhabited by clerics as well as the nuns whom they directed. Spaces in female monasteries thus have the potential to produce, reinforce, affirm or negotiate different spiritual and gendered identities. In what ways did female monastic space express clerical identities? How did conventual architecture and decoration negotiate or reinforce hierarchies of gender and power? How does space contribute to our understanding of how the relations between sexes in religious life were imagined?

The Benedictine convent of Ebstorf in northern Germany offers a productive case study to examine the relationships between the built environment and gendered identities in the late fifteenth century. I draw on narrative accounts of the monastery's building and renovation program in the latter decades of the fifteenth century and the surviving material evidence of the monastery's space to explore how changes to conventual architecture at Ebstorf expressed male and female spiritual identities, asserted claims to spiritual authority, and negotiated gender relations in the context of religious reform.

"Transgressing Traditional Boundaries of Female Religious Life: The Case of Mary Ward (1585-1645) and her Companions as Depicted in *The Painted Life*, c. 1650" – Claire Renkin

During her life-time Mary Ward (1585-1645) strove to establish a religious order of women dedicated to an apostolic way of life modelled on that of the Jesuits. Her innovations polarised attitudes in the Catholic world of early modern Europe. In particular, her challenge to Tridentine prescriptions for religious life, above all the imposition of enclosure on all religious women, drew harsh criticism and censure from ecclesiastical authorities. Yet as

written sources reveal, those who supported her work of education of young girls, not to mention the dangerous work assisting Catholics in Protestant England, readily embraced her vision of religious women moving beyond the cloister. This paper will explore a visual source that complements the written one. The Painted Life, a cycle of fifty paintings depicting scenes from Mary's life dated to the mid-seventeenth century, contains a remarkable visual interpretation that Ward's followers commissioned to record their foundress's vision and way of life. The cycle of fifty paintings depict religious women moving between the cloister and the world as well as rejecting a traditional habit. The paintings celebrate Ward's resistance to clerical fiat. This paper will explore how the Painted Life offers fresh insights into early modern religious women's pursuit of female apostolic vocation.

g. *Eating, Drinking and Being Merry in Shakespeare*

"The Poetics of Food in Shakespeare's *King John* and *Richard II*" – Wai Fong Cheang

This paper discusses the poetic and cultural significance of food in two Shakespeare history plays--*King John* and *Richard II*. It analyzes images of food used as metaphors with political implications and philosophical meanings.

Food and theatre have always had intimate relations, especially since feasting is oftentimes employed as a spectacular element on stage. During Elizabethan era, satisfying one's stomach could be a challenging task for many of those who were not born into aristocratic class, while the influx of hunger-stricken vagabonds to London was a common phenomenon. Shakespeare, as a playwright working to attract audiences to his playhouse, was definitely not unaware of common people's want of food and the fact that food was a universal language that could create understanding across boundaries of differences. He employed food not just as common denominators of basic experience, but also as symbols of feelings and desires. Remarkably, he also played up the imagery of death feasting on human beings to mock the futility of human endeavor in these two plays.

While food and the gratifying activity of eating are laden with various meanings, edibles and poisons are also given symbolic functions as well as critical roles affecting the development of history. By probing into the language of food alongside elaborations of gustatory perceptions in the mouth, such as the taste of sweetness and sourness, the paper attempts to bring into attention Shakespeare's artistic transformation of the supposedly most familiar things and activity in daily life, which are food, tastes and eating, into appealing, and at times, appalling poetic images.

"Wassalling and Festive Singing in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*" – Kathryn Roberts Parker

Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* has long been characterised as a play that is highly musical. This categorising of songs as existing within the boundaries of theatre has limited our understanding of the cultural significance of singing in Shakespeare's comedy. This paper will explore the influence of communal singing as it existed outside the theatres in rural communities and households during the festive season on *Twelfth Night*. Combining elaborate consort songs with rhetorical, self-accompanied performances and drunken wassailing songs, Shakespeare's comedy provides us with an example of theatre as defying the boundaries of any one mode of performance. I will explore this boundary-crossing within a scene in the second act of *Twelfth Night*, which exemplifies the close relationship between different styles of song in traditional, festive music.

h. *Early Medieval Religion*

"Greek East and Latin West United Through Saints and Nature" – Chris Baghos

Numerous scholars have examined the first millennium of Christianity using the divisional categories 'Greek East' and 'Latin West' (e.g. Philip Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West: A Study in the Christian Tradition*). To be sure, such terminology is of value insofar as it distinguishes between the episcopal centres of Constantinople and Rome, and the administrative and theological *linguae francae* of their respective jurisdictions. However, many have subsequently claimed that the Greek and Latin Christian communities followed fundamentally divergent paths from Late Antiquity onwards, which extended to the foreign peoples that they in turn converted. On the contrary, the representations of holy ascetics by these communities and their religious inheritors – commonly referred to as hagiographies – very often reflect the same spiritual *mores*, aspirations, and worldviews. The complementarity of these texts is especially evidenced by the same redemptive effect on animals and the environment ascribed therein to ascetics considered to have taken on Christ's role as 'the New Adam' (Benedicta Ward, 'The Spirituality of the Desert Fathers and Mothers,' in *The Bloomsbury Guide to Christian Spirituality*, 51-52; Ward, *The Spirituality of Saint Cuthbert*, Kindle edition, locations 175-90). In this paper, I will attempt to demonstrate that the Byzantine and Insular portrayals of ascetics as redeemers of the created order – a concept undoubtedly mediated via the Continent – attest to a shared spirituality and common perception of reality on the part of two vast regions often categorised independently.

"Converging Categories of Service in the Will of Gregory of Nazianzus" – Justin Pigott

In recent decades scholars have taken a nuanced approach to identity in late antiquity, moving beyond the old oppositional categories such as Christians and Pagans, Arians and Nicenes, Barbarians and Romans, citizens and slaves. However, few scholars have yet to apply an intersectional understanding of identity to the study of slavery in the church. Thanks to several recent studies, we are now in a much better position to understand how early Christian writers such as Gregory of Nyssa approached slavery on a conceptual and theological level. However, the realities and experiences of slavery and service *within* the early church remains, in most part, a tantalising historical blind spot.

While Gregory of Nazianzus had much less to say on slavery than his Cappadocian brethren, his will provides an invaluable insight into the more practical aspects of slave ownership and manumission within the church. By using the experiences of *Haratin* (slaves and ex-slaves) in modern-day Mauritania as a springboard, this paper looks at how categories of identity, belonging, and kinship converged in Gregory's treatment of slaves. Just as the experiences of *Haratin* are dependent on complex and highly individualised layers of self-identification that sit outside of their identity as slaves, we find that individual slaves in Gregory's will were not defined solely by their status as unfree people but by the intersection of their religious, political, and geographical identities in relation to Gregory. By unpacking the way in which such identities impacted on Gregory's treatment of his slaves, we gain a sense that in an ecclesiastical setting, slaves had the potential to occupy spaces of significant worth far beyond that of economic value.

Parallel Sessions 10

a. *Emotional Objects in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*

"Objects, Sacred Space and the Circulation of Religious Emotion in Albrecht Dürer's *The Mass of St Gregory*" – Charles Zika

The paper will explore the experience of the sacred as the circulation of emotional flows between devotees and sacred objects by focusing on a 1511 woodcut by the Nuremberg artist Albrecht Dürer, *The Mass of St Gregory*. The story, known from the ninth century and frequently depicted in the fifteenth, related the appearance of the suffering Christ to Pope Gregory as he was consecrating bread and wine in the Mass – a miraculous response to any who doubted Christ's real presence in the Sacrament.

Dürer's print made significant small changes to the earlier iconographical tradition, thereby highlighting the objects of Christ's passion. For objects as the Holy Lance were part of Nuremberg's 'sacred treasure', a source of its civic pride and identity since Emperor Sigismund transferred the imperial relics to the city in 1424 for their safe keeping, and were displayed annually in the marketplace as part of the Feast of the Holy Lance. Dürer himself was directly involved, having completed life-size paintings of Sigismund and Charlemagne just the year before, commissioned by the City to commemorate its custodianship of these treasures.

Other objects displayed in Dürer's print –candlesticks, chalice, paten and pax-board – were also very familiar items in a city famed for its metalworkers and goldsmiths. Yet here the familiar had become sacred through proximity to the divine, emphatically demonstrated by the risen Christ on whom Gregory locks his gaze. Those who gazed at this paper image may have also presumed to draw on that affective exchange of intense devotion and sacred power, for many images depicting this miracle detailed the indulgences earned by those who prayed before it. Narrative association, like spatial location and ritual use, could also release the sacred power from material objects.

"Albrecht Dürer's *Nemesis:* Material Culture and Fantasy" – Jenny Spinks

Albrecht Dürer's engraving Nemesis (1501-2) is one of the German artist's most mysterious images. The naked, sturdy, winged body of Nemesis soars triumphantly through the sky, high above the domestic European landscape unfolding below. For such a visionary and elevated scene, Nemesis offers a surprisingly domestic view of the world of the gods. The print demonstrates how German artists, and above all Albrecht Dürer, inflected the Renaissance with a distinctly northern flavour that offered up new landscapes, bodies and even objects. One of the most intriguing details in this startling image is the finely-worked silver vessel that Nemesis holds out before her. This paper will explore the role of this object (and others) in the print, identify similar extant vessels in museum collections today, and examine the object's meaning for Dürer as an artist born into a metal-working family and based in Nuremberg, known for its exceptionally fine metalwork. Scholars have particularly noted its inspiration for the artist in terms of pattern-making and virtuoso engraving techniques, and this paper aims to further extend the analysis of Dürer's interest in metalwork. The artist lived in the wealthy patrician city of Nuremberg during a period when the market for and production of consumer goods was growing. As art historians have noted, his work demonstrates a notable sensitivity to and emotionally-rich engagement with the details of the material world as new subject matter for art.

Using this print and comparative images, the paper will examine how the finely-crafted, domestic objects that surrounded well-off German householders in this period could migrate to scenes of fantasy like this print. The paper will draw on new insights from material culture studies and the history of emotions to explore Albrecht Dürer's "feeling for things", and how material culture could connect with imaginative worlds.

"Comme l'arche de Moyre: The *Sainte Châsse* Reliquary of Chartes as Emotional Object" – Sarah Randles

The gold-covered reliquary, made in the tenth century, and believed to contain the undergarment worn by the Virgin Mary at the birth of Christ, held pride of place on the main altar of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame of Chartres until 1793, when it was removed during the Reign of Terror and reduced to its constituent materials. There is no doubt that the casket, known as the *sainte châsse*, was an object which elicited a wide range of emotions in those who saw and touched it, ranging from awe and wonder to civic pride and covetousness. The faithful expressed their devotion to the Virgin of Chartres and her relic by encrusting the reliquary with gifts of gold, silver and jewells. Many of these were personal items, which by moving from the body of the donor to the proximity of the casket, and being recorded in the cathedral's necrology, functioned as both memorials and visible performances of devotion. At the same time, these gifts changed and enhanced the material and therefore emotional experience of the reliquary itself.

In this respect, the *sainte châsse* is similar to the sumptuous shrines found at many major pilgrimage sites in medieval Europe. However, there is evidence that this particularly reliquary was understood at Chartres as more than simply a container for a precious relic, but as something which served as an index for other objects, including the Ark of the Covenant and the body of the Virgin herself. This paper will argue that the presentation of the *sainte châsse* as a polyvalent and powerful object in its own right is essential to an understanding of its emotional value.

b. ***Medievalism and reception***

"Medievalism and reception: a conversation" – Ika Willis & Ellie Crookes

This paper explores the premise that medievalism is ultimately a mode of reception. In studying the ways in which post-medieval creators and thinkers examine, recreate, refashion and reimagine the medieval past, medievalist scholars are required to develop and deploy, explicitly or implicitly, models of the dynamics, mechanisms and practices by which the present retrieves and engages with the medieval past – that is, models of reception. And yet the term 'reception' itself rarely appears within medievalist scholarship.

We believe that the time is ripe to open up a discussion between these two fields. The title of our presentation invokes the 'dialogic' model of understanding associated with the medieval scholar and foundational reception theorist Hans Robert Jauss, whereby 'the tradition of art presupposes a dialogue between the present and the past, according to which a past work cannot answer and speak to us until a present observer has posed the question which retrieves it from its retirement' (1970: 23). This dialogic model is resonant for both reception theory and medievalism. It also speaks to our methodology and to our aim in this paper. By staging a conversation between Ika, a specialist in reception and an advocate for a broad definition of that term, and Ellie, a scholar of medievalism, we aim to generate dialogue between medievalism and reception more widely.

Our conversation will provide a critical overview of reception theory and its intersection with academic and popular medievalism, and will set out our plan for an edited book collection, to encourage scholars to more explicitly and mindfully examine the wide-ranging and

multifaceted questions raised at the conjunction of reception and medievalism. Our core aim is to examine how medievalism conceives of reception and what it can contribute to reception studies, and how, conversely, reception theory could energize our work as medievalists.

"Negotiating Authority in Remixes and Fanfiction of the Canterbury Tales" – Anna Wilson

My paper will focus on Chaucerian reception in the form of retellings that, explicitly or implicitly, grapple with the poet's canonicity and questions of ownership and authority. There has been a recent upsurge of interest in Chaucer retellings, translations, and adaptations, most notably perhaps in the Global Chaucers Project, responding to a renewed sense of urgency in Medieval Studies to interrogate the place of the medieval in our contemporary moment, and, more specifically, to some recent publications of Chaucer's rewritings, including Patience Agbabi's poetry collection *Telling Tales* (Canongate, 2015), which fuses Chaucer's Middle English rhymes with contemporary lyrics influenced by grime and rap music. Agbabi's rewrite joins a long tradition of Chaucerian adaptations and continuations, including John Lydgate's Prologue to the Siege of Thebes, where the poet joins the party of pilgrims in Chaucer's place, and Robert Henryson's 16th century continuation of *Troilus and Criseyde*, among many others. Agbabi's poems claim Chaucer as a poet of multicultural, multiracial, polyphonic 21st century London, while Lydgate's continuation asserts his place as Chaucer's poetic successor. I look at these continuations alongside the much less-studied area of Chaucer fanfiction. Like Agbabi's poetry, "The Seconde Tale of the Wyf of Bath" by bethbethbeth the Canterbury pilgrims as participating in contemporary modes of storytelling that resist or remake Chaucer as a canonical author; here, the Wife of Bath is a slash fanfiction writer. Meanwhile, both works stake claims – as does Lydgate's – to the legitimacy of their own forms of storytelling through a process of transference of Chaucer's authority, even as they undermine that authority. My paper will explore that negotiation of canon and authority, in conversation with reception theory.

"Revisioning Christine: Zanny Begg and Elise McLeod's *The City of Ladies* (2016)" – Stephanie Downes

Scholars of Christine de Pizan have long been interested in theories and practices of reception; that is, in the ways in the author and her works have been received in different times and places. Christine's own works often underscore the notion that, for the woman writer especially, provocation is the 'point' of reception theory; while the fact that so much of her readership, from the fifteenth century on, has been Anglophone, reflects the requirement of reception theory that postmedieval readers – including scholars – perceive themselves as part of a literary lineage.

During the 1970s, when Anglophone scholarship on Christine began to expand, Judy Chicago created and laid a place for Christine in *The Dinner Party*. Since this time, visual artists have often been drawn to the flexibility and variety of Christine's feminisms. Artist Zanny Begg's collaboration with Paris-based Australian director, Elise McLeod, *The City of Ladies* (2016) is a nonlinear, 20-minute film installation which explores disciplinary and popular perceptions of Christine as 'the first professional woman writer' in the political present. Begg and McLeod's work incorporates interviews with Hélène Cixous, Silvia Federici, Sam Bourcier, Fatima Ezzahra Benomar and Sharone Omankoy, to advocate a more global approach to contemporary feminisms.

In this paper, I argue that Begg and McLeod's Franco-Australian collaboration receives *La Livre de Cité des Dames* as a text and object to challenge modern views of medieval women and rethink women's social, cultural, and racial identities in the present. Their revisioning of Christine's city shows how intersectionality multiplies the social and political potential of

medievalism for feminism – and vice versa – by revealing more open and inclusive ways of relating to the past.

c. *The Emotional Boundaries of Belief in the Early Modern World*

"Come and Rejoyce: Liturgy, Belief, and the Early Modern English Sermon" – Jennifer Clement

David Bagchi recently suggested that the overall effect of the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer is to emphasize joy: joy at God's grace, joy in the hope of salvation, and joy in the community of belief created by the liturgy itself. Taking up this suggestion, this paper argues that, as part of the liturgy prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, early modern English sermons attempt to shape belief through their participation in the liturgy's movement towards hope and joy. Such sermons testify to the mixed nature of religious joy; for the godly, joy is always mixed with sorrow for past sins. But insofar as sermons urge congregations to look hopefully to the future, they assert joy as the result of the belief in an ultimate redemption and salvation. In short, as this paper shows, to believe is to feel joy, while to feel joy is to believe.

"Fear, Ghosts and Devils in Early Modern England" – Charlotte Rose-Millar

In early modern England, ghosts existed at the boundaries of belief and represented a key point of religious tension. For many early Protestant reformers, ghosts could no longer be viewed as departed souls; instead, they were merely tricks of the Devil. This paper argues that in attempting to demonise and thus dismiss belief in ghosts as departed souls of the dead, Protestant reformers unintentionally succeeded in imbuing the ghost with greater terror than ever before and, perhaps in doing so, assuring its survival. Both printed and manuscript accounts of ghostly encounters describe the 'fear', 'terror', 'amazement' and 'consternation' that these spectral beings engendered in their unhappy subjects. Fear clearly shaped these encounters, as did ongoing attempts by Protestant writers and theologians to demonise supernatural belief. By examining printed and manuscript sources, this paper will highlight how attempts to demonise ghosts, far from signalling the death of the ghost, actually created a new, ambiguous ghost, one that was both departed soul and demonic fiend. It demonstrates the key role of emotions in shaping belief and traces how fear of the Devil in early modern England became intrinsically entangled with fear of ghosts.

"Biblical Emotions in the Sixteenth Century" – Kirk Essary

Referring to the history of exegesis on Romans 8:6 ("To be carnally minded is death, but to be spiritually minded is life and peace"), Erasmus of Rotterdam writes: "It is no surprise that commentators include both *intellectus* and *affectus* in the words they use since the realities are interrelated; for a corrupt emotion is born for the most part from corrupt understanding and vice versa." Erasmus is simultaneously nodding to a long-standing Christian tradition of understanding the role of emotion in belief as ambiguous, while also suggesting provocatively that the boundaries between knowing and feeling are often indistinguishable. However, Erasmus also helped create a new discursive context for considering the relationship between emotions and belief. By publishing the first ever printed edition of the Greek New Testament with a new Latin translation in 1516, Erasmus forced his contemporaries to reconsider how the emotions of the Bible had been described (and, potentially, understood) in Latinate Europe for a millennium. In this paper I will consider the relationship between emotion and belief in this new exegetical context, one made even more complicated by the proliferation of Bible readings and translations in the early decades of the Protestant Reformation.

d. *Acts and Practices in Medieval Belief*

"Fourth century antecedents of medieval pilgrimage to Jerusalem" – Giselle Bader

This paper examines the origins of one of the most popular medieval practices — pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The emergence of pilgrimage is indelibly linked to the legalisation of Christianity in the early fourth century. Constantine's imperial building regime dismantled religious boundaries between the east and west and transformed Palestinian holy sites into subjects of widespread cross cultural Christian worship. His mother Helena's pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 327–28 consolidated this imperial patronage of Jerusalem as the spiritual centre of the Roman Empire. A close comparative reading of pilgrim accounts from both the fourth century and the Middle Ages reveals the extent of this change. Pilgrims envisioned Jerusalem as a site where scriptural texts had been absorbed into the landscape. Jerusalem may therefore be understood not merely as a physical place but as a historical nexus point. By focusing on the sacred, Constantine transformed it into a vessel like space with the ability to dually project and absorb various scriptural, historical, and personal pilgrim narratives. Pilgrims were travelling to a new Jerusalem — one that encapsulated the scriptural past and a holiness made tangible through both the building and recognition of holy places. As the pilgrim walked, their personal context was intimately related to the biblical. The dissemination of pilgrim accounts in Late Antiquity reveals the mutual supportiveness of the pilgrim and the landscape they walked within. Each came to define the other and reveal how medieval Jerusalem would became archetypal of both scriptural and pilgrim histories.

"Theology, Religious Practice, and Female Agency in Medieval Prague" – Thomas Fudge

There were scary women in medieval Bohemia. They engaged in iconcoclasm, actively interfered in normal religious practice, committed criminal acts including theft, arson, unlawful detainment, assault, and murder. But their violence differs little from that of their male counterparts. Bad women were very much like bad men. There is much we can never know about the role and activities of women in Hussite Bohemia but the questions and the considerations remain endlessly fascinating. If we accept the witness of the chronicler Vavřinec of Březová (died 1437), women exercised agency during the Hussite period. This detailed Latin chronicle contains an open letter authored by women, connected to a parish church in the New Town of Prague, addressed to the city magistrates and circulated in July 1421. The vernacular text of several hundred words has been preserved in the Latin Chronicle These women presented written accusations to the councillors and the letter was read aloud to the authorities. When the magistrates responded angrily and issued demands the women resisted and withstood the magistrates for over two hours. The letter demonstrates that theological debate was neither restricted to scholars and clerics nor confined to Latin. The women successfully lodged a threat of civil disobedience if their demands were ignored. This paper explores a hitherto overlooked episode wherein medieval theology, religious practice and female agency appear vividly evident.

"Writing at the Boundaries: Textual Charms in Medieval England" – Katherine Hindley

Medieval instructions for making textual charms occasionally display concern about the texts to be written. In some cases, texts should be hidden from their users. In others, the very existence of the text might attract the attention of demons. Sometimes the reader is warned that if the text is not destroyed after use, it will kill the patient it aims to heal. In this paper, I examine the assumptions that seem to lie behind such warnings. I argue first that writing was (and still is) perceived as a method of communication that could reach across the boundaries of existence to convey messages to supernatural beings, or to the dead. I further argue that writing could be used to alter material categories such that ordinary items would act with the power of relics. In the most obvious examples of this phenomenon, textual amulets containing

the name of a saint would heal the conditions with which that saint was associated. I will demonstrate that illegible charm texts, using invented languages and alphabets, also used the same techniques. This paper draws on my own database of over a thousand charm texts collected from manuscripts written or owned in medieval England.

e.*Categories of Conflict 1: Middle Ages*

"Divide to conquer: the partitive succession practice of the Merovingians and its relationship to civil war" – Caroline Foster

The creation of successor states following the fall of the Roman Empire provides excellent material for the examination of political boundary-making and the creation of political identities. None more so than Merovingian Francia, forged into the largest of the successor states through the brutal conquest of Clovis and remaining under the control of the Merovingian dynasty for two centuries. In 511 AD, upon the death of Clovis, his recently-conquered territory of Francia was divided between his four surviving sons, creating part-kingdoms or *teilreiche* which existed within the broader kingdom. For the two centuries of Merovingian rule that followed, civil was occurred with such regularity that it is often identified as a typifying feature of the dynasty. Civil war, long hair and axes generally spring first to mind when Merovingians are mentioned.

The decision to divide Clovis's kingdom, which became the royal succession protocol, was the focus of my study at the University of Oxford and my paper would discuss the conclusions I drew from a careful re-examination of the sources, most particularly Gregory of Tours' *Decem Libri Historiarum*. My primary interest is in the relationship between the partitive succession practice, which resulted in the creation of these part-kingdoms without clear boundaries or territorial identities, and the regularity of civil war. The prevailing explanations for Merovingian civil war generally centre around the idea that the Merovingians slid into a state of animosity against original peace-keeping intentions. However, by focusing on the norm of partitive succession and the volatile political boundaries the practice created, it can be deduced that the Merovingians, far from avoiding civil war, perhaps institutionalised civil war, pitting the brother-kings against one another from the moment of their inheritance. This examination of the Merovingian case tempers our inclination to expect twenty-first century political practices in the earliest incarnations of the medieval kingdoms and to consider the possibility of a distinctive Merovingian political ideology. It can also help us to consider the implications of portioning territories and creating new polities, a notion perhaps more relevant today than ever.

"Jan of Michalovice's knightly expedition to Paris" – Wojciech Iwanczak

This paper has been devoted to the discussion of the expedition brought up in the title, which is supposed to have taken place on the turn of the 13th century. However, our knowledge of the event derives neither from an account nor a historical reference. It is from literature that we learn of Jan of Michalovice's achievement: Heinrich von Freiberg is the author of that German poem. He's one of the links of the whole chain of the German court poets who found their home in Bohemia in the 13th century.

Jan of Michalovice came from one of the distinguished Czech families, the Markwartice. The hero is interesting for us because performs a dual function. He appears to be a historical character and a literary protagonist. In the joust in Paris Jan surpasses the other knights. To praise the knight the author states that the poem's protagonist is a „new Perceval".

The story of Jan of Michalovice's expedition is a typical product of courtly culture belonging to the Minnesang tradition. It not only explores the world of universal values and the ethics of the chosen knight's community but also provides interesting information about

the organization, attire, armour and the rules according to which knightly tournaments were held.

Central argument is chivalric ideal present in the literature and in reality. It means my study is situated between history and literaturę similar to the conception of Erich Köhler.

"The Politics of Richard I's Gift-Exchange on Crusade, within and across the Boundaries of Christendom" – Scott Moynihan

This paper analyses how Richard I of England's use of the diplomatic exchanging of gifts during the course of the Third Crusade was understood and memorialised in contemporary chronicle sources. The focus is on Richard's gift-exchanges and diplomacy with the Ayyubid sultan Saladin and his brother al-Adil, as well as his exchange with Tancred of Sicily while en route to the Holy Land. These exchanges provide a useful point of comparison for perceptions of gift-giving (and receiving) by kings with those both within and outside the boundaries of Christendom. The main sources examined are two chronicles, the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica,* both written by Roger of Howden, a royal clerk who accompanied Richard on the crusade through the siege of Acre. The differing contexts of these two chronicles, in which Roger depicts the king's diplomacy and gift-exchange with Saladin in quite different ways, allows for an analysis of how a king was expected to approach diplomatic exchanges, how these exchanges could be used to advance certain political agendas, and how (or if) exchanges with those outside the boundaries of Christendom were viewed in the West as different to those with fellow Christians. The question of how Christian chroniclers in the West depicted, and therefore understood and remembered, diplomacy between crusaders and Muslims has received little attention in the historiography. This work develops further the general surveys of Christian-Muslim diplomacy at the time of the crusades by Yvonne Friedman, as well as Thomas Asbridge's analysis of the strategic considerations of Richard and Saladin's diplomacy, but with more focus on the social and political aspects of gift-exchange and diplomacy. It forms a part of my wider doctoral thesis which examines how diplomacy between crusaders and Muslims was integrated in, or seen as contradictory, to contemporary crusading ideologies.

"Unequal Horizons: Italian and Muslim Merchants Meet in the 11th Century" – Romney David Smith

The 11th century saw a sharp realignment in the commercial economy of the Mediterranean. From the tenth century, networks of exchange were dominated by individuals from the southern littoral, primarily Egypt, as documented in the Cairo Geniza. But by the 12th century, these networks were largely in the hands of Italians from Pisa, Amalfi, Genoa and other cities. Over the intervening years, the direction of trade was reversed, and the trade instruments of the south adopted in Italy. This much is certain; what is less certain is the mechanism. We know little about how the maritime enterprise of the Italian cities functioned in the 11th century. Conversely, the Muslim-Jewish marine network is well documented. This paper examines what the underlying trade structures of the south might imply with respect to Italian commerce. Although Italians are rare in contemporary Jewish and Muslim sources, the necessary logic of the system can tell us much about their expansion into the Mediterranean. I will argue that we should understand practices and processes as the essential building blocks of the Mediterranean network. Cities, like individuals, entered and departed the network, and while modern historiographies have tended to privilege such polities, they were but nodes in an ever-changing map of the ebb and flow of information. A model of bilateral relations between an Italian city and the Islamic world is too simple a picture of what must have an open-access multi-lateral system. A more dynamic and complex picture

emerges if we consider the Mediterranean network as a whole, and cities and individuals as mobile components within it.

f. *Gender, Space and Romance*

"Romance across boundaries: Reading the Sequels to *Argenis*" – Edwina Christie

Argenis, a neo-Latin romance from 1621 by the Scottish courtier John Barclay, was a smash hit in the early seventeenth century. It was quickly translated into every major European language and went through 10 editions in Latin alone before 1630. It was adapted for the French, German and Spanish stages and continued to be reissued in England and France in new translations for more than a century. *Argenis* also inspired three fan-authored sequels in French, Spanish and Latin: de Mouchemberg's *La Seconde Partie de l'Argenis* (1625), Tobar's *Argenis Continuada o Segunda Parte* (1626), and Bugnot's *Archombrotus et Theopompus* (1669).

In this paper, I will consider how adaptations of and sequels to *Argenis* cross boundaries of culture, language and form and ask what happens when romance is adapted and reinterpreted in new cultural spaces. How are non-authorial sequels inflected by their distinct cultural contexts? How are the politics of the original romance reinterpreted by new hands? And why is it that romance in particular seems to hold such enduring transnational appeal?

I will focus particularly on the most popular of the sequels, de Mouchemberg's *La Seconde Partie*, which was a success in its own right, going through 6 editions in French as well as translations into Latin, German, Spanish and Duth. De Mouchemberg's sequel eliminates the political dialogues that are characteristic of *Argenis* and focuses instead on developing new amorous narratives with the existing characters. This is characteristic of many responses to *Argenis*, which tend to retain the amorous plot and either excise the long political debates or soften the absolutist politics of the original. Through thinking about the European afterlife of this Scottish romance, this paper seeks to illuminate romance as a significant form of cultural exchange across national and linguistic boundaries.

"The princess in the tower: negotiating the lyrics of narrative identity through spatial practice in *King Ponthus and the Faire Sidone*" – Jan Shaw

This paper considers the gendered spatial practices in the fifteenth-century English prose romance *King Ponthus and the Faire Sidone*. It asks, does architectural form present a limit to narrative identity? Can architectural space that has been conceived by men for women be reconstituted through feminine spatial practice? What do the distinctive spatial practices inscribed in this text say about gender and its relationship with the construction of narrative identity? To answer these questions this paper invokes Doreen Massey's theory of space to explore gendered re-negotiations of narrative identity through agentive spatial practice. While the limits to spatial practice that are implicitly encoded in architectural form built by men for women are in a co-constitutive relationship with patriarchy, this text seems to propose that such limits can be resisted and reworked to realise not only an agentive feminine identity, but one that captures the meaning-making function of leadership. In these ways the text differs from its most famous English antecedent, *King Horn*. By offering more complex and multivalent characterisations to female figures who usually occupy circumscribed identity spaces, *King Ponthus and the Faire Sidone* suggests that there has been a shift in thinking about identity and otherness, and particularly about gender and leadership. This paper explores this shift in thinking and reflects upon what this might tell us about the preparedness of the emerging gentry audience (rather than the earlier courtly one) to engage with these potentially destabilising ideas of gender.

"The Good Heir and the Modest Writer: Virtuous Daughters in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*" – Emma Simpson

Sir Philip Sidney's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* features many different kinds of women: virtuous princesses, tyrannical aunts, and cross-dressed lovers are only a few of the women who feature in the pages of his romance. As Helen Hackett notes, romance was a complex genre—one that was largely authored by men, but voyeuristically represented as "women's reading". Sidney himself refers to the *Arcadia* as a trifle, calling it "this idle work of mine", but critics have long been aware of the political commentary with which the romance engages. Claiming that he wrote the *Arcadia* for his sister, whom he calls "a principal ornament of the family", Sidney blurs the boundaries for the conventionally virtuous woman by connecting them with the romance genre. Sidney's romance gives prominence to women due to a lack of appropriate male rulership and virtue, but in this paper I am specifically interested in how the *Arcadia* goes to extensive lengths to present young, upper-class women as virtuous—regardless of their breaks with convention. Through his central heroines, Sidney's text suggest that a more flexible understanding of morality achieves a greater good. While both sisters are virtuous, they exhibit their virtue in explicitly different ways. Philoclea is sweet, Pamela majestic. Both, however, are seen writing, often in moments that are strongly tied to romance convention. Through his efforts to present in the *Arcadia* the poetics he would later explore in his *Defence of Poesy*, Sidney renegotiates the romance genre in a way that would go on to be useful to later writers, particularly in terms of the genre's relationship with women and morality.

g. *Saints and Saints' Lives*

"The sons of Hagar and Moab: Categorising Muslims in Iberian medieval hagiography" – Hélène Sirantoine

Hagiography is a literary genre that has long been ignored by historians. These texts full of miracles were considered as belonging to the realm of belief, of the marvellous, hence of fiction; they were deemed as *a priori* not prone to a regime of historical truth. Scholars have of course come back from this generic ostracism, and hagiographic sources have now fully integrated the fields of religious and social history, as well as the history of mentalities. This paper proposes to explore what the genre brings to the field of Christian perceptions of Islam in the Middle Ages, taking medieval Iberia as a specific case study, and examining how Christian hagiographers categorised Muslims in their writings. Iberian medieval hagiography is a goldmine when it comes to representing Islam and its adherents. Many martyrdoms and saint lives happened in or involved al-Andalus, and hagiographic productions regularly feature the translation of relics repatriated from there to Christian Spain. The situation of a peninsula split between the Christian and Islamic domains often constituted the background in which sanctity was possible (in the case of martyrs) or displayed (with holy men participating to campaigns against Islam, or with the miracles which they or their relics performed). However, the terminology employed in the hagiographic productions of the period to designate Muslims is diverse. In addition to their traditional qualification as either 'pagans' or 'Saracens', Muslims could also become 'Moabites' – a term used to designate specifically the Berber Almoravids – or even be presented as belonging to the *muzlemía*, as in the case in the 13th-century *Life of San Millán* written by Gonzalo de Berceo. This paper examines the variety of strategies adopted to name and categorise Muslims in peninsular hagiography, and the role these strategies played in the depiction of sanctity in medieval Iberia.

"The Rupertsberg Antependium: Pursuing Canonization Under Conrad of Marburg's Reign as Inquisitor of Heretics (1227-33)" – Roswitha Dabke

A dominant feature of medieval altar cloths is their multifunctionality. Adornment, showcasing patron saints and commemoration of benefactors, for instance, are common functions of such textiles. In her 1977 article on the wine-red Rupertsberg silk antependium (c. 1230) German textile expert Leonie von Wilckens provided essential information for interpreting its complicated design and iconography. She transcribed, for instance, the numerous inscriptions, which are very difficult to decipher in reproductions. This opened up space for discussion of the functions of this luxury altar frontal. Wilckens and many other scholars mention the wish of the convent to have Hildegard (1098- 1179), their foundress and patron saint, recognized as a canonized saint, mainly because four of eleven named antependium nuns also appear as witnesses in the canonization protocol of 1233. However, this overarching goal does not allow satisfactory interpretations of all pictorial and textual details and of the unusual design. It is therefore possible that keeping at bay Conrad of Marburg, inquisitor of heretics, was a further, simultaneous goal of the convent. His papal commission to seek out and, some years later, to also judge suspected heretics covers the same period as the first canonization attempt by the Rupertsberg (1227-33). The analysis in this presentation will be confined to the timeframe set by the documented actions of Conrad and the nuns, and solely considers the goal of avoiding the inquisitor's attentions. This approach results in interpretations of details that have never been scrutinized, addresses problems that have been acknowledged but have not yet been solved, and offers deeper interpretations of titulus and overall design. The desire for a papally recognized patron saint is paired with fear of papally commissioned heretical persecution. Canonization and such persecution are frequently described as two different sides of the same coin.

Parallel Session 11

a. *Early Modern Religious Texts*

"Herrick's Players and Prayers: Ceremony and Extemporal Devotion in the Hesperides" – Rhema Hokana

In "*To* Julia," one of the many erotic lyrics in his 1,130-poem collection *Hesperides*, a spiritually errant Herrick implores his girlfriend to help him learn to pray: "Help me, *Julia,* for to pray, / Mattens sing, or Mattens say: … / Bring the Holy-water hither; / Let us wash, and pray together" (1-2, 5-6).

In "To *Julia,*" as is true of his other sacramental love poems, Herrick celebrates the devotional power of religious ceremony—but not within the rarefied world of the English church services. In the poem, the Holy-water cleanses both body and soul; it sanctifies Herrick's fantasy of a co-ed bathing rite, in which he and Julia sop, souse, and pray. Liberated from the Prayerbook liturgies of the state church services, the matins might be sung at any time or any place, and elevate the poem's fantasy of the bathing rite to the stature of ecclesiastical ceremony itself.

Building on recent efforts to resituate Herrick's lyrics within the manuscript culture of the 1610s and 20s, my talk proposes that Herrick's religiously inflected poems describe erotic desire by appropriating the imaginative technique of the Reformed cleric Joseph Hall, diocese bishop of Herrick's Exeter vicarage. Although the 1648 publication of the *Hesperides* has led Herrick's readers to regard his book an artifact of the Laudian-puritan controversies of that decade, recent scholarship has shown that Herrick had been actively writing and circulating his poems in manuscript as early as the 1610s. While the majority of Herrick's readers presume that the religious import of the poems is indicative of a Laudian preference for ceremonialism and constitute a critique of the puritan attacks on ecclesiastical worship, I argue that Herrick's poems celebrate a Calvinist vision of devotion and ceremony championed by Hall—one rooted in the particulars of the sensible world.

"Isaac Watts and the Boundaries of Trinitarian Orthodoxy in Dissenting Hymnody" – Daniel Johnson

Isaac Watts (1674-1748) was a dissenting minster and hymn writer. He can be seen as a pivotal figure in the transition from seventeenth-century Calvinism and eighteenth-century Evangelicalism. He is remembered most famously for his hymns; published in 1707, his *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* became the most widely-used hymnal in Britain and America for the next two centuries.

This paper will discuss the reception of Watts' hymns within the context of the Trinitarian controversies that followed the Toleration Act of 1689. There is debate among the academic community as to the lateral function of Watts' hymns; on the one hand they established the boundaries of nonconformity, functioning as sung creeds, and on the other they were embraced by those outside of his ecclesiastical tradition.

This paper will argue that, at a time when orthodox understandings of the Trinity were under attack, Watts' hymns could be sung by those with a broad range of convictions. Watts' own formulation of the Trinity will be discussed too, as it represents his own generous orthodoxy. And finally, the paper will show that Watts' hymns were sung by both Unitarians and Trinitarians, heterodox and orthodox alike, throughout the English-speaking world.

"Caxton's Old Testament: Scriptural Translation and Orthodoxy in the Fifteenth Century" – John Scahill

In 1407, the Council of Oxford sought to restrict the circulation of the Bible in the vernacular. In 1526, Tyndale's translation was condemned. But in 1483, Caxton printed, within the Old Testament section of his *Golden Legend*, close translation of extensive sections of the Vulgate, including for example the entire Book of Tobit. This paper will sketch the mixture of skilful translation, free combination of sources and original composition that distinguishes this set of legends, and present linguistic evidence that it is not Caxton's own work and can be dated to the mid-fifteenth century; it will then argue that the translator made some use of the Wycliffite Bible, the target of the Council of Oxford. What is known of Caxton's publishing and patronage in general, the specific dedication of this, probably his most expensive publication, and some authorial remarks within it indicate an entirely respectable reception. The association of what is usually known as the Wycliffite Bible with heterodoxy has been questioned, particularly by the recent work of H. A. Kelly, and clearly fluctuated over the period between its origins and the Reformation. Taken together, this late-fifteenth century printing and mid-century translation suggest that the vernacular Bible was not then as suspect or as sensitive an issue as it had been or was again to become.

b. *Categories of Knowledge in Early Modern Philosophy*

"Fossils and the marvellous artistry of nature" – Petra Kayser

In the sixteenth century, fossils or 'figured stones' were included in nearly every natural history collection and curiosity cabinet. Stones bearing images of plants and animals were among the most puzzling phenomena of the natural world. These mysterious stones seemed to defy the natural order, as they combined properties of the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms. Their substance, form and texture, and the places in which fossils were found varied enormously, giving rise to numerous theories regarding their cause and formation. Early modern explanations of fossils and the language used to describe them reveal a fascinating view of the natural world. According to naturalists such as Conrad Gessner and Ulisse Aldrovandi, nature 'played' by shaping even the hardest of substances into intricate forms, 'sculpting' and 'painting' with extraordinary skill and invention. As wondrous manifestations of a divine creative principle, fossils seemed to hold the key to understanding the secrets of nature.

"New Philosophies: Cosmological and Human Unboundedness in Pico della Mirandola and Giordano Bruno" – Darius Sepehri

Notions of boundedness and unboundedness were highly important to the work of Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) and Giordano Bruno (1548 – 1600). For Pico, the ontological horizons of the human being are without limits, and human dignity stems from being "a creature of indeterminate image". Human beings, unlike animals and angels, have no fixed status in creation but are completely free to make themselves, and their essential nature lies in this self-determination, whose ultimate *telos* is the transcending of all images to become, like God, beyond representation. Thus in Pico's thought limitlessness or unboundedness is an *a priori* metaphysical (not material or immanent) condition, a mystical destiny or "theological teleology" which entails contemplativity and moral purification in fidelity to traditional Christian soteriology. In the *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, Pico's proclamation to present a "new philosophy" is premised on confirming the truth of Christianity (as well as truths in other religions) while utilising scholastic dialectic to achieve higher intellectual and spiritual synthesis; radical free will is thus balanced and strictly limited by difficult ethical demands and knowledge of scholastic categories. Bruno also proclaimed a *nova filosofia*, yet situated unboundedness in the materially immanent realm, proposing an unlimited, infinite universe

with infinite worlds moving in homogenous space according to universal principles. Bruno thus attacked the Medieval vertical ontology, abolishing hierarchical metaphysical distinctions of quality and proclaiming horizontality. Bruno's immanentism eliminated the personal God and necessitated a new ethics based on "heroic furor," a joyous participation in life and excellence, as well as an epistemology based on accessing the fantastical dimension of images. Bruno's cosmological unboundedness thus proved the "accidentality" of human beings, annihilating any theological destiny. In this paper I will demonstrate how the difference in their notions of unboundedness lead Pico and Bruno to radically different epistemological and ethical ideas.

"Between Ancient/Modern, Classical/Christian, Moral/Civic, Philosophy/Rhetoric: Bacon's Essays as Liminal Text" – Matthew Sharpe

Francis Bacon's *Essayes* (1597, 1612, 1625) confound ready categorisation. Despite their status as a classic of English prose, no dedicated monograph (as against a Concordance) has been produced on the text. Despite their philosophical subject matters, scholarly treatment of the *Essayes* has largely concerned itself with Bacon's extraordinary rhetoric. At the level of their content, critics have discerned the tension in Bacon's *Essayes*, between his treatment of classical ethical or moral subjects, and his essays addressing "civil" and political subjects. Many essays, like "Of Goodness and Goodness in Nature", express a Christian perspective, whilst others (like "Of Simulation and Dissimulation") give voice to a more instrumental or even Machiavellian philosophy.   This essay will examine Bacon's *Essayes* as a text that crosses boundaries, whose aphoristic form serves as a goad to the reader's reflection and curiosity, and whose philosophical content presents a continuing challenge to the scholar.

c. *Passion, Lust and Vigilance in the Early Modern World*

"Shrill Morality or Shrewd Policy? The Doge of Genoa's Polemic Against Passionate Love" – Randall Albury

In 1496 Battista Fregoso (1453-1504), former Doge of Genoa, published a polemic against passionate love entitled *Anteros*. Writings of this kind formed an early modern genre known today as the anti-erotic movement or the *contra-amorem* tradition. Their aim was to discredit the obsessive erotic fixation upon an unobtainable woman that courtly literature, especially Petrarchan poetry, had made fashionable among elite young men. Most authors contributing to this tradition were either humanist scholars or clergymen but Fregoso, an active political and military figure throughout his adult life, was an exception. Nevertheless he had sufficient credibility as an author for Mario Equicola to include a precis of *Anteros* in the first part of his *Libro de natura de amore*(1525), where Equicola summarises the writings of eighteen post-classical authorities on love before he presents his own views on the subject.

Art historians have debated the question of whether *Anteros* served as an inspiration for some of the paintings in the *studiolo* of Equicola's patron, Isabella d'Este, the marchesa of Mantua. Recent judgement [S. J. Campbell,*The Cabinet of Eros*, 70] is that *Anteros* would not have been an acceptable programmatic source for the decoration of Isabella's *studiolo* because its 'shrill morality' was out of keeping with the character of the marchesa. It is this latter point about the nature of Fregoso's work that interests me here rather than the art-historical question, which I shall not pursue. Is *Anteros* a shrill moralising tract offering young men celibacy or marriage as their only two legitimate options, a position which its frontispiece might suggest? What is its response to the idea of Platonic love introduced by Marsilio Ficino's *Commentary on the Symposium of Plato*(1484)? And what is the relationship of *Anteros* to Fregoso's own political ambitions at the time?

"Lusty sluts and gallant dames: representations of women's transgressive sexualities in early modern British broadside ballads" – Emma Sadera

Broadside ballads are an enduring source of representational information around many aspects of English early modern subjectivities. This is especially apparent when notions and taxonomies of gender are considered: it has been noted that 'the gender categories are […] more pronounced in ballads.'[3] When surviving ballad collections are explored, the pictures which emerge cast lucid and sometimes contradictory lights on the relational expectations and potential transgressions that early modern women, in particular, sought to navigate in their romantic and sexual experiences.

In this paper, I will explore how these ballads deployed contemporary tropes and normative behavioural categories to depict women's sexual propriety, and the consequences of transgression. I will explore how ballads utilised melodrama, pathos and humour in popularising these representations. I will suggest that, far from contributing to a consistent, boundaried behavioural code that women could – or perhaps should – strictly adhere to in order to preserve their reputational and literal safety, early modern English ballad texts create a liminal range of representations of women and their sexual identities and behaviours, including those ballads which depicted women as 'sexual suspects',[4] those in which women were 'feisty heroines',[5] and those in which women figured as tragic victims. As popular cultural products consumed by a broad cross-section of society, these texts allow for an epistemological insight into the complexities of constructions of honour, lewdness, deviance and desert. These ballads often reveal specific ideological agendas, and are situated as a key component of contemporary street literature, which, then just as now, both reflects and influences prevailing mores. As the seventeenth-century ballad collector John Selden noted, 'More solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels.'[6]

"In stead of rest: Vigilance in *The Faerie Queene*" – Stephanie Schierhuber

The Faerie Queene is punctuated throughout with episodes where characters are unable to rest. Instead of rest, the characters experience an episode of vigilance. Vigilance refers to the inability to rest for an extended time beyond the typical duration of waking, subverting the expected course of narrative action. In book I the Redcrosse Knight finds himself unable to rest on more than one occasion, as do Sir Guyon and Scudamour in books II and IV respectively. These episodes of vigilance stem from a variety of reasons: vows to not rest until a quest is completed; the torment of emotions such as jealousy, desire, and loss; or the duty-bound watch of the protector. In spite of the differences around the causes of vigilance many of these episodes share striking similarities. This paper will focus on two episodes of vigilance in *The Faerie Queene* — Una at I.iii.15 and Britomart at III.ii.28 — which are especially striking for their similarities of diction, dramatic action, and the direct inversion of each episode's cause of vigilance. The similarities of the two episodes resonate with one another despite being physically separated by almost two books. In spite of the distance between the episodes, this resonance offers a starting point for this paper to begin a consideration of what this indicates about the broader structures of the poem.

d.Roundtable: Children and War – Katie Barclay, Megan Cassidy-Welch, Dianne Hall

That children were not only impacted by war, but mobilised for war efforts – whether as combatants or 'in public display as symbols of purity and morality', as Ziino (2018)

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[3] Capp, p. 367

[4] Fissell, p. 216

[5] Capp, p. 268

[6] John Selden, cited in Fumerton and Guerrini, p. 1

described it – is increasingly recognised for the twentieth century. Yet, medieval and early modern children too were involved in war efforts, whether as casualties, refugees, soldiers, or as participants in the production of national memory after war. Medieval and early modern European children lived through and witnessed war, their identities shaped by their experiences and by public discourses designed to enable them to produce meaning out of violence and conflict. As adults, experiences of war shaped their behaviour, mental health, relationship to family, sect and nation, and the stories they transmitted to their children and grandchildren. Thus children's stories of war did not remain in the medieval or early modern, but became part of larger stories of self and nation – crossing temporal boundaries. Stories of medieval and early modern European wars continue to contribute to national education programmes as events that are significant not only to the past but to who we are today. This roundtable brings together scholars interested in how children learn about war, both historically and today; how war produces the self; the transmission of cultural and familial knowledges about war over generations; and the ways children's stories of war become part of contemporary identity and nation. Panellists will briefly introduce their research in this area, before opening up to wider discussion with the floor.

e.*Representations of Gender, Power and Ethnicity*

"Secrecy, Loyalty, and Betrayal: Problematising Gender and Unruly Speech in Late Medieval France" – Tania Colwell

Compilation manuscripts containing the poetic French Mélusine romances known as the *Roman de Parthenay* remain understudied for the light they shed on the variable ways in which this medieval text was read and transmitted. One such compilation is the fifteenth-century volume, Oxford, Bodley MS 445. Containing the fairy romance alongside the tragic tale of *La Chastelaine de Vergi* and a liturgical calendar, Bodley 445 presents a seemingly disparate collection of narrative and devotional material. However, analysis of both the narrative texts and the physical manuscript reveals the compilation's sustained concern with the swearing and preservation of a secret pact between lovers and the subsequent betrayal of the pact through unruly speech. Interestingly, whereas conventional medical thinking posited that women were naturally, and excessively, garrulous — by virtue of their porous and sexually appetitive bodies — this manuscript draws attention to the uncontrolled utterances of men and their destructive consequences. My paper examines how the different texts within Bodley 445 problematise later medieval assumptions about the relationship between gender and unruly speech, and attempts to situate the manuscript's production in light of the early fifteenth-century *querelle des femmes*. This discussion serves as a case-study within a wider analysis of the heterogeneous nature of the poetic Melusine compilations and their reception.

"Turks, Moors, Deys and Kingdoms: North African Dynasty in the Stuart Periodical Press" – Nathaniel Cutter

This paper explores, using the case study of diversity, the usefulness of the English-language news press as a source on the history of early modern North Africa and its representation in Britain. While modern historians typically argue that most Britons knew very little true about North Africa and its people, haphazardly employing "Turk" or "Moor" to stand in for all Muslims (and a great deal more), the news press provides fascinating evidence for a robust and detailed understanding of North African ethnic, political and religious diversity that was made available to thousands of Britons, including those in a position to profoundly impact international relations. News periodicals, drawing on up-to-date eyewitness testimony, show awareness of political divisions between and within Morocco and the Ottoman Empire, describe key political institutions in numerous jurisdictions, make remarkably accurate ethnic and religious distinctions, and report on important political events with little evident sensationalizing or distortion. Periodical publications frequently distributed thousands of

copies per issue, reaching tens or hundreds of individual hearers per copy; and were relied upon by merchants, government officials and diplomats for accurate and timely foreign news reporting, and read or heard by a broad section of the general population. The English news press thus sheds new light on the extent and specificity of knowledge available to average Britons in the Stuart era, and thus on their reactions to North Africans encountered in person and in the imagination.

"Representations of the Holy Roman Empire in Late Medieval Italy (12th-15th century): categories of forms and individuals" – Gabriel Redon

The medieval Holy Roman Empire is often perceived through its most significant symbols (eagle, imperial crown, depictions of emperors, etc.), which, in fact, hides the complexity of this political construction in its various territories (Germany, Italy, Bohemia, etc.). Through my research on imperial symbols in the medieval Italian space between the 12th and 15th centuries I have developed a typology of the representations of the imperial power in Italy at that time, whether it concerns painting, architecture or literature. I also have been able to identify many levels of perception of the imperial concept in medieval Italian elites, regardless of whether they are aristocratic or intellectual, and to suggest new categories of individuals in order to help identify the ideological intricacies of the imperial cause.

f. *Australian Early Medieval Association III: Cultural Identity in the Early Medieval Celtic World*

"Painted or Pricked? Ethnonyms, Tattoos and Cultural Identity in the Early Medieval British Isles" – Erica Steiner

In the ancient and medieval sources, typical epithets and descriptions of the Britons, Picts and Scots, frequently described them as being marked in some way, bearing designs, or as somehow blue-coloured. Previous generations of scholars have tended to interpret these literary sources as evidence that temporary body-painting is the practice behind these designs, but a thorough re-assessment of the written material in conjunction with the few surviving physical sources, actually leads to the conclusion that the practice was more likely to be permanent tattooing. Tattooing was of course far from unknown in Europe in antiquity, with the Romans and Greeks practicing penal tattooing, while various neighbouring cultures, most famously the Scythians and Thracians, using tattoos conversely as a mark of high status. There is a wealth of ancient and medieval evidence to suggest that the physical appearance of the *Britanni*, *Cruithni*, *Picti* and *Scotti* was indeed noteworthy enough to beget their ethnonyms. The first two names both derive from the Indo-European **qrt-*, 'to cut', and are generally translated as the 'People of the Designs', while *Picti* is usually (though not always) derived from the Latin *pingere*, 'to paint'. However, there is no scholarly consensus on either the meaning or origin of the ethnonym *Scotti*, with etymological suggestions ranging from words related to piracy and raiders, ships, exiles, and even taxes. This paper will present an argument for linguistically including the *Scotti* with their early medieval neighbours by postulating that their ethnonym is also related to an aspect of their physical appearance.

"Returning to the Britains: Exploring Irish identity in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries" – Stephen Joyce

In his Church History of the English People, Bede made a unique space for Ireland, along with Britain, as a Biblical Eden. Further, his establishment of the *Scotti* as a Chosen People among the chosen peoples of the island of Britain established the concept of a Greater Britannia. Whilst Bede refers descriptions of the fifth and sixth centuries to the 'doleful' historian Gildas and his

narrative of political and ecclesiastical fragmentation, this paper looks at the profound ecclesiastical connections between Ireland and Britain in this period. It proposes that the question of a specifically Irish ecclesiastical identity, as independent from an overarching British ecclesiastical identity, was not forged until the seventh century.

"Scottish Dalraida: an inconvenient term of convenience?" – Pamela O'Neill

Scholars of the early medieval (including, until recently, this one) are in the habit of referring to the region of present-day Scotland roughly equivalent to the county of Argyll and Bute as Dalriada, Dàl Riata, or some variant thereof. As with most terms for territories and peoples, most scholars agree that the term is a convenient shorthand way of expressing a far more complex reality. However, there is a case to be made that Dalriada supplies more inconvenience than convenience. This paper will argue against the use of what was essentially an early medieval ethnonym to describe a physical area that was not occupied or controlled by that ethnos. The Dál Riata were a *cenél* (kindred) occupying land in both the north-east of present-day Ireland and the west of present-day Scotland from the Iron Age into the early medieval period. Nor was the presence of members of the Dál Riata *cenél* in what is now Scotland as extensive as the area we call Dalriada. On the contrary, the Dál Riata controlled only small pockets of Dalriada, while other portions of the area were occupied and controlled by other *cenéla*. The use of the term Dalriada – and its complement Pictland – gives an entirely unfounded impression of large political units (or at least federations) controlling contiguous and identifiable territories. This is an inconvenient and even dangerous condition under which to study the area and the period, even when there is a consciousness that the reality underlying the term of convenience is far more complex.

g. *Medieval Boundaries*

"Cladde as hethen wiman ware: crossing boundaries in *The King of Tars*" – Jo Merrey

In the fourteenth-century poem *The King of Tars*, a Christian king's daughter is sought for marriage by a sultan. After an initial rejection of the sultan's suit, once the sultan has laid waste to her father's lands, the unnamed princess surrenders herself to the sultan to avert the desolation of her parents' kingdom. On arrival at her husband's home, the princess is dressed like the other women in the sultan's court and is 'cladde as hethen wiman ware' (l. 380-381).

Over the course of the poem, the princess crosses a number of boundaries, or at least appears to do so. Clothing is intrinsic to these boundaries. Acts of dressing, originally signalled in the sultan's proposal, mark the physical and spiritual transitions that give the poem its narrative arc.

In this paper, I will explore how clothing is used to signify ideas of stability and mobility in the social self, as figured by the daughter, in *The King of Tars*.

"Water Thick as Blood: Margery Kempe's Queer Kinships" – Caitlyn McLoughlin

This paper argues that *The Book of Margery Kempe* evidences a network of belonging that retroactively validates a historical genealogy of queer community building. Kempe's confounding spiritual practice marginalized her from normative religious and social communities, necessitating her establishment of alternative systems of communal support. Kempe subverts the connections of traditional family models in her mysticism, envisioning herself as an active member of the Holy Family while hardly mentioning her temporal family. She also makes use of non-familial connections during her numerous pilgrimages, which took her outside of familiar geographic and social territories. But when Kempe travels abroad, and

ultimately, when she writes her book, she does not seek to simply recreate the family she left behind, but instead co-opts familial terminology and solidarity to form systems of support that aid her social and spiritual survival. Kempe finds value in alternative modes of belonging, associating with and binding herself to other marginalized figures including foreigners, lepers, and holy women who lived in different places, at different times. Kempe's support systems figure as queer kinships: relationship models established by queer individuals as a supplemental or sometimes alternative mode of "family." Broadening historical understandings of family and kinship broadens conceptions of the present and the future. While these networks allow Kempe to endure various threats, they also queer modern conceptions of family and genealogy by evidencing kinships that are more reliant on support and expectation than a specific enactment of sexuality or biologic connection.

"Temporal Boundaries: Middle English Chaucer in Dryden's *Fables*" – Simone Marshall

In 1700 Jacob Tonson printed for John Dryden *Fables Ancient and Modern translated into verse, from Homer, Ovid, Boccacce and Chaucer, with original poems*. The modernised texts proved popular throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, being reprinted numerous times, influencing many writers. Less well known, perhaps completely unknown to many, is that the first edition of this work, published in 1700, also contains the texts of Geoffrey Chaucer in Middle English, including 'The Knight's Tale', 'The Nun's Priest's Tale,' 'The Flower and the Leaf' (then still attributed to Chaucer), and 'The Wife of Bath's Tale'. The presence of the four Middle English tales in Dryden's *Fables* is a significant addition to Chaucer publishing history that hitherto has been overlooked by Chaucer scholars.

The existence of these texts is significant: they are now the earliest copies of Chaucer in Middle English printed in roman typeface. Previously, John Urry's edition of 1721 was regarded as the earliest. This is an important distinction, as it points to changes in the ways in which readers engaged with Chaucer. Earlier editions were printed in blackletter and incorporated substantial textual apparatus, creating a sense of gravitas around the texts. Here, in Dryden's volume, the Middle English texts are more accessible to readers than ever before, printed in a familiar typeface, and without overbearing supporting apparatus. These texts point to a temporal change in the way the reading public engaged with Chaucer. No longer is he an old-fashioned poet, but is set alongside modern poets, whose work he significantly influences.