AUSTRALIAN and NEW ZEALAND ASSOCIATION for MEDIEVAL and EARLY MODERN STUDIES

METAMORPHOSES -- PEOPLES, PLACES, TIMES

THIRD CONFERENCE
5-8 July 2001
The University of Western Australia
Perth, Australia

PROGRAMME

Keynote speakers   **Speakers and papers**

Registration Form   **Accommodation Booking Form**

Postgraduate Essay Prize   **Conference bursaries**
Now closed   **Winners announced!**

Conference Updates and News

includes information on the optional tour of the Benedictine monastery at New Norcia.
Limited numbers: book now!

Related Events

Contacts

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PROGRAMME

(Further changes to the programme may occur. Updates will be posted on this page.)

(For an abstract of the paper, click on the speaker's name.)

WEDNESDAY, 4 JULY

PM: Conference registration at St George's College, UWA

              Library display, Reid Library UWA

7.00 pm   Welcome party and refreshments, St George's College

8.00 pm   PLENARY LECTURE, St George's College

              Bob White (UWA)

              'The metamorphoses of Shakespeare'

              Chair: **Gordon McMullan (King's College, London)**

THURSDAY, 5 JULY

9.00 - 10.30 Paper session 1, St George's College

1A Territory and Access I

Anthony Miller (Sydney)

'The earth and its secrets in Georgius Agricola'

Sophie Gee (Harvard)

'*A Dismal Situation Waste and Wild:* Wasteland in *Paradise Lost*'

Sybil Jack (Sydney)

'The debatable lands, terra nullius, and the rule of law in the sixteenth century'

1B **Robert Curry** (Edith Cowan)

'Ave, Ave Sequence *Lai*: Is This A Song Franciscans Play?'

Frankie Nowicki (Monash)

'The Burgundian Model and its Implications for Polish Music of the late Middle Ages: Influence, Interaction or Obscurity? '

Carole Williams (Monash)

'Hearing the Silence: Changing directions in the study of music in popular culture 1100-1500'

1C **Toby Burrows** (Western Australia)

'The significance of the mystical: the *Clavis Melitonis* and the medieval encyclopaedic tradition'

Paul Hayward (Otago)

'Apostolic Metamorphoses: How and why Augustine of Canterbury supplanted Gregory the Great as the "Apostle of the English"'

Fiona Downie (Melbourne)

'From queen to matriarch: the metamorphosis of St Margaret of Scotland'

1D **Peter Holbrook** **(Queensland)**

'Subplots and subordination in early Shakespeare comedy'

Peter Groves **(Monash)**

'Textual Metamorphoses: Shakespeare's Pentameter and the Editors'

Gordon McMullan **(Kings College, London)**

'Authorial metamorphoses and the question of late style'

10.30-11.00 Morning tea, St George's College

11.10 Official conference opening, Callaway Theatre, Music School, UWA. **Professor Deryck Schreuder, Vice-Chancellor and President, UWA**

11.30   PLENARY LECTURE, Callaway Theatre

Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner **(Boston College, USA)**

'Changing Violence at the Heart of Romance: I speak of Arms and the Man in Chr?tien de Troyes's Grail Story'

1.00-2.00 Lunch, St George's College

2.00-3.30 Paper session 2, St George's College

2A Territory and Access II

Andrew Bethune (Albion College, USA)

'Liminality and Legal Space in the Early English Outlaw Tale'

Viv Westbrook (National Taiwan University)

'Territory and Access in Shakespeare's 1+2 Henry IV '

Denise Ryan (ANU)

'Herod's Law: Sovereignty and Trespass in the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant'

2B   **Helen Dell** (Melbourne)

'"Trouv?resses" and *chansons de femme*: style and gender in trouv?re song'

Jennifer Bailey Smith (UWA)

'Dislocated voices: the trobairitz' poetics of space'

Margaret Burrell (Canterbury, NZ)

'The role of the love potion in the early Tristan poems'

2C   **Roswitha Dabke** (Melbourne)

'The Virtues in Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*—an assortment for nuns or a strategy of spiritual change for all?'

Jason Taliadoros (Melbourne)

'Swapping his wig for a tonsure: A lawyer's foray into theology and canon law. The example of   Master Vacarius'

Simon Forde (Brepols)

'Brepols on-line resources: a demonstration'

2D **Elizabeth Bonner** **(Sydney)**

'The Stuarts of Aubigny and their Family Archive'

Paul Hammer **(Adelaide)**

'Making it to the top and staying there: strategies for success among the Tudor nobility'

Tania Jeffries **(Adelaide)**

'Strategies for coping with aristocratic decline in seventeenth-century England'

3.30-4.00 Afternoon tea

4.00-5.30 Paper session 3, St George's College

3A Territory and Access III

Heather Campbell **(York University, Toronto)**

'Daughter and sole heir: Gender and Place in the Clifford Great Picture and the Diaries of Anne Clifford'

Allie Terry **(Chicago)**

'Reintroducing Fra Angelico to the Public Eye: Patronage and Politics at San Marco'

Ursula Potter **(Sydney)**

'"Your father gives commandment at home, I in the schools": negotiating authority in Tudor schools'

3B **Ivan Canadas** **(Sydney)**

'The Communal Audience and the Theatrical Space: Desired and Desiring Others in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Lope de *Vega's El perro del hortelano*'

Philippa Kelly (UNSW)

'Metamorphoses in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England in respect of the mirror'

Christie Carson (Royal Holloway, London)

'The Cambridge King Lear CD-ROM: Text and Performance Archive: Creating a context for teaching and research'

3C **Martin Grimmer (Tasmania)**

'The Early History of Glastonbury Abbey: A Hypothesis Regarding the 'British Charter''

Kathryn Brown (Monash)

'Tides of Change: The Religious Patronage of the Earls of Chester 1126-1217'

Elizabeth Freeman (Tasmania)

'Changing Orders: Reaffiliation and reinvention of monastic houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'

3D **Emma Hawkes (UWA)**

'Rape Records of Fourteenth-Century England'

Stephanie Tarbin (UWA)

'Forming and transforming gender: transvestitism and prostitution in late medieval London'

Susan Broomhall (UWA)

'Female Crime and Doing Time: Gender and Incarceration in Sixteenth-Century Paris'

6.00-7.15 CONCERT, *Acord,* Eileen Joyce Studio, Music School, UWA [more about *Acord*]

FRIDAY, 6 JULY

9.30-11.00 Paper session 4, St George's College

4A Social Boundaries I

Keith Wrightson (Yale)

'The decline of neighbourliness revisited'

David Rollison (Western Sydney)

'The Social Boundaries of Local Communities in Early Modern England'

4B   PANEL and DISCUSSION

'Medieval Female Mystical Religious Discourse: Unitary Phenomenon or a Plurality of Responses?'

Francesca Bussey, Keiko Nowacka, Joanna Kabanoff, Carmel Davis

Chair: John O. Ward (Sydney)

4C   John Tanke (Union College, USA)

'Requiem for the Beowulf-poet: The Dragon's Hoard as Sublime Object'

Rosemary Huisman (Sydney)

'Spoken grammar in Old English poetry'

Charles Acland (UWA)

'"And never dud I batayle all only [for] Goddis sake, but for to wynne worship": Malory's view of "Worship"'

4D **Catherine Mann** (Melbourne)

'From Lord's servant to Lady's man: changing identity in Tudor England'

Sarah Plant (Macquarie)

'"Wise Handling and Faire Governance": Spenser's Female Educators'

Janine Riviere (Queensland)

'"Filthy Dreamers and Scurrilous Dreams": The Politics of Dreams in Seventeenth-Century   England'

11.00-11.30 Morning tea

11.30   PLENARY LECTURE, Callaway Theatre

Sarah Beckwith (Duke)

'Presence, Penance, Punishment in the York Corpus Christi Plays'

1.00   Lunch, St George's College.
          Parergon meeting.

2.00-3.30 Paper session 5, St George's College

5A Social Boundaries II

Andy Wood (East Anglia)

'Social Conflict and Plebeian Identity in Early Modern England'

Anne Laurence (Open University)

'Making a doctrinal statement in the parish: women's patronage in the church in early modern England'

5B 'The Regulation of the Body in Daily Life'

Kim Phillips (Auckland)

'Sacred Gestures in Secular Space: Sacralising Aristocratic Bodies in the Fifteenth Century'

Melissa Raine (Melbourne)

'Food and the Performance of Piety in The Book of Margery Kempe'

Respondent: **Sarah Beckwith (Duke)**

5C   Valerie Spear (ANU)

'Change and decay? The nun and the secular world in late medieval England'

Peter Cunich (Hong Kong)

'What's in a name? Conversion of life and name-changing in English monasteries c.1485-1540'

Claire Walker (Newcastle)

'Negotiating Authority: The Abbess as Mother in seventeenth-century English Convents'

5D   Tony Cuzzilla (Sydney)

'How The Dead Tell the Time: Cosmic Versus Calendar Time in the *Divine Comedy*'

[Max Staples](#) (Charles Sturt)

'Giorgio Vasari and the fictional origins of art history'

[Stephen Kolsky](#) (Melbourne)

'An Early Seventeenth-Century Feminist Controversy in Italy'

3.30-4.00 Afternoon tea

4.00-5.30 Paper session 6, St George's College

6A Social Boundaries III

[Dolly Mackinnon](#) (Queensland)

'Margaret Williamson – Dead by the oaths of S: a case study of a suicide in early modern Earls Colne, Essex'

[Pam Sharpe](#) (UWA)

'Transgressing boundaries: a miscarriage and a sexual scandal in Colyton, Devon in 1682'

6B [Juanita Ruys](#) (Sydney)

'Metamorphosing medieval women: the experience of Heloise'

[Alberto Pizzaia](#) (Monash)

'Revolution in Historical Language'

Sue Tweg (Monash)

'Past Present Present Past': the metamorphosis of history into infotainment'

6C   **Chris Boswell** (Leeds)

'Humanist Representations of Women in Mid-Tudor Answer-Poetry (1530-1570)'

Paul Salzman (LaTrobe)

'Shutting Up *Love's Victory*'

Georgina Goddard (UWA)

'Margaret Cavendish's Landscape of Identity'

6D   **Carmel Bendon Davis** (Macquarie)

'Now you see me; now you don't: the mystic's place in the society of fourteenth-century England'

Claire McIlroy (UWA)

'Me, Myself and Ihesu: the Ego in Richard Rolle's Ego Dormio'

Cheryl Taylor (James Cook)

'*The Cloud of Unknowing* and aspects of recent theory'

6.00-7.30 Reception and book launch at Robert Muir's bookshop, 69 Broadway, Nedlands

SATURDAY, 7 JULY

9.00-10.30   Paper session 7, St George's College

7A Social Boundaries IV

Steve Hindle (Warwick)

'"The School of Idleness"?: Alms, Beggary and the "Closure" of the Rural Parish c.1580-1650'

7B Philipp W Rosemann (Dallas)

'Reflections on the History of the *Sentence* Commentaries'

Constant Mews (Monash)

'Logic, rhetoric and theology in Peter Abelard'

Cary Nederman (Texas A & M)

'Mechanics and Citizens: The Reception of the Aristotelian Idea of Citizenship in Late Medieval Europe'

7C Natalie Tomas (Monash)

'Seeking the female voice in Renaissance Florence'

Wendy Madden (Monash)

'The Courts of Correggio and Mantua: A Cultural Nexus'

Catherine Kovesi Killerby (Melbourne)

'Muddying the waters: Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici and the Lake of Fucecchio'

7D Chris Wortham (UWA)

'Ventriloquising James I: who really speaks for the king *in Measure for Measure*?'

Andrew McRae (Exeter)

'The Poetics of Sycophancy: Jonson and Charles'

William Walker (UNSW)

'Milton's Republicanism, History, and *Paradise Lost*'

10.30-11.00 Morning tea

11.00 PLENARY LECTURE, Callaway Theatre

Lyndal Roper (Royal Holloway College, London)

'The Figure of the Witch'

12.30   Lunch, St George's College

1.00-2.00   ANZAMEMS GENERAL MEETING, St George's College

2.00-3.30 Paper session 8, St George's College

8A   **Donnalee Dox** (Texas A&M)

'Likeness through Imagination: Liturgy, Tragedy and the Mechanical Arts'

Tracy Adams (Auckland)

'The Metamophoses Metamorphosed: Transformations in Medieval Reception of Ovid'

Glenn Wright (Regents College)

'"With quantyse and with gyn": The Basket Motif in Romance and Fabliau'

8B Witchcraft I

John Cashmere (LaTrobe)

'Wolves, haunted houses and love potions: male sorcerers in Normandy in the seventeenth century'

Elizabeth Kent (Monash)

'Diabolic Men: The Meanings of Male Witchcraft in Early Modern England'

Jon Elbourne (Wollongong)

'Where Have All the Wizards Gone?: The Male Witch in English Records'

8C Hobbes I

Robert von Friedeburg (Bielefeld)

'Metamorphosis of Politics: Self-Defence in German and British political thought: Althusius-Arnisaeus-Eliot-Parker-Hobbes-Locke'

Conal Condren (New South Wales) - paper to be read

'The problem of humour and the writings of Thomas Hobbes'

Raia Prokhovnik (Open University)

'Constructing and Reconstructing *Leviathan*'

8D   Margaret Kim (Rutgers, USA)

'Hunger and the Politics of Poverty'

Anne Scott (UWA)

'Food of life, food of death: transformations within feasts in Piers Plowman'

Helen Hickey (Melbourne)

'The Tavern in the Town: The Everyday in Thomas Hoccleve's Poetry'

3.30 Afternoon tea

4.00-5.30 Paper session 9, St George's College

9A   **Louise D'Arcens** (Wollongong)

'Nostalgic Identities: The Role of Place in the Work of Early Australian Medievalists'

Stephanie Trigg (Melbourne)

'The Autobiographical Turn in Contemporary Chaucer Criticism'

Andrew Lynch (UWA)

'The making of Malory in the 20th century '

9B Witchcraft II

Jacqueline van Gent (Queensland)

'Fluid identities. Concepts of bodies and persons in early modern witchcraft'

Sally Parkin (New England)

'Witchcraft as Words, Witchcraft as Malefice, Wales, 1536-1736'

Sarah Ferber (Queensland)

'The Abuse of History? Demonic Possession, Sexual Possession and the 'Really Real' in French cases of demonic possession'

9C Hobbes II

Bob Ewin (UWA)

'Hobbes and Human Nature'

Colin Hutchison (UWA)

'Hobbes and Bramhall on Might and Right'

David van Mill (UWA)

'Hobbes and the limits of liberty'

9D   Sabina Flanagan (Adelaide)

'Abelard's Definition of Faith in Context: Crossed Swords or Crossed Wires?'

Rosemary Dunn (James Cook)

'Lady Wisdoms: Metamorphosis of Language into Act'

Pina Ford (UWA)

'From high scholasticism to Thomas More's humanist *Utopia*, a natural progression'

9E   Des Gurry (UWA)

'Power with Glory, but at a Price: the voices of the castrati'

Leslie Marchant (Notre Dame, Australia)

'The Confucian Renaissance and its Fate in the Age of Western Cultural Expansion: China's tangled   paths to modernization'

7.00 CONFERENCE DINNER, Matilda Bay Restaurant, Crawley

SUNDAY, 8 JULY

c.8.30am   Bus for New Norcia trip

9.30-11.00 Paper session 10, St George's College

10A   **Philippa Maddern** **(UWA)**

'"John Smith's Pool": Landscape and status in fifteenth-century England'

Anna Hicks **(UWA)**

'Hunting, status and landscape in fourteenth-century England: A dispute between John of Gaunt and Sir Edward Dallingridge'

Robert Liddiard **(University of Wales, Bangor)**

'Elite landscape and lordly identity in England, 1066-1500'

10B   **Stephen McKenzie** **(Adelaide)**

'The Temple, the City and the World: Medieval Maps of the Holy Sepulchre'

Kerry Ward **(Michigan)**

'Sheikh Yusuf$_\emptyset$Scholar, Sufi, Saint, Soldier & Subaltern?'

Lawrence Warner **(Australian Academy of the Humanities)**

'Obadayah, Urso, and the Judaizing Crusade'

10C   **Lucy Potter** **(Adelaide)**

'Metamorphosing Genres: Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and Virgilian Epic'

Evelyn Wallace-Carter (Flinders)

'Masculine immaturity and metamorphosis in Shakespeare's plays'

Barbara Bennett (Auckland)

'The Changing of the Girl: Chasing Ovid's Iphis in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble   Kinsmen*'

10D   Victoria Bladen (UWA)

'The Sacred Landscape: Natural Imagery in Italian Renaissance Art'

Adelina Modesti (Monash)

'Establishing Markets for Art in Early Modern Bologna: shifting patterns and emerging values'

Nina Makarova (Monash)

'Bridal Imagery in Titian's Religious Paintings'

11-11.30 Morning tea

11.30 -12.00 **PLENARY PAPER, St George's College: winner of the Postgraduate Essay Prize**

Greg Warburton (Newcastle)

'A Peculiarly English Notion: The Familiar as a Symbol of Cultural Metamorphoses'

12.00-1.00 Paper session 11, St George's College

11A **Anne Curry** (Reading)

'A missing target? Where were the archers at Agincourt?'

Daniel Wilksch (Monash)

'Time and Place in Stow's *Survey of London*'

11B **Olivia Mair** (UWA)

'Beyond the Corporate Image: Merchants and Merchant Culture in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*'

Juliet Cummins (Western Sydney)

'The temporal and the timeless: metamorphosis and stasis in *Paradise Lost*'

11C **Simon Devereaux** (Queensland)

'The Theatre of Justice in London: The End of the Tyburn Execution Ritual'

Andrea McKenzie (Queensland)

'Martyrs in Low-Life: Dying Game in early eighteenth c. London'

11D **Katrina Burge** (Melbourne)

'Room to Move: Gendered Allocation of Space in Early Iceland.'

K?ri G?slason (Queensland)

'Perception and Representation in Nj?ls saga'

1.00pm   Farewell refreshments, St George's College

c. 5.00pm Bus back from New Norcia

Last updated 22 June 2001

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Keynote Speakers

- **Associate Professor Sarah Beckwith, English Department, Duke University,** has published widely on ritual, image, sacramentality and the holy in medieval English drama and poetry. Her books include *Catholicism and Catholicity: Eucharistic Communities in Historical and Contemporary Perspectives* which she has edited, and *Christ's Body: Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings*. Most recently she has been working on a book: *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in York's Play of Corpus Christi*. The title of her plenary address is 'Presence, Penance, Punishment in the York Corpus Christi Plays'. [abstract]

- **Professor Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner, Department of Romance Language and Literature, Boston College,** specialises in medieval French literature, especially twelfth- and thirteenth-century romance, verse and prose narrative, troubadour and trouvere lyric. Her publications include *Shaping Romance: Interpretation, Truth, and Closure in Twelfth-Century Fictions* ; *Songs of the Women Troubadours* (edited with Laurie Shepard and Sarah White); "The Shape of Romance" in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval Romance.* (ed.) Roberta Kruger; "Reinventing Arthurian History: Lancelot and the Vulgate Cycle" in *Memory and the Middle Ages* (eds) Nancy Netzer and Virginia Reinberg and "Trobairitz" in *Handbook of the Troubadours*, (eds) F.R.P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis. She has also published numerous articles on medieval French and Occitan literature. Her paper is entitled: 'Changing Violence at the Heart of

Romance: I speak of Arms and the Man in Chr?tien de Troyes's Grail Story'. [abstract]

- **Lyndal Roper, Professor of History, Royal Holloway and Bedford College, University of London,** specialises in witchcraft in early modern Germany, gender history, and psychoanalysis and history. Her many publications include the books: *Oedipus and the Devil and other Essays in Early Modern Culture, The Holy Household: Women and Morals in Reformation Augsburg,* and *Disciplines of Faith: Studies in Religion, Politics and Patriarchy.* She has published widely in both English and German, and has maintained her contact with Australia as Visiting Fellow in Canberra and Western Australia. Her paper is entitled "The figure of the witch". [abstract]

- **Professor Bob White, MA (Adelaide), D.Phil (Oxford), FAHA**, holds a chair in the Department of English at The University of Western Australia. Amongst his research interests are Shakespeare, Renaissance literature, Romanticism, Keats, Feminist criticism and film. His most recent book publications include R.S. White and Hilary Fraser (eds), *Constructing Gender: Feminism in Literary Studies*, *Natural Law in Renaissance Literature*, *Hazlitt's Criticism of Shakespeare*, *Twelfth Night: New Casebook*, R.S. White, C. Wortham and C. Edelman (eds), *Shakespeare: Readers, Audiences, Players* and *The Tempest: New Casebook*. His plenary paper for ANZAMEMS 2001 is entitled "Shakespeare's Metamorphoses". [abstract]

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Paper-givers and papers in alphabetical order

(Please advise of any errors or omissions)

Acord - **Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, Monash**

'Musical Metamorphoses'

Today's culture is the result of unremitting change in pursuit of the new, the different, and the fresh. As a result we are bombarded by so many visual and aural challenges that it becomes pointless to conceptualise the creation of something artistically and culturally enduring. Our art is an art of constant and revolutionary change rather than evolutionary and gradual metamorphosis. It seems we have become blind to processes of change since it is almost the only constant in everyday culture. Not so in the Middle Ages where stasis was the norm and metamorphosis was a focus of interest because it preserved enough of the past model to speak of stasis and enough of change to allow a new view of the traditional. This presentation of **Musical Metamorphoses** honours that tradition. In a musical entr?e which ranges from 1200-1450 and visits the music of France, Italy, Germany and England, a dazzling variety of metamorphic processes are musically illustrated. At the narrative level, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* provides the story of Narcissus and the description of the phoenix while other metamorphoses like that of flour into pasta and the less likely snow into crystal are also preserved in song. The power of the magic love potion to change the unwary toper from obdurate to obsessed is illustrated as well. At the process level, change is embedded in the very material of song with examples of the contrafact and language shift as well as textual inversion in the lyric and on the musical side, rhythmic transformations as well as inversions and retrogressions of the melody. There are plenty of contextualising readings to provide the frame for this exploration of some of the ways in which people, things and music could change in the Middle Ages.

Charles Acland - University of Western Australia

'"And never dud I batayle all only [for] Goddis sake, but for to wynne worship": Malory's view of "Worship"'

'Worship' is Malory's favourite word in describing the knightly attributes of characters in the text of *Le Morte Darthur*. In its various forms and spellings, he uses it 391 times. It has been suggested that 'worship' is interchangeable with 'honour' which word Malory only uses on 59 occasions. However, Malory's use of 'worship' embraces further connotations of political power and physical strength. In this paper, I suggest that the word 'worship' had a meaning which was unique to fifteenth-century English gentry, and is not found in previous or subsequent centuries. This usage is evident, not only in Malory's text, but also in contemporary writings such as the Paston Letters and Stonor family papers.

Tracy Adams – University of Auckland

'The Metamorphoses Metamorphosed: Transformations in Medieval Reception of Ovid'

This presentation on changes in the reception of Ovid during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries addresses the notion of 'metamorphosis' in two contexts. First, it briefly explores the medieval understanding of love as a physical and mental metamorphosis, an understanding that owes much to Ovid's tales of transformation and also to the medical theories introduced by Constantinus Africanus and glossed by numerous scholars from the early twelfth century on. For both amorous courtly couples and medical patients, love is an overwhelming force affecting the body as well as the mind. In the early verse romances, this metamorphosis of the body and spirit is presented as a relatively unproblematic, unified transformation. To feel love physically means to fall in love, and the possibility of feigning love is not really a problem for discussion. In the early verse romances, in describing the physical transformations wrought by love, the narrator refines the primitive urges integral to the onset of love, creating of it a positive force.

During the course of the thirteenth century, however, the possibility of a discrepancy between the appearance and the 'reality' of love is increasingly focused upon in courtly literature. An obsession with the possibility that the lover's distraught appearance is no guarantee of his/her sincerity constitutes a new development, a second 'metamorphosis', this time of the notion of love as metamorphosis introduced by twelfth-century readers of Ovid's own *Metamorphoses*.

Although the presentation will explore this second metamorphosis with reference to some commentaries, it will focus on its literary representation, centring on a reading of the conversion of the lover in Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Roman de la Rose*. Initially the

lover experiences a transformation of body and spirit, and he loves, sincerely. But later as he is exposed to numerous teachers preaching the disjunction of the word and what it represents, the lover falls into a process of disjunction himself. His body, originally the guarantor of his love, detaches itself from his outward appearance to the extent that he no longer 'reflects', but disguises his inner being. Thus the onset of the second metamorphosis, that of love into deception, and thus a literary representation of a change in the reception of Ovidian love writings, evident from the late thirteenth century on.

Sarah Beckwith - Duke University (Plenary)

'Presence, Penance, Punishment in the York Corpus Christi Plays'

Corpus Christi theater is a theater of the sacrament of penance as well as the sacrament of the eucharist. It re-imagines the church as itself a performance of the life of Christ, in which he is rendered visible or invisible in communities of condemnation and persecution or love, forgiveness, restoration. In this paper I examine the related intersubjective dimensions of penance and theater and explore how the York Corpus Christi plays function as sacramental theater. In these plays penance is not understood as secured through a treasury of merit founded on a distant past event and delivered through a monopoly of spectacular and quantified sacrifice; rather the story of the life of Christ and the community in whom and to whom it is reenacted are mutually constitutive. If 'penitentia' means both the sinners' contrition and the priest's absolution, it is also the most awkwardly but productively dialogic of the sacraments.

Barbara Bennett – University of Auckland

'The Changing of the Girl: Chasing Ovid's Iphis in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen'*

In Book Nine of his *Metamorphoses* Ovid tells the story of Iphis, a classic tale of girl meets girl, girl loves girl, girl becomes boy. This story reflects classical notions surrounding female-female sexuality as a 'monstrous' threat to patriarchal and patrilineal imperatives. The story reappears and is retold in a variety of forms across several periods of literature in England. From, for instance, Hildebert of Lavardin's essentially misogynist, pro-homosexual twelfth-century poem, through Gower's 'romanticized' rendition of Iphis, to Golding's faithful translation of the *Metamorphoses*, the tale becomes a locus for consolidating and transforming a lesbian stereotype. Because female–female sexuality was a relatively rare and repressed discourse through out the history of English literature, Ovid's Iphis also served a crucial blueprint for

English authors' representation of 'lesbian' characters and narratives more generally. This paper argues that the Iphis story can be seen to reappear as a patterning myth, if not as a direct source, in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen*; specifically in the play's depiction of the girlish love between the Amazons Emilia and Flavina. In this context the submerged 'reappearance' of Iphis indicates the static nature of the lesbian stereotype, in as much as Emilia (Iphis) continues to serve as a lesbian threat to the play's patriarchal world order. However, more importantly, the metamorphoses of Iphis as a foundational figure of female–female sexuality that has occurred across time and place enables Shakespeare and Fletcher to draw upon a complex and historically resonant lesbian stereotype. This stereotype is pivotal in the play's unsettling and potentially subversive engagement with issues of gender and power.

Andrew Bethune - Albion College

'Liminality and Legal Space in the Early English Outlaw Tale'

The legendary account of Hereward, the leader of a group of Saxons in resistance to William of Normandy in the early years after the Conquest, survives in three versions from the English middle ages: the early twelfth-century *Gesta Herewardi*, which survives in a single manuscript from the middle of the thirteenth century; Geoffrey Gaimar's mid-twelfth-century *Estoire des Engleis*; and the late-fourteenth-century *Chronicon Angliae Petriburgense* of John of Peterborough. Mentioned in *Domesday* as a minor Lincolnshire landowner, Hereward's posthumous reputation rests almost exclusively on his status as an outlaw. The *Gesta* recounts his banishment from the kingdom at the hands of Edward the Confessor, only to detail his subsequent return and guidance of the English in the rising against the Normans at Ely. The eventual fall of the monastery at Ely precipitates Hereward's second period of outlawry, here beyond the control of William, but his championing of Saxon virtue over Norman oppression is not allowed to flourish unchecked: ultimately the *Gesta* records a reconciliation between Hereward and William that is in all likelihood apocryphal.

Often viewed as an important precursor to the Robin Hood stories, this early English outlaw tale (like those of Eustache the Monk and Fouke le Fitz Waryn) reveals complex attitudes towards opposition to political hegemony in medieval England. The work features transgressive acts which lead the outlaw figure into liminal spaces—both literal and figurative. But the accounts of his periods of outlawry effect his containment as much as they celebrate his subversion, and ultimately they prepare for the negation of his opposition in anticipation of his re-acceptance into the body politic, suggesting the inherently conservative ideology of the work.

Victoria Bladen - University of Western Australia

'The Sacred Landscape: Natural Imagery in Italian Renaissance Art'

This paper will outline various significant developments in the depiction of natural imagery in Italian Renaissance art in the fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

During the period there were dramatic changes in the construction of human figures and the natural world. The impetus for change can be traced back to the late thirteenth century when the Church became interested in the realistic portrayal of biblical scenes as an aid to worship and comprehension of scripture. In the fifteenth century, this combined with a revival of interest in the literary and artistic achievements of the classical period. A new scientific approach to art saw the use of linear perspective and the development of techniques to create the illusion of depth in the picture plane.

The fifteenth century saw several developments in landscape, including an increasing interest in observing the natural world, culminating in the meticulous studies of Leonardo da Vinci. There were important developments in the use of light in depicting natural imagery which communicated spiritual meaning to the viewer, for example in Masaccio's frescoes in the Brancacci chapel begun 1425, often taken as the starting point of the Italian Renaissance. The period also saw the emergence of the recognisable landscape, for example in the works of Piero della Francesca and Antonio and Piero del Pollaiuolo. Terrain familiar to the viewer was transformed into the landscapes of biblical episode in a metamorphosis of place and time.

Landscapes of rock and desert or verdant garden also communicated spiritual states of fall or redemption. Flowers, plants and trees were imbued with symbolic meaning understood by artists and viewers. One of the most significant symbols in this regard was that of the severed tree trunk or branch, which was understood to be a reference to Christ and his sacrifice to redeem mankind. This appears in works by a number of artists, often in conjunction with imagery associated with the *hortus conclusus*. Other related imagery was that of the 'dry tree' and that of the dual trees, the Tree of Knowledge [Death] and the Tree of Life. Through examining these images it becomes apparent that vegetative symbolism is of central importance in understanding the significant works of the period. While there was increasing emphasis on the observation and accurate rendering of nature, natural imagery also became a language for conveying the spiritual state of humanity, spanning all of eternity from man's prelapsarian state to the hope for redemption and re-entry into paradise.

Elizabeth Bonner - Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Sydney

'The Stuarts of Aubigny and their Family Archive'

This paper will outline my most recent project which aims to research and write a history, within the context of the Franco-Scottish 'Auld Alliance', of the Lennox-Stuarts (a branch of the Scottish Royal House), Seigneurs of Aubigny. The history will extend from the original donation of the Seigneurie (Lordship) in 1423 to John Stuart, Lord Darnley, by the French king, Charles VII, in gratitude for Scottish assistance against the English during the 100 Years War, until the 1830s. This research will examine not only the family and their military and diplomatic service to the kings of France during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but also their Seigneurie of Aubigny, including the two ch?teaux of La Verrerie and Aubigny near Bourges in France. Here a considerable 'Stuart' archive is preserved, covering four centuries of Franco-Scottish history which has not yet been reproduced, on microfilm or otherwise, nor properly catalogued since the compilation of a largely inadequate, hand-written inventory in the nineteenth century. This entirely novel research will make known to a world wide academic audience, for the first time, important unpublished manuscripts in the private 'Stuart' archive at the Ch?teau de La Verrerie, as well as employing many previously unknown manuscripts from private, local, provincial and national archives and libraries in France, Scotland and England. This is an historically valuable and unique private archive which contains hundreds of original manuscripts, charters and other documents, many of them drawn up on parchment, of which I have estimated there are approximately 8,000 frames for the microfilm (i.e. approximately 13-14 reels).

Chris Boswell - Leeds University

'Humanist Representations of Women in Mid-Tudor Answer-Poetry (1530-1570)'

In the 1530s and 1540s answer-poetry first became a popular mode of literary discourse and did so primarily under the influence of humanist philosophy, which deprecated those Petrarchan values and sentiments that were the stock-in-trade of court poets during this time. Answer-poetry offered a corrective to such sentiments through its exaltation of the humanist values of moderation, temperance and sound judgement over the Petrarchan one of devotion to a beloved at the cost of reason and peace of mind. This was achieved by the answering of verses written in the persona of a distraught lover, with ones written from the perspective of a composed and rational lady who rejects her suitor's petition due to her objection to his antihumanist and excessively passionate advances. This phenomenon roughly coincided with both a surge in the production of humanist texts upon women's education (including ones by More, Vives and Erasmus), and of ones defending women's virtue (these included treatises by Cornelius Agrippa, Robert Vaughan and Edward Gosynhyll). What this suggests is that there are significant parallels between portrayals of women as being both virtuous and receptive to education in humanist texts, and representations of women as chaste humanists in answer-poetry.

In the 1550s and 1560s humanists turned the focus of their attention more towards the role of women in marriage, as can be seen from the numerous translations of Erasmus' copious writings upon the subject, as well as the release of 'An Homily of the State of Matrimony' (1563). To these can be added Thomas Elyot's highly influential *The Flower of Friendship* (1567) and Thomas Becon's *Book of Matrimony* (1560), among others. During this time answer-poets simultaneously turned their attention to the subject of marriage, and they again positioned themselves in opposition to medieval ideologies. This often involved them assuming the identities of stoic philosophers in order to set themselves up in opposition to cynical verses that exalted the single life over marriage and that exhibited an outlook of resignation to misfortune. In these respects, such cynical verses are highly commensurable with both medieval providential belief and monasticism. Answers to these poems were aligned with Christian humanism, which favoured marriage above celibacy and had faith in men's capacity to enjoy the good life both through assuming a positive outlook and through their ability to improve their circumstances through education.

What this suggests, and what I will argue in my paper, is that answer-poetry provides an exceptionally accurate index of shifting trends in humanist scholarship and was a fundamentally humanistic literary genre. I will contend that this points to the need for the revision of recent views upon answer-poetry, which attribute its pervasiveness to the social dialogism of manuscript circulation. Social dialogism, I will suggest, is an inherent attribute of a responsive poem, which cannot account for answer-poetry's exceptional popularity.

Susan Broomhall - University of Western Australia

'Female Crime and Doing Time: Gender and Incarceration in Sixteenth-Century Paris'

The experience of incarceration remains a relatively understudied aspect of the late medieval and Early Modern gaol. This study examines how gender influenced carceral practices, treatment and release in sixteenth-century Paris. The paper presents preliminary results of a study of the archives of the ecclesiastical gaol at Saint-Germain-des-Pr?s of which records remain over a period from 1537 to 1579. Initial findings suggesting that gender affected the crimes for which women and men were imprisoned, the length of time they remained in gaol and the reasons for their release, are the subject of this paper, in particular, focussing on the experiences of the female prisoners of Saint-Germain-des-Pr?s.

Kathryn Brown - Monash University

'Tides of Change: The Religious Patronage of the Earls of Chester 1126-1217'

This paper will discuss my current work on the patronage of the earls of Chester in the period 1126-1217. Concentrating upon the religious patronage of these individuals, this paper will chart the patterns of patronage through the three earldoms of Ranulf II, Hugh II and Ranulf III.

The period of 1126-1217 was one of great change in England and elsewhere. England witnessed periods of stability intermeshed with uncertainty, new religious orders appeared and the role of the aristocracy was constantly changing throughout the twelfth century. Within this framework of change this paper will concentrate upon religious patronage by the three earls. The activities of each earl will be examined individually. This approach enables not only a detailed analysis of activities within one generation, but also a comparison between the three generations. Although primarily focusing upon the religious patronage of these individuals, their political activities must be considered. Both Ranulf II and Ranulf II were heavily involved within the politics of the period. It will be interesting to note how extensive an influence the important political events of this period were upon the earls' activities. The similarities and differences between the generations will provide greater insight into, not only the earls' relationship with religious foundations and politics, but to trends occurring in the wider society.

Preliminary research suggests that Ranulf II, earl between 1129-1153 during the unsettled reign of Stephen, maintained a relationship with the Benedictine abbey of St. Werburgh's with little financial sacrifice upon his part. What were Ranulf II's motives for this type of relationship with this abbey? Were his relations with other abbeys similar to his with St. Werburgh's? St. Werburgh's was founded by the first Norman earl of Chester, Hugh II in 1093 and was one of the very few foundations that received constant attention by the three earls of Chester under examination here.

It has also been suggested that Ranulf II's religious activities within Lincolnshire, in particular, were influenced by his desires to regain land that his father was forced to relinquish under Henry I. By founding Cistercian abbeys in the area was a way of enabling Ranulf II to lay claim to this disputed land. Also, by maintaining relations with these abbeys would provide Ranulf II with allies in claiming these lands. I will briefly re-examine Ranulf II's activities within this area in order to ascertain whether he restricted this mode of operation solely to Lincolnshire.

Ranulf II's son, Hugh II, succeeded his father as a minor in 1153. He did not reach his majority until 1162. How do his patterns of patronage compare with that of his father? Did Hugh II continue Ranulf II's strong patronage of the Cistercian order or did another order receive the bulk of Hugh II's attention? Similar questions will be asked of Ranulf III. How does his patronage compare with that of his predecessors'? Were his political concerns and activities an influence upon his religious activities? Coinciding with political and religious turmoil of John's reign, Ranulf III's patronage will be an interesting comparison, not only with Hugh II, but also with Ranulf II and his experiences in the uncertain periods of Stephen's reign.

Although a brief study of the extensive activities of the earls of Chester, this paper provides an interesting insight into religious patronage amidst the political and social turmoil of the twelfth century.

Matilda Tomaryn Bruckner - Boston College (Plenary)

'Changing Violence at the Heart of Romance: I speak of Arms and the Man in Chr?tien de Troyes's Grail Story'

Few readers would disagree that Chr?tien's *Conte du graal* poses the problem of human violence and the creation—or restoration—of a just society. Just as the symbol of the grail has come to represent any ideal solution that continues to elude us, so in Chr?tien's originating work any hope for a final resolution remains enigmatically suspended, as the unfinished romance continues to orient all hermeneutic search without yielding the object of our quest. But if Chr?tien gives no easy solutions to the enigmas posed, he offers ample resources to explore the nature and parameters of violence represented within the problematic of an Arthurian ideal confronted by its failures, as well as by the rival and possibly incompatible ideal of a Christian polity. In order to probe Chr?tien's atypical confrontation of ideals, I plan to explore a little frequented path that intertwines romance and Old Testament waste lands viewed through Isaiah's utopic vision of change.

The prophet's promise of future restoration when swords will be turned into plowshares outlines a scenario that offers the hope of change for the better, even as it recognizes the certainty of change for the worse before any renewal takes place. It phrases a vision of peace in the vocabulary of *homo faber's* gift for making weapons of war and tools of agriculture. If you want to beat swords into plowshares, you have to explore the categories of violence and the possibilities for change, and that is exactly what this romance does. The process of growth and development, easily recognized in Perceval's story, is complemented and enriched by Gauvain's own unexpected itinerary. Structured through the complexities of two interlocking parts, the *Conte*'s open-ended exploration of swords and plowshares may not solve all the problems raised, but it does uncover crucial factors any future solution will have to incorporate. The paradoxes of human nature and the nature of human society are inextricably intertwined as this romance represents the problem of violence.

Katrina Burge—University of Melbourne

'Room to Move: Gendered Allocation of Space in Early Iceland.'

This paper explores the slippage between differently gendered spaces in medieval Iceland as represented in the *Islendingasogur* or Sagas of Icelanders. The sagas display tension between the conventional mapping of appropriate sites for female and male activity and the recognition that situations or individuals could transgress the boundaries between such spaces. It becomes apparent that gender categories as well as spatial organisation are destabilised by the movement between gendered locations yet in some circumstances society as a whole permits and even encourages this traffic.

Early Icelandic society is characterised by a conflation between public and private spheres which is contingent on Iceland's absence of villages or permanent trading and meeting places, and hence of the usual arenas for public activity. The household becomes both the basic social unit and the forum for most negotiations between such units. The merging of public and private space substantially affects the status of women in this society.

Women, by virtue of their physical proximity to political activity and unavoidable awareness of its implications, are often able to utilise emotional ties and manipulate cultural expectations to influence the progression of feuds, thereby carrying out political functions whilst apparently remaining within their domestic arena. At the same time the spatial congruence between public and private spheres can threaten men's possession of authority. Being at the wrong place at the wrong time, that is, being in a part of the homestead which is coded as female, or displaying behaviour considered feminine, can result in a reduction or surrender of masculinity.

Margaret Burrell - University of Canterbury, N.Z.

'Courtly monsters in medieval romance'

The term 'courtly monster' might at first seem to be an oxymoron. Can those who are described as monsters also be considered courtly, to display the level of manners and mannerisms which would allow them to be considered 'courtois'? To what extent are they associated with 'the court'? These questions will be tested by looking at the function of three characters in medieval romance who are portrayed in monstrous guise: Blonde Esmeree in *Le Bel Inconnu*, the Hideous Herdsman in *Yvain* and the Loathly Damsel in *Perceval*.

Toby Burrows - University of Western Australia

'The significance of the mystical: the *Clavis Melitonis* and the medieval encyclopaedic tradition'

The so-called *Clavis Melitonis* is a Carolingian dictionary or encyclopaedia which gives brief

explanations of the mystical significance of natural and supernatural entities and phenomena. Arranged thematically, it draws together Biblical quotations and short excerpts from patristic commentaries. This paper covers the history and textual tradition of the *Clavis*, its sources, and its place in the history and development of works of this type in medieval Europe.

Heather Campbell - York University, Toronto

'Daughter and sole heir: Gender and Place in the Clifford Great Picture and the Diaries of Anne Clifford'

The triptych known as The Clifford Great Picture was commissioned by Lady Anne Clifford in 1649 to support her claim to the position of landowner and rightful heir to the Clifford lands, which had been willed to an ancillary male line by her father. The diaries she kept between 1616 and 1619, a period of intense conflict over the inheritance, record her attempts to reconcile conflicting subject positions, the one of landowner to which she aspires, and the one of wife which she occupies, in terms of contemporary assumptions about the organisation of gender in the public and private spheres. In both the picture and the diaries, Clifford manipulates the acts both of reading and of viewing a picture to raise complicated questions about gender and public and private places and activities. In unsettling the boundaries of genre, she also rewrites her position with regard to the gender expectations that sought to withhold her inheritance, and the assumptions about the nature of the public and private spheres which supported those expectations.

Ivan Canadas - University of Sydney

'The Communal Audience and the Theatrical Space: Desired and Desiring Others in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and Lope de Vega's *El perro del hortelano*'

This paper explores ways in which the discourses of gender, rank and race intersected in the public theatres of Early Modern England and Spain. It focuses on the issues of social hierarchy and social mobility, which were manifested in prominent scenarios of sexualized desire, and specifically on sexual bonds between socially-disparate figures. It will be shown that the role of the marginal or subordinate figure, as both a desiring subject *and* a focus of desire, highlights the analogous role of the theatrical space—a hybrid setting in which heterogeneous audiences were able to engage communally in a process of interpretation and self-inscription.

Christie Carson—Royal Holloway College, University of London

'The Cambridge King Lear CD-ROM: Text and Performance Archive: Creating a context for teaching and research'

The Cambridge King Lear CD-ROM: Text and Performance Archive is a new digital resource which allows an individual student or scholar to sit at a desk and bring together a variety of disparately held research materials in a comparative way that has not been formerly possible. The hope of its editors is that the material provided will give users the opportunity to make connections not formerly made and bring together the richness of disciplines which have not previously worked closely together, textual and performance studies. Given the complex intermingling of textual and performance issues throughout the performance history of *King Lear* this text seemed both a challenging and appropriate choice for this project. One of the key aims of this digital resource has been the reintroduction of ambiguity into the play's history, contrasting a variety of editorial and directorial choices and thereby illustrating the changing attitude toward the play over time. The availability of this information in digital form, which can be made available over a university's intranet network, gives students and lecturers the opportunity to create and comment on personalised collections of material. Creating access to materials which have previously been available only in restricted research libraries we hope will allow for new kinds of research and teaching at the undergraduate and postgraduate level. *The Cambridge King Lear on CD-ROM: Text and Performance Archive* offers an unparalleled resource for the study of Shakespeare's greatest tragedy in performance. In both its content and its form this resource emphasises the fluidity of the text over time and invites participation in the ongoing process that it details.

John Cashmere - LaTrobe University

'Wolves, haunted houses and love potions: male sorcerers in Normandy in the seventeenth century'

In 1997 William Monter published an article in which he drew attention to the overwhelming preponderance of male witches in Normandy, especially after 1625, and the unusual severity of the *parlement* of Rouen in handing down its sentences on these men. Monter, who studied appellate cases brought before the parlement of Normandy mainly between 1580-1629, concluded that it was in part because there was abundant physical evidence of blasphemy (the theft of the Host from communion) and *maleficia* (toad venom and written spells) employed by shepherd sorcerers.

Taking the dominance of male witches in the Normandy trials as a given, I shall examine a handful of stories in this paper which were told during a series of trials of shepherd sorcerers

held in Beaumont-le-Roger between 1682-87. From these stories I hope to show that while judges may have viewed accounts of the theft and misuse of the Eucharist as blasphemy, the shepherds, and the villagers who sought their particular services, had other concerns, some of which revolved around issues of sexuality, sexual potency and sexual tensions and anxieties. The gender balance may have been skewed towards male witches in Normandy, but sexuality remained a central concern in these witchcraft trials, though perhaps not in ways we have come to expect.

Conal Condren - University of New South Wales (paper to be read)

'The problem of humour and the writings of Thomas Hobbes.'

Although *Leviathan* was largely consistent with Hobbes's earlier writings, his reputation changed fairly dramatically after its publication. Hobbes had enjoyed an international reputation as a serious scholar, but gradually he became associated with scoffing polemic, irreligion and libertinism. This paper explores the problem of wit and humour as a partial cause of this change and, once recognised as a problem in understanding Hobbes and his world.

Others have shown that Hobbes's wit was a principal weapon in his controversial armoury, most notably in *Leviathan* but it had no straightforward relationship with his intellectual environment. Once the humour in his works is taken seriously, reading him gains an extra, if problematic dimension; and it becomes more difficult than has been thought to pin-point the significance of his wit. Some of his critics treated him as he treated others. The result was an image that floated free from firm moorings in specific works, and so did not require reference to sustain controversial plausibility. He may not even have been the real target of putative attacks on him. Outlining these themes suggests, (tentatively) that (a) the image of Hobbes may have been more pervasive during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in philosophical quarrels about science and between the ancients and moderns than is often thought; (b) that screening out attention to humour in philosophical argument somewhat anachronistically reduces the cut and thrust of Early Modern philosophy to the more anodyne ideals of propositional order; but that (c) restoring a context of humour hardly solves problems of historical interpretation.

Juliet Cummins - University of Western Sydney

'The temporal and the timeless: metamorphosis and stasis in *Paradise Lost*'

This paper argues that the relationship Milton constructs between time and eternity in *Paradise*

Lost is a significant feature of his monism. Milton dismantles distinctions between earth and heaven, and between the fallen world and the life to come, through portraying time and eternity as implicated in each other. While many of Milton's contemporaries understood eternity to mean the end of time, in *Paradise Lost* time is 'in Eternitie' (5.580) and heaven comprehends 'change delectable' (5.629). The presence of time and change in Milton's heaven has received much comment, but the extent to which eternity is involved in history in the poem is not generally recognised. From the divine perspective, 'past, present, future' (3.78) occur simultaneously and all beings are unified in God. Metamorphosis is a defining feature of creaturely existence, but there is also a sense in which God's 'immutable' (3.373) nature is shared by his creatures. They consist of the divine 'first matter' (5.472) and remain metaphysically good even when they sin. The tension between temporal and eternal perspectives in the epic allows Milton to assert human beings' freedom to change, while also suggesting that God is 'all in all' (3.341) throughout human history.

Peter Cunich - University of Hong Kong

'What's in a name? Conversion of life and name-changing in English monasteries c.1485-1540'

The tradition in some religious orders which dictated that a monk or nun should adopt a new 'name in religion' at the time of reception or profession had become well established throughout the Catholic Church by the beginning of the nineteenth century. This changing of names came to signify the 'second baptism' of the religious just as the profession ceremony itself contained very potent symbolism of the death of the old self and resurrection to a new life of religious observance. The change in name of a monk or nun at profession therefore represented a spiritual metamorphosis from the secular to the regular state and functioned as a reminder to both the individual religious and also to those outside the monastic community that a very real change had taken place.

While some research has been conducted into the origins of this practice, relatively little is known about its importance in the late medieval and Early Modern period. That it happened we can be sure of, but the degree to which this practice was adopted by the various orders and in particular countries in Europe is far from certain. This paper will use data from the University of Hong Kong's Monastic Database Project to examine the origins and growth in the practice of name changing in late fifteenth-century English religious orders, particularly among the wealthy Benedictine houses of monks. An attempt will be made to evaluate what this can tell us about the state of the monastic orders at the time. The research upon which this paper is based has been partially funded by the Hong Kong Research Grants Council [grant no. HKU 7176/97H].

Anne Curry - University of Reading, U.K.

'A missing target? Where were the archers at Agincourt?'

In recent years there has been an lively debate between military historians over the positioning of the archers at the battle of Agincourt. Were they on the flanks alone, or placed across the whole of the English front? Did they stand alone, or were they intermingled with the men-at-arms? It is perhaps an impossibility to know exactly how they were deployed, despite the relatively large number of chronicles and histories at our disposal. Attempting to answer the question raises other equally significant issues in its wake. Some of the chronicles, including those on the English side, say very little indeed about the archers and their significance in the battle, certainly much less than one might expect given the role ascribed to them in later centuries. It is also well known that Shakespeare omits them from his play, although they have a slightly larger role in the play known as the Famous Victories. Through an examination of the major chronicles of the fifteenth-century it is possible to show the variety of interpretations of the archers' positioning and role in the battle. In this context we can perceive differences of interpretation according to nationality (English and French writers come to different conclusions, but not always in the ways one might expect); genre (monastic, urban, chivalric etc); language (Latin, French, Middle English); purpose of compilation; and date of composition. But equally important, and certainly equally if not more significant in terms of later historical interpretation and popular perceptions, we can examine what sixteenth-century historians in England made of the matter. Here we are dealing with the histories of Fabyan, Polydore Vergil, Hall, Holinshed and Stowe, some of which drew on certain fifteenth-century writings but also created their own narrative based on their contemporary perceptions. We can see, for instance, how they were influenced by sixteenth century developments in warfare in their accounts of the battle, and also how new considerations of national identity affected their approach. This topic, therefore, is not just of interest as a problem of military organisation but also as an insight into changing perceptions of the nature of history itself between the late medieval and Early Modern periods.

Robert Curry - Edith Cowan University

'Ave, Ave Sequence *Lai*: Is This A Song Fransicans Play?'

The Latin lyric poetry of Philip the Chancellor (1160/85-1236) is closely associated with the body of polyphonic and monophonic music commonly referred to as the Notre-Dame School. Philip is known to have collaborated with that school's best known composer, Perotin, and it is likely that he played a leading role in the development of the motet.

The sequence *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* is one of Philip's most widely disseminated

monophonic pieces. It is transmitted in fifteen manuscripts and exists also as a *lai* contrafact with French text. Its melodic malleability was cited by John Stevens as being characteristic of the complex relationship which obtained between sequence and *lai*; Hans Spanke believed that the melody was instrumental.

A new transmission of *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* has recently turned up in Poland among the Stary S?cz complex of organum and motet fragments, *PL-StS1* [Blessed Kinga's Convent of Poor Clare Sisters]. The text, albeit stripped of its double strophe, is concordant with all the other transmissions; the sequence's melody, however, is strikingly different.

The paper discusses the distinctive paleographic features of the Stary S?cz version of *Ave gloriosa virginum regina*; compares its melody with the received version; and considers what light this new find sheds on the relationship between the Stary S?cz Notre-Dame material (dated *c*.1240) and the manuscript which contains that repretoire's most complete transmission, namely *I-Fl Plut.29,1.*

Tony Cuzzilla - University of Sydney

'How The Dead Tell the Time: Cosmic Versus Calendar Time in the *Divine Comedy*'

In the *Divine Comedy* one of the souls in Purgatory identifies Dante's protagonist as an outsider, one who belongs to the land of the living, by noting that he divides the smoky air with his living body and speaks like one who 'still divides time by calends' (*Purg*. 16. 25-27). The second observation has been a minor cause of perplexity among Dante scholars, who have taken the poet to mean that the dead do not measure time at all, while the living do, despite the fact that the dead throughout the poem clearly do measure time.

This paper proposes a new interpretation of the line, connecting it to Beatrice's reference to the error in the Julian calendar (*Par*. 27. 142-143). In the light of Dante's concept of time and his project of reform, it appears that he associates the measuring of time by the calendar, not the measuring of time as such, with the corrupt world of the living. To this he opposes cosmic time as measured by an idealized celestial clock, the kind of time which is used and valorized in the civil society of Purgatory and Paradise. Insofar as that society is a model of what this world can and should be like, it is cosmic time and not calendar time that humanity must observe in order to achieve salvation.

Given the importance of Easter as the time-setting of the journey, this is no small matter. Dante may well have been aware of claims that, due to the calendar error, Easter was sometimes celebrated 'at the wrong time'. However, Dante is probably not making a plea for calendar reform. Rather, he is drawing attention to the salvific value of time as measured by

nature, the instrument of Providence, rather than by human conventions like the calendar.

Roswitha Dabke - Melbourne

'The Virtues in Hildegard of Bingen's *Ordo Virtutum*—an assortment for nuns or a strategy of spiritual change for all?'

In Hildegard of Bingen's musical play *Ordo Virtutum* fifteen or sixteen Virtues introduce themselves. Their self-laudatory songs seem to contribute nothing to the action of the play and therefore their scene of introductions has received little attention so far. One exception has been historians interested in female monastic culture and they have argued that the Virtues selected for the play are of special importance in the life of nuns. Only musicologists have studied the scene itself in detail, showing the subtle interplay between solo self-introduction and choral Virtues' response; the responses do not take the form of a single refrain but are personalized reactions to individualized self-introductions. This suggests that a subtle order may also underlie the selection, presentation and sequence of the Virtues in this scene. After assigning a new identity to the Virtue who remained nameless in the only extant twelfth-century manuscript, I suggest such an underlying order, complex and universal, through close study of libretto and music of the scene and through reference to Hildegard's *Scivias* and to biblical texts traditionally quarried for the establishment of Christian Virtue-systems. I also attempt to show that Hildegard wanted to be 'different', which comes as no surprise to Hildegard scholars, and why later generations showed so little interest in this different system.

Louise D'Arcens - University of Wollongong

'Nostalgic Identities: The Role of Place in the Work of Early Australian Medievalists'

Examining a range of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century examples, this paper asks: what did it mean to Australia's early medievalists to find themselves working here? How did their sense of the new place in which they were working affect both their work and their understanding of themselves as medievalists? And how did they come to feel about the places they had left behind? This paper traces the forms of acknowledgement or disavowal of Australian and Pacific locales found in the work of these early scholars, and the impact that their relocation had on their scholarship and their careers. It also examines the range of cultural and scholarly identities these medievalists maintained, adopted, or forged for themselves as they came to understand that their sojourn in Australia was permanent. Finally, this paper argues that cultural nostalgia played a smaller part in early Australian medievalists' self-understanding than we might imagine—a point which is significant for thinking about how

Medieval Studies has been, and continues to be, articulated as a discipline in Australia.

Carmel Bendon Davis - Macquarie University

'Now you see me; now you don't: the mystic's place in the society of fourteenth-century England'

Richard Rolle, the *Cloud of Unknowing* author and Julian of Norwich did not live and die in a vacuum. Their texts bear witness to lives lived in mystical dialogue with God and *within* medieval society simultaneously. This paper considers the mystic's negotiation of social space and, most particularly, the mystic's role in his/her social setting. Pierre Bourdieu's elaboration of sociological *habitus* offers a means of understanding the mystics as being both products of, and unique contributors to, their society. Further application of Bourdieu's ideas allows mystical experience to contain both the possibility of authentic transcendent experience and of social influence in the outward expression of that experience. Contingent on this consideration I propose that the mystical experience can be usefully regarded as a *rite de passage* undertaken by the mystics on behalf of the larger society. Arnold van Gennep's elaboration of the three stages of the *rite de passage* are demonstrable in Rolle's, the *Cloud* author's and Julian's descriptions of their experiences and provides the framework for the discussion of the mystics' simultaneous 'presence' and 'absence' in medieval society.

Helen Dell - University of Melbourne

'"Trouv?resses" and *chansons de femme*: style and gender in trouv?re song'

When we compare the poetry of northern and southern France of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some distinctions in critical direction emerge. In the southern repertoire the presence of a small but significant corpus of female-authored work creates critical debate around which female-voiced songs, including the anonymous ones, were written by historical women (*f? minit? g?n?tique)* and which women are male fictions (*f?minit? textuelle*) to use Pierre Bec's distinction. In the North the issue presents itself differently, as Bec has noted. Because so few songs are attributed to women in the northern *chansonniers* amid the profusion of female-*voiced* songs which were either anonymous or attributed to men (the *chansons de femme*), one isn't tempted to assume that the female voice implies female authorship.

In the northern context, how were women composers to find a place from which to speak, in relation to, on the one hand, the confident masculine voice of the male author and on the other, the *chansons de femme?* Secondly, how are we, in examining the songs, to distinguish

between *f?minit? g?n?tique* and *textuelle*? Is such a distinction possible, or even valid? Both questions confront, at different levels, the cultural constructions of femininity.

For the female composer of the twelfth or thirteenth century in northern France, I argue, 'femininity' would be partly a question of style. She had at her disposal the various *chanson de femme* genres to suggest possible versions of feminine subjectivity but these involved her in a style of composition which was problematic. When women composed they inserted themselves into an established hierarchy of styles and genres in which gender was already inscribed and within this hierarchy the female voice ranked low. The style of the *chansons de femme* was an expression of her supposed inferiority.

This paper considers the question of style and its generic and 'genderic' implications by examining the work of two theorists writing at the end of the thirteenth century, Dante Alighieri and Johannes de Grocheio.

Simon Devereaux - University of Queensland

'The Theatre of Justice in London: The End of the Tyburn Execution Ritual'

One of the most famous images of eighteenth-century London is that of the 'carnival' of execution at Tyburn. The condemned were taken by cart from Newgate Prison to a site at the north-eastern edge of the city, nearly three miles hence, where they were hanged by the neck from a plain cross-beam of the 'triple tree'. In November 1783, however, the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex abolished the centuries-old practice of Tyburn executions in favour of a new execution ritual immediately outside the door of Newgate prison.

Most accounts of this change have emphasized the ways in which it supposedly marked a decisive departure from older penal practices towards newer ones. Traditional accounts see this simply as an unproblematic exercise in creating a more 'civilized' and humane execution ritual. More recent historians of criminal justice, influenced by Michel Foucault, have seen it as a major step towards the removal of execution out of the public eye and into the private realm. Others have often attributed it to broader modernizing features of late eighteenth-century urban society, suggesting that the main explanation is to be found, not so much in any concern for the morality or the effectiveness of public execution,. as with the increasing fashionableness of the neighbourhood of Tyburn and a consequent desire to protect property values there.

In this paper, I want to argue that, as important as some of these factors were in the decision, we need also to recognize some of the continuities of purpose that were also involved in the decision. The Sheriffs certainly sought to devise a more effective ritual of public execution, but

they did not intend to create one which was any less public in character. Moreover, any desire to see their actions as reflecting a move towards 'modern' penal practices looks peculiar in light of the fact that the numbers of people hanged outside Newgate during the next few years vastly out numbered those hanged at Tyburn. The abolition of the traditional execution ritual is best understood, not so much as a decisive break with past practices, but more as an attempt to revise and enhance the 'theatrics' of London executions so as to achieve, it was hoped, the maximum deterrent effect.

Fiona Downie - University of Melbourne

'From queen to matriarch: the metamorphosis of St Margaret of Scotland'

The sister of the exiled Edgar the Atheling and granddaughter of King Edmund Ironside, Margaret (c.1046-93) married Malcolm III of Scotland (c.1031-93) in c.1069. Her confessor and biographer, Turgot, Prior of Durham, portrayed Margaret as the perfect queen: mother of six sons, wise and generous in her advice, zealous in matters of religion and devoted in charity. Turgot's Malcolm III managed the kingdom and joined his queen in performing good works when time permitted.

Scottish royal dynasties developed Margaret's pious reputation in the years leading to, and the centuries following, her canonisation in 1250. While Margaret's sanctity became increasingly important to the cult of monarchy, her queenship was all but forgotten. The virtual omission of descriptions of Margaret's temporal role in fifteenth-century histories emphasised the superior authority of the king, an effect compounded by his promotion as Margaret's equal in charity. These changes were balanced by an increased emphasis on Margaret's roles as mother of a dynasty and protectress of the Scottish kingdom, both roles of great symbolic importance and worthy of veneration, but of little practical significance.

The paper will situate Margaret's metamorphosis from queen to matriarch in the context of long-term political, social and economic change and explore the effects of such change on expectations of queenship.

Donnalee Dox - Texas A & M University

'Likeness through Imagination: Liturgy, Tragedy and the Mechanical Arts'

In the passage *De tragoediis* from the treatise on liturgy called the *Gemma Animae* (1100), Honorius of Autun (1080-1140) made an analogy between the liturgy and theatrical tragedy.

De tragoediis has become a standard reference point for studies of medieval European theatre as an outgrowth of liturgical practice. Honorius of Autun's allegory seems to suggest that the mass is theatrical in a modern concept of theatre and a classical concept of tragedy:

> It must be known that those who recited tragedies in theaters represented the actions of warriors by gestures to the people. In the same way, our tragic poet [tragedian] represents by his gestures the fight of Christ to the Christian people in the theatre of the Church and teaches to them the victory of his redemption. (*Gemma Animae,* Bk. 1 Cap. LXXXIII)

The unexamined problem, however, is exactly what theatrical tragedy meant in the early twelfth century, why it is an appropriate metaphor for liturgy, and how Honorius intends the allegory to be understood.

This paper suggests that Honorius of Autun does not conflate or equate theatrical tragedy with liturgical representation. Drawing on the tradition of theatre as one of the *artes mechanicae* and on how Honorius develops his unusual allegory, this paper revises conventional thinking on this passage in two respects. First, Honorius is describing the performative aspects of the mass as a kind of artifice akin to painting and architecture. Second, the theatre-liturgy allegory suggests that the performance of liturgy is a kind of labor through which a person's soul can be transformed. Honorius of Autun is defining liturgy as a symbolic system and a practice. *De tragoediis* gives each equal value.

Rosemary Dunn - James Cook University

'Lady Wisdoms: Metamorphosis of Language into Act.'

The paper will examine the frequent portrayal of female figures of Wisdom in medieval English literature. The figures are expressive of a radical, incarnational Christology but also of an awareness of the human in the construction of meaning. They are not simply personifications of single faculties, but the objectification of an internal mental process, in some ways a literal representation of a metaphysical operation.

Examination of Lady Wisdoms in such works as *Pearl*, *The Testament of Love*, *The Romance of the Rose* and *Boece* provides a deeper understanding not only of medieval epistemologies, but of the importance of transformation in medieval Christianity, which sought the metamorphosis of the individual through rational *and* affective faculties. This holistic approach to wisdom is embodied in the single figures of Lady Wisdom, who display an individual reason and emotion as well as expounding traditional arguments and exegesis. Lady Wisdoms are both traditional and individual. Their metamorphosis from a biblical figure into characters in

particular works is indicative not only of a continuity of ideas but of the belief that wisdom itself is a single concept which may be manifest individually.

Jon Elbourne - University of Wollongong

'Where Have All the Wizards Gone?: The Male Witch in English Records'

Defining a 'witch' as female, whether in the Early Modern period or now, has made the history of witchcraft gender-specific to a point where the history of male practitioners is virtually non-existent. The statutes against witchcraft were not gender-specific and male and female practitioners were charged in ecclesiastical courts. There are at least seventy-three men mentioned as either witches or cunning-folk in Macfarlane's book on Essex witchcraft. Perhaps ten percent of witches accused in the secular courts were male. This paper will present some of the representations of the activities of these men from pamphlets and manuscripts.

Bob Ewin - University of Western Australia

'Hobbes and Human Nature'

Hobbes is often taken to have been a psychological egoist and, indeed, often taken to hold to the view that people are by nature selfish. It is these claims that I want to discuss in this paper. I intend to discuss them in terms of the first chapter of *On the Citizen,* and, having forgotten the Latin I learned at school, I shall be doing so in terms of the version edited and translated by Tuck and Silverthorne. My aim in this paper goes no higher than taking some suspicious-sounding claims from that chapter and showing that they need not be interpreted as exhibiting psychological egoism of any sort. There are other reasons in Hobbes's writings and in his life for thinking that an interpretation of him as a psychological egoist should be avoided if possible.

Sarah Ferber - University of Queensland

'The Abuse of History? Demonic Possession, Sexual Possession and the "Really Real" in French cases of demonic possession'

In 1996, a methodologically bold piece by Anita Walker and Edmund Dickerman ('Magdeleine Des Aymards: Demonism or Child Abuse in Early Modern France?', *Psychohistory Review* 1996 24(3): 239-264) argued that cases of demonic sexual seduction of children in the Early

Modern era might often be best understood as real cases of child abuse, even though the terms for such phenomena were not yet coined and evidence in the legal or even archival sense is ambiguous or does not exist. They urge historians to be more sensitive to the possibility of finding cases of abuse, implicitly arguing that methodological scrupulosity is allowing historical truth to be obscured. In this sense they open the door left ajar by Roper's provocative work in *Oedipus and the Devil* (1994).

Their proposal raises methodological and ethical questions for historians. For if historians are bound professionally by the 'scientific' claims of the discipline, then is it not a futile exercise to pursue events which can never be unearthed according to accepted methods? On the other hand, the standing of history as a literature and the notion of the historical dimension as offering a uniquely ethical perspective might urge otherwise. Indeed, wilful blindness in the face of suggestive evidence may itself be on some level culpable. This paper will consider such methodological questions in relation to a case of demonic possession, that of the Ursuline nun Madeleine Demandols and the trial for witchcraft of her alleged seducer, the priest Louis Gaufridy, in Aix-en-Provence (1609-1611), the first major witchcraft French possession case explicitly to identify sexual possession and demonic possession.

Sabina Flanagan - University of Adelaide

'Abelard's Definition of Faith in Context: Crossed Swords or Crossed Wires?'

Abelard's definition of faith so scandalized William of St Thierry, by including the word *estimatio*, that he alerted St Bernard to the danger it posed to the Church as a whole. For good measure he added to his letter a series of heretical propositions supposedly drawn from Abelard's works which were later to form the basis of his condemnation at the Council of Sens in 1141. Somewhat surprisingly, the definition itself does not appear among the *capitula* attached either to William's letter or those associated with Bernard's *Letter 190*. Furthermore, it appears that William did not take the opportunity of engaging directly with Abelard's position when he wrote his treatise on faith (*Enigma fidei*) somewhat later. Indeed, it appears that no one took up the challenge until Baldwin of Forde wrote his much longer work, *De commendatione fidei*, in the early 1170s. The various frameworks in which this episode has been viewed, such as authority versus reason, scholasticism versus monasticism, logic versus theology, are too simplistic. They suggest that the protagonists were aware of just what was at stake and shared certain basic understandings both of terminology and methodology. However it seems to me that it was the very contested nature of the contexts in which this dispute arose, the mismatch between the discourses in which the various protagonists were operating, that better explains its puzzling nature.

Pina Ford - University of Western Australia

'From Scholasticism to More's Humanist *Utopia*: the Natural Law Connection'

Richard Schoeck has proposed that 'few readers of 1516 or 1518 would have thought it overstatement or oversimplification to say that natural law was the subject of *Utopia*'. However, few readers of modern times have been inclined to view *Utopia* from this perspective. When they have, curiously, natural law is treated as though it were solely a Stoic idea. The one-and-a-half millennia of its history from the late classical period onwards are totally ignored. In seeking to overcome this curious oversight one soon meets the stumbling block from which it has no doubt arisen. Natural law thought peaked in the high scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas, and humanists defined themselves in opposition to scholasticism. This opposition is a well-established orthodoxy of literary criticism, making it most uncongenial to regard such a thoroughly 'humanist' text as *Utopia* from such a profoundly 'scholastic' idea as natural law. However, beyond the humanists' own perception of a profound disjunction between themselves and the scholastics, there are significant underlying areas of correspondence. These correspondences could even be seen to account for so much that is ultimately characteristic of humanism.

Thomas More's *Utopia* is the outcome of the interrelationship between scholasticism and humanism. At the centre of this interrelationship is the natural law thinking which More uses as the basis for constructing a just society. The ethical superstructure, the system of justice, social relations, government, and the economic system all look back to Thomistic natural law principles. They also exploit the inherent vitality of these principles to look forward in ways that Aquinas barely imagined.

Elizabeth Freeman - University of Tasmania

'Changing Orders: Reaffiliation and reinvention of monastic houses in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries'

Recent reassessments of the Cistercian monastic order have suggested that the order's origins were a process of evolution and development over the twelfth century, rather than a case of immediate and definitive creation in 1098. Interestingly, some of these reassessments came about from studies that originally focussed on religious women but then broadened the scope to investigate the order in its wider, more masculine, incarnation. That is, the scholarly quest for medieval women resulted in the scholarly discovery of medieval men.

This paper will return the focus to Cistercian women. In keeping with recent scholarship, I will

present the Cistercian order as one of flexibility and evolution. Specifically, my aim will be to examine the ways in which this change and evolution was a gendered process. As case studies I will investigate the 'changing orders' of religious women, i.e. religious communities which started life affiliated with one monastic order before switching to another. In examining how and why women's houses negotiated the metamorphosis from one order to another I will also be examining what it meant to participate in the religious reforms of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

My field of interest is England. Given that the Cistercians are traditionally seen as a highly centralised order, regional studies are critical. And so too are studies of the margins in another sense. Whereas the century which 'discovered' the individual certainly produced such people as Bernard of Clairvaux, it also produced many women who are known to us as groups rather than individuals. Ironically, these women seem to have lived their most 'Cistercian' lives at times when the order officially excluded them. Thus, although we can argue that the Cistercians provided a highly centralised and unified religious life for the male elites in Burgundy, there is also another Cistercian lifestyle—one lived on the margins, both geographically and institutionally.

Sophie Gee - Harvard University

'A *dismal situation waste and wild:* Wasteland in Paradise Lost'

'Wastes', in the seventeenth century and earlier, were non-arable lands held in common. These were inhospitable landscapes, suggestive of neglect, but the ideology of 'improvement', revived in the seventeenth century, raised the possibility of the recuperation of wasteland. Wastes were common property, but access to them was sought infrequently; marginal land itself, waste was associated with people at the margins of society who wandered through waste and wilderness as rural vagrants. Wastes signaled a threat to 'georgic' social stability, and their discussion attracted impassioned commentary by polemicists determined to enclose, and 'reform' the wasted landscape of England: 'Why should you love a desert more then a garden? Or prefer the comfortlesse Wildernesse of *Arabia* to the pleasant fruitfull fields of *Canaan*?' intoned Adam Moore in his argument for the enclosure of waste in 1653.

Poetic and literary conventions did not develop to describe the topography of wasteland, for it existed outside the stable parameters of agriculture, production, and the established routines of labor. '[L]and that is left wholly to nature, that hath no improvement of pasturage, tillage or planting, is called, and indeed it is, waste; and we shall find the benefit of it amount to little more than nothing', Locke argued in his *Second Treatise*. Waste was increasingly a polemically charged landscape, but it was culturally ambiguous. It seemed *empty*, and yet in real terms was filled with debris and residual material, as Blackstone would emphasize in his

Commentaries: 'Waste, *vastum*, is a spoil or destruction in houses, gardens, trees, or other corporeal hereditaments…'. The etymology of waste, *vastum*, shows that it connotes emptiness, spatial and intellectual. Wasted space is not literally empty, however, but emptied of its significance, or utility, revealed by its simultaneous etymology in the Old French *guaste*, signaling ravage or emptiness resulting from damage.

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton describes Hell and Chaos as wasteland. In his first encounter with the wastes of Pandemonium, Satan perceives that he is in a prison which simultaneously has no boundaries; the emptiness is oppressive precisely because it is vast:

At once *as far as Angels kenn* he views

The dismal situation *waste* and wild,

A dungeon horrible, *on all sides round*

As one great furnace flam'd, yet from those flames

No light ... (II, 59-62 [my emphasis])

Satan's exile from Heaven into wasteland entails exclusion from the socially productive activities flagged in *Paradise Lost* by the pastoral and georgic modes. His occupation of land that he cannot cultivate, and the expenditure of time in Hell without change or improvement, marks Satan's activities as wasted, showing that the physical emptiness of wasteland is crucially tied to the psychological anxiety of wasted time, energy or effort. The 'emptiness', or cultural void of waste is dependent upon its being filled with psychologically oppressive, and often physically inhibiting matter.

Wasteland in *Paradise Lost* adapts the symbolic force acquired by its prominence in debates over land use and enclosure, and Milton is interested both in the etymological meaning of waste, and in the polemically charged associations that it carried as a specific geographic category. In the sections of the poem dealing with Satan's relocation to Hell and explorations in Chaos, Milton relies on a 'poetics of waste' as much as he draws upon the poetics of georgic and pastoral in the sections of the poem set in Paradise and in Heaven.

K?ri Gislason - University of Queensland

'Perception and Representation in Nj?ls saga'

Medieval Icelandic conceptions of saga authorship are difficult to gauge. Family sagas such as

Nj?ls saga, Laxd?la saga, and G?sla saga share an apparent desire to position their narrative viewpoints in the historical moments of the tenth and eleventh centuries they describe rather than in a much later period of interpretation and re-evaluation (the thirteenth-century writing age). As such, they adopt a style of narration which is usually termed objective saga style. Whilst saga scholars have come to think that the saga authors were not in fact historically impartial, it remains the case that the family sagas' contemporary credibility was tied to a tone which declared that the author's engagement with the past and with his audience was non-critical. Yet the family sagas take the form of stories and represent history with the help of many artistic devices, not least a highly developed and complex method of characterization. My interest lies in whether the methods of characterization were developed so as to allow the authors some space in which to create a more openly interpretive discourse, a self-conscious dialogue which ran alongside the sagas' objectivity without necessarily undermining it.

I argue that it is possible to identify such a discourse in Nj?ls saga, and I suggest that it helps us to understand this author's conception of the task of saga writing. In Nj?ls saga, as in other family sagas, the use of an objective tone means that the saga author does not openly explain his characters' inner lives. Yet at times a highly conspicuous portrayal of certain subjective qualities (for instance, perception) is aligned with characters' statements (their acts of representation) to express the author's sense of the internal world of the saga age. I see these points of characterization as reflections of a non-objective strand in the saga narrative, one in which a broad spectrum of medieval Icelandic ideas can be glimpsed, including notions of the author.

Georgina Goddard - University of Western Australia

'Margaret Cavendish's Landscape of Identity'

Margaret Cavendish's early works present a world of Nature in conflict with itself. Constructed as at the mercy of an eternal battle between Life and Death, the landscape she writes is both under threat from within and without. This paper examines the ways in which her created landscape and the view of Nature within which it is placed function to construct Cavendish's own multifaceted identity as woman, writer, natural philosopher, royalist and exile. This paper will focus on Cavendish's early texts *Poems and Fancies, Philosophical Fancies* and *Nature's Pictures Drawn by Fancies Pencil to the Like*, but will also draw on *The Blazing World* and its body of critical work.

Martin Grimmer - University of Tasmania

'The Early History of Glastonbury Abbey: A Hypothesis Regarding the "British Charter"'.

In the literature on early Anglo-Saxon Christianity it is currently popular to examine possible points of continuity with the Romano-British past. For the kingdom of Wessex, specifically, it is often asserted that the West Saxon church, particularly in the west of the realm, took over a pre-existing British ecclesiastical structure. In this sense, British monasteries and other ecclesiastical sites are thought to have provided a foundation for West Saxon establishments, with the British Celtic communities in some fashion metamorphosing into West Saxon Roman houses.

One of the most well known monasteries that has been used as an example of such a metamorphosis is Glastonbury Abbey, which became one of the wealthiest of the West Saxon houses. Glastonbury has long been associated with early, pre-Saxon Christianity in Britain, with connections made to Joseph of Arimathea, and to saints such as Patrick and Gildas. Most of the legends of a pre-Saxon foundation for Glastonbury are, however, without a documentary basis. The earliest actual documentary evidence that derives from the Glastonbury archives that can be used to argue for a pre-Saxon foundation is a charter which appears to date from the early seventh century.

This charter—usually called the 'British Charter'—begins an account of grants to Glastonbury contained in William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, commissioned by the abbey c.1129. The charter records a grant made in 601 AD by an unnamed king of British Dumnonia of five hides of land at *Ineswitrin*. Given William states that *Ineswitrin* was the British name for Glastonbury, this charter is extremely significant in that it ostensibly proclaims a pre-Saxon foundation. In addition, the actual survival of the charter, if it is genuinely British, implies some level of continuity between British and Saxon communities. It is the aim of this paper to discuss the authenticity of this 'British charter', and the implications for our understanding of the early West Saxon church.

Peter Groves - Monash University

'Textual Metamorphoses: Shakespeare's Pentameter and the Editors'

From the start Shakespeare's editors have used metricality as an objective criterion for editorial decision-making, but since traditional metrics has never succeeded in explicitly formulating the code that prescribes it, they have been forced either to rely on their ear (with an implicit appeal to the common judgment of their readers) or to invoke the only objective constraint that traditional metrics can offer: the requirement that an iambic pentameter have at least ten syllables, so that lines with fewer must be emended or relineated to bring them up to scratch.

At first sight editing by rule appears more responsible and objective than editing by ear, but it can only be as valid as the rule itself, which in this case is a mere shibboleth, based not on analysis but on precriptivist assumptions. Applying it will sometimes correct compositorial mislineations, but it will also destroy what appear to be a number of carefully crafted instances of catalexis (or missing off-beat), a feature often used by Shakespeare as a way of building performative directions into the text.

Intuition, by contrast, is a more reliable guide, in that it is the way in which our shared tacit knowledge of linguistic and metrical systems manifests itself. Over the last thirty years the metrical grammar of the heroic line has been successfully explored for the first time, so that editing reliably by ear and by rule together has finally become a possibility. It is a curious irony that in the same period many Shakespearean editors have abandoned the deliberate attempt to reconstruct metrical intention. Such editors lose not only useful corrections formerly made by rule, but also the valuable emendations produced by previous editors' intuitions; worse still, they often (perversely) preserve just those former emendations by rule that destroy Shakespeare's catalexis-based performative directions.

Des Gurry - University of Western Australia

'Power with glory, but at a price: the voices of the Castrati'

A simple but effective item of surgery, a form of secret men's business because it was in no text book—and was officially forbidden, under pain of severe penalties—was performed on thousands of small boys over several hundred years in Europe. It was deliberate castration, done to arrest the normal change in pitch of the voice at puberty, in singers of promise. There is mystery about the techniques, the anaesthetics/analgesics, the operators, indeed the where or when. Informed consent was hardly a feature; extraordinary explanations and excuses were sometimes given to the subjects in later life by parents or teachers. When the operation achieved its aim of preserving and developing a fine singing voice the results could be spectacular. Fame and fortune in the coloratura range, from adult lungs huge as a result of that training, produced the greatest singers the world has ever known. They ruled the world of opera for over 200 years, and continued for longer in sacred music. Fine. What else happened? What were the effects of the operation on growth, physique, appearance of the youth and later adult? We can try to explain features described by a wide range of contemporary accounts. We can consider these in the light of later knowledge of endocrinology. We can only guess at the psychological effects. We have no idea of what those voices were really like, nor ever shall.

Paul Hammer - University of Adelaide

'Making it to the top and staying there: strategies for success among the Tudor nobility'

Like their counterparts elsewhere in medieval and Early Modern Europe, the Tudor nobility liked to represent themselves as embodying ancient lineage and values which had changed little with the passage of time. In reality, however, the membership of the peerage was subject to frequent change and underwent major convulsions during the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI and after the death of Elizabeth I. The remarkable stability—almost stasis—of the peerage in Elizabeth's reign (especially after 1572) was perhaps more an aberration than the symptom of 'crisis', as Lawrence Stone once famously claimed. Although most promotions into the peerage, and within it, were based upon royal service or family connection with the crown, this paper will focus on the extended Devereux-Hastings-Dudley-Sidney family grouping to emphasise that women, and female descent, could determine when or how such promotions occurred. The paper will also explore how this same family grouping repeatedly used religion as a means of safeguarding its place within the realm's social ?lite.

Emma Hawkes - University of Western Australia

'Rape Records of Fourteenth-Century England'.

This paper focuses on ways in which women brought indictments for rape in fourteenth-century England. The paper charts the history of legislation against rape in the fourteenth century and then turns to ways in which this legislative framework was interpreted in indictments and in decisions before itinerate justices.

The focus is what we can learn about women's actions in the courts: the ways in which indictments in this crime (for which women were predominantly the victims) reveal women's understandings of the law, of the courts, and of the crime of rape.

Paul Hayward - University of Otago

'Apostolic Metamorphoses: How and why Augustine of Canterbury supplanted Gregory the Great as the "Apostle of the English"'

The metamorphosis in which St Augustine of Canterbury supplanted Gregory the Great as England's apostle is an unrecognised but crucial dimension in the conflicts which erupted in

the English Church in the wake of the Norman Conquest. Consult such standard reference works as the Oxford Dictionary of the Church or the Catholic Encyclopaedia and you will be told that Augustine is to be regarded as the 'Apostle of the English', yet until the twelfth century this honour was generally accorded not to Augustine but to his mentor, Gregory the Great. Bede, Aldhelm, ?thelwold and ?lfric all regarded Gregory as their apostle. Strangely, little attention has been given to this transformation and its significance. It is well-known that the attempts of successive archbishops of Canterbury to assert jurisdiction over St Augustine's Abbey aroused dogged and indeed violent resistance—resistance which challenged their authority as primates of the British Isles and which undermined Anselm's efforts gain recognition for the papal decrees on investiture. What has yet to be appreciated is the full significance of the hagiographical arguments which were deployed in support of the opposing positions, not least their significance for our understanding of the ethnic politics of colonial England. This paper will argue that Lanfranc's and especially Anselm's promotion of the cult of Gregory the Great was an attempt to contest arguments coming out of St Augustine's Abbey, arguments which rested on novel claims for Augustine's apostolic status, by appealing to the received history of the English people. It will explore, moreover,

the reasons why the abbey won the debate in spite of the manifest weakness of its arguments.

Helen Hickey - University of Melbourne

'The Tavern in the Town: The Everyday in Thomas Hoccleve's Poetry'

Samuel Kinser argues that '[I]n medieval times the ordinary was lodged in the corners and backgrounds of religious scenes or portrayed in the miniatures illustrating books of hours. The ordinary was conceived less in everyday than in every year, seasonal terms:…'Medieval portrayals of the everyday are commonly found in works patronised by the aristocracy and wealthy merchant classes and usually consist of rural landscapes replete with scenes of peasant labour and agricultural productivity. This art-based view of the everyday can be fruitfully broadened by an examination of court-centred medieval poetry.

In the 'autobiographical' poetry of Thomas Hoccleve (1367-1426) there is an everyday that is remote from Kinser's description. In his poem *La M?le R?gle de T. Hoccleve,* Hoccleve recounts the excesses responsible for his physical and spiritual downfall. Amongst these he cites his habitual frequenting of Westminster taverns when returning home from work in the Office of the Privy Seal. Hoccleve's poetic use of the 'tavern' combines historical fact with literary strategy and personal and spiritual confession. Although Langland and Chaucer also represent the everyday in their poetry, Hoccleve's rendition in *La M?le R?gle* is particularly compelling due not only to its historically accurate urban setting but mainly because the author purports to be the narrator of his own daily life.

This paper focuses on the role of the 'tavern' in Hoccleve but in doing so it queries how the medieval everyday is appropriated by its own art and literature.

Anna Hicks - University of Western Australia

'Hunting, status and landscape in Fourteenth-Century England: A dispute between John of Gaunt and Sir Edward Dallingridge'

In 1384 John of Gaunt had Sir Edward Dallingridge attached to answer a special commission of oyer and terminer while also proceeding against him by special bill and jury indictment in the trailbaston sessions of the Rape of Pevansy. The reason for this concerted legal attack was a longstanding campaign on the part of Dallingridge against Gaunt that began with the burning of the underwood in the duke's forest of Ashdown in 1380, included much illegal hunting in Gaunt's lands and which climaxed with the killing of the ranger of Ashdown forest in 1384. What was at issue was the threat Gaunt's recent moves into the locality posed to Dallingridge's status as a powerful member of the local gentry; what is of particular interest are the ways in which Dallingridge responded to that threat. Dallingridge's attacks on Gaunt's lands and servants and impassioned attempts at defending himself in the courts provide a starting point for an exploration of the nexus between landscape, hunting and status. Dallingridge's actions in the 'real landscape' highlighted the 'notional landscape' of rights, franchises and jurisdictions that overlaid it and the part hunting played as a physical enactment of the rights of the 'notional landscape' in the 'real landscape'. The recognition that hunting was a pastime that was somehow innate and natural to the aristocratic meant that Dallingridge's mode of attacking Gaunt was simultaneously an assertion of his own status. When he got to court Dallingridge initially responded to the charges brought against him by offering to disprove them by combat as if in a court of honour, a strategy he couldn't legally use. His actions addressed directly the attack on his status embedded in the legal action rather than the charges themselves; it was status that was really at issue. The Dallingridge case brings out the changing and negotiable meanings of the landscape, hunting and status in the England in the fourteenth century.

Steve Hindle - University of Warwick

"The School of Idleness"?: Alms, Beggary and the "Closure" of the Rural Parish c.1580-1650'

Although there has recently been a renaissance of interest in the administration of the Elizabethan poor laws, attitudes to begging remain tantalisingly obscure. This paper focuses on the attempt, on the very eve of the enactment of the 1598 statute which regulated (though did not prohibit) begging, to coordinate 'general hospitality' on the basis of exhortations to

almsgiving across thousands of English parishes. For the last time in the history of social welfare development, the regime attempted a national campaign for relief of the poor in which charity would be entirely undifferentiated. By analysing a remarkable series of churchwardens' presentments from the Archdeaconry of Buckingham, it is possible for the very first time to investigate local responses to this campaign, and to measure the extent of provision of the poor during the dearth of 1596-97. The evidence suggests that at least in the short-term, the rhetoric of exhortation was remarkably successful in moving parish congregations to be merciful. Indeed, so successful was the campaign that it seems in some parishes to have attracted migrants from far afield, with 'vagrants' in particular engaging in the systematic begging which they regarded as necessary to claim what they regarded as legitimate rights to hospitality. Contemporary criticism of the campaign soon mounted, and by the end of the century it was being denounced as the 'disgrace of disordered succour'. By comparing the Buckinghamshire dearth returns with the evidence of vestry minute books, overseers account books, quarter sessions petitions and the certificates in the state papers, it is possible to trace the development both of attitudes towards, and the practice of, begging from the turn of the century into the 1630s. The price to be paid for closing the parish to the attentions of 'strangers' and 'foreigners' was the granting of discretion to parish officers in allocating entitlements under the Elizabethan poor laws. The poor might be prevented from begging either at home or abroad only if poor rates increased significantly, especially in years of high prices.

Peter Holbrook - University of Queensland

'Subplots and subordination in early Shakespeare comedy'

Shakespeare's early comedies foreground master-servant relationships, in ways different to his later plays, partly as a result of his closer reliance, at this stage of his career, on Roman models such as Plautus. But that is not, perhaps, a complete explanation for this interest of Shakespeare's—he was, after all, free to modify or reject classical exemplars. This paper asks what it was that guided Shakespeare's interest in masters and servants at this time. What do plays by other writers from the 1580s or early '90s have to say about this relationship? To what extent do Shakespeare's plays form part of a general discourse about servants in the period?

Rosemary Huisman - University of Sydney

Spoken grammar in Old English poetry.'

The traditional description of grammar has been based on the characteristics of written

documents, even while the discussion of language has typically assumed writing to be secondary to speech (and hence Derrida's, on first reading, mischievous inversion in *Of Grammatology*). Yet, more recent study of Modern English has made clear some of the characteristic differences between spoken and written language. It has been inevitable then that speech should appear 'ungrammatical' when judged by inappropriate criteria.

Old English poetry has suffered from similar generalisations. Its grammar has been described in terms of the written 'standard,' and 'irregularities' typically put down to the 'earlier' stage of the language. In this paper I will discuss the features of Old English poetry which can be seen also as features of spoken Modern English. Since Old English versification predated the introduction of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England, it is not surprising that characteristics of spoken English—then and now—should have persisted in the poetic tradition.

Colin Hutchinson - University of Western Australia

'Hobbes and Bramhall on Might and Right'

> *Power irresistible justifies all actions, really and properly,* in whomsoever it be found; less power does not, and because such power is in God only, he must needs be just in all his actions, and we, that not comprehending his counsels, call him to the bar, commit injustice in it.

Hobbes and Bramhall were engaged in a long and frequently acrimonious dispute over the nature of 'liberty' spanning some 20 years. Whilst the points at issue were often obscured by the weight of accompanying polemical broadsides, some of these issues are nevertheless of fundamental importance to Hobbes's science of politics. In this paper I wish to consider one small part of this fascinating (and voluminous) debate: Hobbes's dispute with Bramhall over the source of one's obligation to obey the commands of God—one's natural obligation to obey God.

This issue is of interest because, in showing why we are obliged to obey the commands of God, Hobbes appears to make the unfortunate concession of equating might with right. This is something which Bramhall pounces upon in order to show that Hobbes is at odds with traditional arguments concerning the origins of our obedience to obey the commands of God, is inconsistent in his arguments about the nature of the sovereign's right to rule, and is vulnerable to the possibility that this kind of account of natural obligation will supervene unexpectedly on his account of obligation by covenant.

I intend to show that Hobbes does indeed say that something very much like 'might is right', but that what Hobbes intended is something much more like 'might makes right effective'. I

also intend to show that Hobbes does indeed appear to have backed away from this conception of natural obligation, but that no real harm would have been caused to his arguments if he had not, although Hobbes may have other reasons for doing so. In doing so I also hope to show that Hobbes was, in fact, remarkably consistent concerning liberty and obligation throughout his long dispute with Bramhall.

Sybil Jack - University of Sydney

'The debatable lands, *terra nullius*, and the rule of law in the sixteenth century'

A map was made for William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief advisor, which details an area on the borders between England and Scotland claimed by both countries. The circumstances in which it was drawn are not clear, but it may indicate a problem which arose when the exact boundary was being delimited by treaty, when an ensuing attempt at demarcation—the marking out of the line with boundary stones—encountered problems on the ground. Even today, accurate, large scale, topographical maps are required and on the ground familiarity with the terrain necessary when boundaries are being determined, and while marking the limits of a landholding or a parish was well known in the middle ages, marking out a boundary between nations created much greater problems as it had to be agreed by both sides, usually by a treaty. The practice was becoming more common in the sixteenth century as the universal law which was supranational rather than international, by which lip-service was paid to the authority of pope and emperor, was giving way to international law, by which an increasing number of lesser territorial powers were moving towards claiming sovereignty, that is the autonomy which England, France and Denmark had long asserted: *Rex in regno suo est Imperator regni sui*.

In their struggle to reduce the anomaly, the monarchs of both England and Scotland were working against a theoretical background of legal ideas which were being altered—sometimes radically—particularly by Spanish intellectuals grappling with the need to justify their rulers' aggressive seizure of territories in the New World. They sought to establish what constituted the right to possess a territory, whether there could be any territory without a master even if there might exist regions which had never been occupied by the Spaniards which were unexplored or inhabited by non-civilized aborigines. The law of war—the right of a sovereign state to protect its territorial integrity—related to natural law and was becoming an increasingly important concern. Could the pope, as he had in the past, grant to a prince the right to take over a pagan state for the purpose of converting it to Christianity?

Lawyers and philosophers directed their minds to some of the issues which arose basing themselves on ideas about what constituted natural law, the *ius gentium*, customary law and juridical practices. Was a treaty binding, and if so was it binding not only on the signatories but

on their successors? For most of the middle ages the frontiers between states were treated as borders and were often lands which were effectively considered no man's land—*terra nullius*—not because they were uninhabited but because no recognised authority had effectively exerted power over it. But could there be a land without a legitimate master?

Some ideas were becoming anathema. Frontiers were undesirable areas because they were places in which the right to private war (feud)—admitted legitimate in the middle ages—continued to flourish while it was being suppressed elsewhere. In such Marches there was often an individual (a margrave) or a number of individuals who exercised a form of agreed customary law by which peace (of a sort) was maintained. A variation of this was in operation on the Borders between England and Scotland. The debateable land, however, threatened to fall outside it—a haven for those outlawed, a place controlled by the owners of the local keeps and strongholds but a place where the nature of ownership might be contested, where no 'perfect' political community existed, a place potentially neither public nor private where the application of natural law, the *ius gentium* and custom was 'debateable', a place where the parties involved might have a right to decide which law should govern their legal relations.

England was unusual in having totally suppressed private feud but it still flourished in Scotland. This tiny enclave therefore presented theoretical as well as practical problems to the maintenance of peace on the Borders which were not solved for most of the sixteenth century. There were parallels between the position of the debateable lands and areas recognised by custom as sanctuaries, e.g. in London, where the ordinary officials of the law could not go but which did not have an authorised internal system of their own.

Tania Jeffries - University of Adelaide

'Strategies for coping with aristocratic decline in seventeenth century England.'

Throughout the seventeenth century aristocratic families used a variety of strategies to ensure their survival and to cope with the social, financial and political challenges they faced. In most of these strategies women played an important role. This paper will examine these strategies by focussing on the Hastings family, the earls and countesses of Huntingdon. I will discuss how women could be both an asset and a threat to the success of aristocratic families, and demonstrate how the very strategies used by these families to ensure their survival and success could also work against them.

This paper will examine the marriage of Ferdinando, sixth earl of Huntingdon to Lucy Davies in 1623 and the marriage of their son Theophilus, seventh earl in 1672 to Elizabeth Lewys. These marriages were meant to bring wealth and important connections to the Hastings family, but

they also led to bitter legal battles and financial uncertainty. Widows are also examined as both assets and threats to the survival of the family. Lucy Hastings outlived her husband by 24 years and played a crucial role as head of the family while her son was still a child. However, long-lived widows could also burden an estate as their jointure lands could not be used by the heir and his family and widows were not always willing to subordinate their own interests to that of the next generation. Law suits, political activity and the role of individuals are also discussed.

Philippa Kelly - UNSW

'Metamorphoses in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England in respect of the mirror.'

The availability of the looking glass in sixteenth-century England as a result of the importation of the cheap mirror from Germany had profound effects on self-scrutiny and self-representation. People of all classes now had ready access to images of themselves, and metaphors of mirroring sprang up in the works of Shakespeare, Ford, Milton, and, indeed, most writers. My paper will explore the effects of the mirror on self-representation in some of these writings. I will discuss my current research project which seeks to use these materials to address some wider questions: How might the mirror be compared, for example, to iconographic representations of people and events? How did the motif of the looking glass address the ambiguity of selfhood in this period? How did issues of class affect modes of self-scrutiny? Did the mirror occasion a rise in expenditure on makeup? And what function did the convex mirror serve in terms of self-representation?

Elizabeth Kent - Monash University

'Diabolic Men: The Meanings of Male Witchcraft in Early Modern England'

In this paper I examine the representation of male witches in witch trials and compare 'real' male witchcraft to that appearing in witchcraft pamphlets in Early Modern England. Male witches appear infrequently in trials for witchcraft, but are significantly more apparent in witchcraft pamphlets. The focus of this paper will be the case of the Reverend John Lowes of Brandeston, Suffolk, who was the subject of multiple accusations of witchcraft between 1614 and 1645, when he was executed by the witch finders Matthew Hopkins and John Stearne as part of the East Anglian witch hunt. In this case there survives both legal records of witchcraft accusation from the villagers of Brandeston, plus accounts of Lowes in a witchcraft pamphlet by John Stearne. I would like to compare the representation of male witchcraft by Lowes' parishioners to that penned by Stearne at mid-century. I will discuss why male witches might

be popular literary subjects, and explore what these representations of diabolic masculinity might tell us about maleness and manhood in Early Modern English culture.

Margaret Kim - Rutgers University

'Hunger and the Politics of Poverty'

In Passus 8 of the C-text of *Piers Plowman*, Hunger is summoned by Piers to quell the rebellion of Wastor and his fellow wage laborers. It has often been noted by Langland scholars that Hunger takes on a chameleon character in his interaction with Piers. The direction of Hunger's discourse in this passus takes its twists and turns at the promptings and suggestions of Piers. One moment Hunger is Piers's ruthless henchman carrying out the suppression of the rebellious laborers; another moment he is Piers's lawyer garnering biblical authority to defend Piers's action against his 'fellow Christians'; yet another moment he is Piers's doctor and offers him medical advice on the benefits of fasting and dietary restraint. From Hunger's dialogue with Piers, we see that this allegorical character holds no core ideology on the term 'hunger' nor on the notion of poverty as represented by 'hunger.'

This paper accounts for the chameleon-like character in Hunger's discourse by paralleling it to the voicelessness of the poor workers in Piers's project of forced labor. The lack of any consistent ethical core that Hunger represents reflects a condition of political oppression. Many consequences and implications of Hunger's presence on the half-acre farm are directly related to what happens when poor people do not have even the power and voice to negotiate with authorities on their own ways of life and conditions. In one instance, Hunger's discussion of the word 'hunger' turns into the discussion of deadly hunger for the pauper Lazarus, thus reminding readers that besides being a welcome medicinal cure for dyspeptic, overstuffed non-poor people like Piers, 'hunger' is also a deadly killer of poor people. In another instance, Hunger's reference to biblical authority constantly turns into a celebration of usury and the insatiable thirst for gain, driven by the deep-seated insecurity of those who can never have enough. What this describes is actually a result of Piers's program of forced labor and containment. While Piers may have begun the suppression of the idle workers in order to turn them into productive contributors to the community, what happens under the condition of forced labor is that individuals become concerned with self-preservation and self-interested survival rather than becoming charitable producers. Overall, Hunger's behavior of inconsistencies and contradictions finds a parallel in the dramatic change of idlers into hardworking laborers. Ultimately, the metamorphoses of Hunger indicate the failure of Piers's project of containment and forced labor.

Catherine Kovesi Killerby - University of Melbourne

'Muddying the waters: Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici and the Lake of Fucecchio'

In 1515 Alfonsina Orsini de' Medici purchased a large lake in Tuscany for which she never paid, and ordered that it be drained. The site of that lake is now Italy's largest inland swamp—the Padule di Fucecchio. Some years after her death, Alfonsina, now a reviled public figure, was condemned by the Florentine Republic in absentia for her actions over the lake. This paper explores the circumstances of Alfonsina's decision to drain the lake and places it in the context of a century of Florentine interference in the landscape of the lake, and the livelihood of its local inhabitants. By so doing, I hope to moderate, or at least complexify, some of Alfonsina's bad press, and examine questions of patronage and favour in the Florentine countryside.

Stephen Kolsky - University of Melbourne

'An Early Seventeenth-Century Feminist Controversy in Italy'

The polemic on women between Lucrezia Marinella and Giuseppe Passi that took place in 1600 is considered in the context of late Renaissance culture and Venetian intellectual life of the period. Marinella's polemical approach is contrasted with that taken by Moderata Fonte in *The Worth of Women* (1600). A previously unknown response to Passi, also the work of a woman, Bianca Naldi, is analysed. The later work of both Marinella and Passi is examined in order to assess the impact the controversy had on their thinking. It was the first time women had entered the debate in the first person and in their own language in Italy. For these reasons, the controversy is a pivotal moment in the development of feminist thought in Italy.

Anne Laurence - Open University

'Making a Doctrinal Statement in the Parish: Women's Patronage in the Church in Early Modern England'

The paper will consider how women used the purchase of objects for parish churches and the commissioning of building work for churches to make doctrinal statements just as powerful as those made by employing clergy as lecturers or appointing them to benefices, both of which allowed women some power over church appointments, despite their exclusion from the formal processes of church government. Such statements are particularly evident in the contested ecclesiastical politics of the 1630s, but may be found later and demonstrate that women were

using such influence as they had to engage with contemporary debates in the church. The paper seeks to examine the impact of such patronage in the parish.

Robert Liddiard - University of Wales, Bangor

'Elite landscape and lordly identity in England, 1066-1500'

During the 1990s archaeologists in Britain identified several examples of what have been termed 'designed landscapes' of medieval date. These landscapes comprise the archaeological remains of former pleasure grounds and formal gardens that can be associated with the high-status residences of the medieval aristocracy. How these landscapes served to construct or maintain elite identity is considered here.

The theme of medieval identity and landscape is investigated through a selection of key sites from the eleventh to the fifteenth century. Particular attention is paid to the symbolic meaning inherent in the elements surrounding castles and palaces: deer parks, warrens, fishponds, mills, moats, religious houses and dovecotes. The combination of these elements ensured that the immediate environment of the medieval residence looked physically different from the rest of the medieval countryside and embodied specific symbolic messages. The overwhelming image projected by these landscapes was that of seigneurial power. These 'landscapes of lordship' as they are termed here constituted powerful markers of lordly status.

The construction and maintenance of elite identity was achieved not only by the presence of features that pertained to lordly status but by manipulating the visitor on their approach to principal buildings and by set 'views' into the wider countryside to observe activities such as hunting. The elite landscape therefore functioned as an arena in which social relationships were negotiated and reinforced. This conclusion is supported by the depiction of elite landscapes in contemporary literature and highlights that the study of seigneurial landscapes cannot be divorced from wider patterns of social interaction in medieval England. This paper will review the findings of recent work and contribute to wider debates concerning medieval identity via the discipline of landscape archaeology.

Andrew Lynch - University of Western Australia

'The making of Malory in the 20th century'

This paper considers changes in the scholarly and critical emphasis of Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* from 1914 to the present. The usual twentieth-century problems of authority,

intentionalism and the location of textual meaning were made more acute in Malory's case by his worrying life-records, his lack of an ironic method, and the relative difficulty of treating his works as unified and conscious 'art'. The paper is not about biographical studies, but examines the related presence of an imagined 'Malory' as an effect (and a putative cause) in the *Morte*'s modern reception. How has this figure, whether 'mind', 'voice' or unconscious ideological tendency, been constructed? how has he developed? and how has he reflected and influenced criticism over the last one hundred years? The scholars and critics discussed include Saintsbury, E. K. Chambers, Vinaver, C. S. Lewis, Lumiansky, D. S. Brewer, P. J. C. Field, Jill Mann and Catherine La Farge.

Dolly Mackinnon - Queensland University of Technology

'Margaret Williamson – Dead by the oaths of S: a case study of a suicide in Early Modern Earls Colne, Essex'

When on the morning of the 7th July 1627 Margaret Williamson 'by diabolical instigation' did end her own life, she not only guaranteed that her body would be interred somewhere in or at the boundary of the parish landscape, but also that her name and actions would become part of the collective memory of the village. This paper considers the subsequent events and responses to this suicide in seventeenth-century Earls Colne, Essex, from a number of Early Modern perspectives: the ecclesiastical, the legal, the manorial, and the personal. The surviving records offer conflicting responses to suicide. While the Church was keen to expunge any record of their existence from ecclesiastical records, the Law set about determining the nature of the death, and settling unresolved issues concerning moveable and immoveable goods. Furthermore, what do we know about Margaret Williamson's life before her private act of desperation became a public spectacle ? To take one's own life was in effect to guarantee that your name in living memory would be reviled, and that your property (moveable and immoveable), as well as the ritual of a sacred burial (the last rite of passage) might be denied you.

Wendy Madden - Monash University

'The Courts of Correggio and Mantua: A Cultural Nexus'

This paper looks at the role of women in the development of culture that emanated from courts such as Correggio and Mantua during the sixteenth century, and focuses particularly on the Lady of Correggio, Veronica G?mbara (1485-1550), who has been hailed as one of the three great women poets of the High Renaissance. That she was a widow, a woman ruler of a small

city-state, Correggio, during a time when women were denied civic participation seems to have been overlooked by historians.

The first half of the sixteenth century saw an openness in the Italian cultural milieu that allowed more female participation. Women such as Veronica G?mbara and Isabella d'Este of Mantua actively participated in the arts, both as contributor, and as patroness. Veronica's poetry can be seen as a standard from which other, later female poets could measure their work. Laura Bacio Terracina (1519-1577?) was one who held Veronica in high esteem. Isabella d'Este commissioned works from artists of standing, and often bought works by Italian artists for their own sake, regardless of subject matter. In doing so, she brought such artists to the attention of other important patrons.

The small court of Correggio might appear to have been subsumed by other, more prominent northern Italian courts, such as Mantua, yet Veronica's fame as a poet drew to Correggio honoured guests such as Ariosto, and the poet Molza, and artists such as Antonio Allegri known as Correggio. Indeed, the Renaissance did not completely pass by this small city-state—rather, it made a valuable contribution through, I believe, its Lady, Veronica G?mbara.

Philippa Maddern - University of Western Australia

'"John Smith's Pool": Landscape and communal memory in late-medieval England'

The boundary clauses of Anglo-Saxon charters have been well-studied; but the ways in which pieces of land were identified in the deeds of late-medieval England have been almost entirely ignored. Deed protocols allow us to identify significant landmarks (including built landmarks, such as crosses) in local areas of medieval England; but they also show, in the practices of naming pieces of territory, that a history of ownership was, as it were, 'written into' the landscape. Furthermore, when disputes over ownership arose, long-lived members of a community could be called in to certify the exact terms on which land had been held. I argue that landholding and communal memory were thus intricately reciprocally related. Each upheld the other, and both together constructed the sense of a landscape composed of rights, possession, and social relationships. Such a landscape sensibility may be foreign to our ideas of what constitutes appreciation of the environment; but I hope to show that the practicalities of landholding in medieval England did not preclude emotive attachments to a particular landscape.

Olivia Mair - University of Western Australia

'Beyond the Corporate Image: Merchants and Merchant Culture in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*'

Far from being a small backwater cut off from the sophistication of other more developed European cultures, late-medieval London was a bustling centre of trade, just one link in a network of international trade that stretched from the Eastern Mediterranean to the Baltic. Trading companies from Flanders and the Italian city states had branches and warehouses in London, and English merchants travelled to Spain, France, Flanders and Italy to widen the export market for England's wool and cloth. The English Crown increasingly relied on loans from English and alien merchants, particularly Italian, to finance its military activity. Yet this rise in importance of the role of merchants did not necessarily correspond with a rise in their status, and the issue of their place in society and the morality of their activity attracted the attention of the great thinkers of the middle ages. Their social and moral standing remained ambiguous even as their economic and political status grew.

Few were more familiar with the conflicting perceptions of merchants and merchant culture than Geoffrey Chaucer, whose family background and varied career as a public servant brought him into daily contact with merchants for much of his life. Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* (begun c.1387) registers the emergent mercantile ethos, and alludes to the international character of medieval trading. This paper will examine the aspirations, values, preoccupations and perceptions of Chaucer's merchants in the context of late-medieval merchants in London and the international trading network.

Nina Makarova - Monash University

'Bridal Imagery in Titian's Religious Paintings'

Titian's fascination with the theme of love and marriage, which permeates his mythological paintings, such as the *Venus of Urbino* (Florence, Uffizi), can be traced in his religious paintings as well. References to the love between a Bridegroom and bride (who are identified respectively as Christ, and the Church/the Virgin or the soul) can be found in compositions including the Madonna, in particular those depicting the Virgin and Child with a female saint in landscape setting such as *Madonna and Child with St. Catherine and the Rabbit* (Paris, Louvre). This imagery of nuptial union between the Bridegroom and bride, which derived from the biblical ode *Song of Songs*, was well established in late medieval literature on mysticism of love and the spiritual garden. The metaphorical language of this literature, which used the multilevel symbolism of natural motives, applied not only to the reason of its readers, but also to their senses establishing associative connections betweens particular properties of plants, fruit, animals and birds, and the feeling of love and compassion for the divine Bridegroom. Titan uses similar language of metaphors routed in the imagery of the Garden of Love in order

to appeal to the viewer's ability, through mediation on the pictures, to establish personal associations with motives alluding to the love between the Bridegroom and bride and salvation of men. Salvation in this context was perceived as the nuptial union of the devout and God in Heaven, achieved through purification of the soul and its perfection in virtue.

Catherine Mann - University of Melbourne

'From Lord's servant to Lady's man: changing identity in Tudor England'.

John Husee is most popularly known to the modern world as servant and agent to Lord Lisle, Henry VIII's Deputy in Calais during the 1530s. The dynamic nature of Husee's job and the ways in which he negotiated his position in service have encouraged scholars to see Husee as more than a mere household servant. Scholarship has therefore tended to concentrate on the final years of Husee's career with the Lisles when much of his work was done outside the context of the household. The ways in which Husee wrote himself as 'servant' changed over time as did his roles within Lisle's household. From his first appearance in the Lisle Letters as an invisible secretary, to Lisle's fully-fledged agent in court politics, Husee mapped his changing identity through his personal and business letters to Lord and Lady Lisle. The dichotomy between agency and service created by historical analysis raises questions about the broader nature and understanding of what it meant to be a servant in the Tudor period.

The agency attributed to Husee by modern scholars rests largely on a number of key letters written by him in which he describes himself in the context of the Tudor court as 'Lord Lisle's man'. However, a closer reading of Husee's letters reveals that his primary loyalties lay with Lady Lisle. In this paper, I will attempt to explore the changing nature of Husee's relationships with both Lord and Lady Lisle during the seven years he worked for them and examine how the changing nature of his roles realigned his identity from servant to man.

Leslie Marchant - Notre Dame University, Australia

'The Confucian Renaissance and its fate in the Age of Western Cultural Expansion. China's tangled paths to modernization'

See skulking Truth to her old cavern fled,

Mountains of Casuistry heaped o'er her head !

Philosophy, that leaned on Heaven before,

Shrinks to her second cause, and is no more.

(Alexander Pope)

It is not correct to describe China as being inert, lying like a sleeping giant waiting to be woken and led to a modern state by the more vibrant West. That view neither explains why 'enlightened' China had a large influence on Europe in the Age of Enlightenment, nor fits the evidence.

The European intellectual's love affair with China, and the cult of *Chinoiserie,* were the result of the transformation of China and its thought after the Bright (Ming) Dynasty was replaced by the Enlightened (Ch'ing) Dynasty. The shock of this defeat prompted scholars to search for causes. Blame was placed on the prevailing Sung Learning which combined Chinese classical thought with foreign Buddhist beliefs. This fusion made no difference between ideas and opinions produced by meditation and knowledge gleaned by research, and justified the authoritarian rule of the Ming Emperors who lost the support of their subjects, and lost the Dragon Throne. The result was a Tide of New Ideas, the Chinese term for Renaissance.

What the scholars did was revive the classics to point the way forward. The resultant new Han Learning not only impressed Jesuit and other bearers of Chinese culture to the West. It suggested the way for Japan's Restoration, and gave rise to the Chinese Empirical School of Research which valued the search for evidence. The main contrast with the intellectual change in Europe was that it concentrated on science and metaphysics whereas China concentrated on humanism, preferring to get the measure of man rather than measure the distance to the sun and the planets.

The trouble was when the time came to show China how to strengthen its military and economy, although Europeans claimed they brought the fruits of their Renaissance, they Brought the Counter-Enlightenment derived from Germanic Romantic thought and Coleridge whose concept of the cognition of knowledge was little different from that found in Sung Learning. The result was, in the quest for modernization, empiricism in China was confused with metempirical thought, with science becoming a political doctrine of action, best described as 'scientism'. This not only made China the nation with the longest history of reform activity, and laid the foundations for a bitter Civil War like Europe's in the Reformation. It also laid the roads that led to Tien An Men Square.

Claire McIlroy - University of Western Australia

'Me, Myself and Ihesu: the Ego in Richard Rolle's *Ego Dormio*'

Ego Dormio is the first of the English prose treatises composed by Richard Rolle on the subject of the journey towards spiritual perfection. Because it is Rolle's first vernacular prose work of any length *Ego Dormio* is of particular interest as the beginning point of his address to a vernacular audience and his vernacular focus on the interior spiritual life of his reader.

There is much in *Ego Dormio* to suggest that Rolle actually sought to appeal to a mixed audience in that the reader is constructed not as generically 'male' or 'female' but simply as the young lover of God being wooed to the spiritual marriage bed. In this sense Rolle's composition of an affective and passionate work that embodies the *contemptus mundi* theme and the theme of the love of God, the latter being central to all Rolle's vernacular treatises, implies that he is not concerned with the exterior life of the reader but is primarily focussed on the interior spiritual life. In turn, what is particularly striking about this work is the developing reader/writer relationships that draw the reader into a tripartite intimacy with Rolle's authorial self and with God. In this paper I will explore how these relationships are developed through what I describe as a 'language of love' Rolle employs to draw each and every reader towards spiritual union.

Andrea McKenzie - University of Queensland

'Martyrs in Low-Life: Dying Game in early eighteenth-century London.'

The early eighteenth-century 'game' criminal—that is, the bold and dashing street-robber or highwayman who went cheerfully and unflinchingly to the gallows—has become something of a trope for all that was irreverent and carnivalesque in the 'dramaturgy' of Tyburn. The 'game' criminal was the darling of Augustan satirists; the bugbear of contemporary moralists—an invidious example of the preference for 'False-Courage' over 'Christian Courage' (or a true acknowledgment of one's sins); and an ideal to which many criminals aspired, with varying degrees of success.

Typically, scholars have drawn a sharp distinction between those of the condemned who died 'game', and those who died penitent, sometimes to the extent of ignoring one group in favour of the other: it is generally assumed that the former expressed both resistance to religious doctrines and even nascent class-consciousness; the latter, a kind of 'internalised obedience' which legitimated the values of the society whose norms they had transgressed. In this paper, however, I will suggest that the gallows performances and 'last dying speeches' of 'game' criminals should be read within the context of a religious, rather than a secular discourse; indeed, I will suggest that it was the 'game' criminal's conformity to most of the articles of the Anglican creed of 'dying well', that made his ultimate statement of impenitence so subversive in the eyes of contemporaries.

To those familiar with the language of martyrology and 'Christian Courage', the 'game' criminal's expression of his eagerness to die, to forgive his enemies, to assume responsibility for his actions—in short, 'to die in peace with all the world'—was particularly problematic when combined with his refusal to succumb to tears and trembling (the traditional signs not just of penitence, but of an acknowledgment of guilt). This paper will explore the ways in which such criminals went to the gallows clearly articulating their assurance that they (unlike many more 'respectable' citizens), had paid their dues in this life, and that as for the next, they were as 'easy' as if they were going to 'suck' at their 'Mother's Breast'.

Stephen McKenzie - University of Adelaide

'The Temple, the City and the World: Medieval Maps of the Holy Sepulchre'

The representation of Jerusalem as a circular quadripartite scheme became prevalent in the crusades era. I will display and discuss a variety of maps in crusader texts from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which show the city as a circular quadripartite device. I will also discuss detailed mappaemundi and basic T-in-O diagrams of the world from the same period. Mappaemundi such as the Hereford map present the sacred city in an identical fashion to its portrayal on the crusader diagrams. The T-in-O maps themselves are very similar to the maps of Jerusalem in appearance and meaning. In addition, plans of the Holy Sepulchre century such as those in manuscripts of Arculf's description of the Holy Land (originally written in the seventh century) also shows the Sepulchre as a circular quadripartite scheme. The positioning of Jerusalem at the centre of the earth did not become prevalent until the twelfth century, and it is likely that the idealisation of both the city and the temple into a geometric pattern is connected with the similar idealisation of the habitable world as a symmetrical ordered space. I will conclude by suggesting that all three types of map have been influenced in their design by the popular *mundus annus homo* diagram and other twelfth-century scholastic representations of ordered time and space. Discussing the links between religion, science and geography is the main aim of the paper.

Gordon McMullan – Kings College, University of London

'Authorial metamorphoses and the question of late style.'

The single most significant transformation that has taken place in the field of Early Modern drama studies in recent years has been the recognition that the paradigm of the single author writing for a single, fixed constituency is wholly inappropriate as a means to an adequate understanding of the agencies involved in the production of dramatic texts. Even court

masques, long thought of as the most monolithic of texts, the most singly-determined conduits of political meaning, turn out on closer inspection to be the products of multiple inputs, multiple perspectives, even within what was once thought to be a tightly-focused ideological court but which now seems more and more the locus of an ongoing negotiation and competition for power and influence. Yet critics resist certain implications of this change, particularly in the equation of dramatic style and life-stage: we persist in talking of 'late Shakespeare', for instance, as if the author's career were the principal determinant of the language and form of a given play and in the face of the evidence for the determination of genre and style by factors external to the playwright.

Yet both post-Foucauldian work on Early Modern authorship and collaboration (that, for instance, of Jeffrey Masten) and analyses of the influence of company competition on repertoire (that, for instance, of Roslyn Knutson) suggest that the plotting of a canon on the basis of a career—in other words, the deployment of biographical presumptions in the assessment of Early Modern performance texts—must be both inappropriate and misleading. In view of this metamorphosis in our critical understanding of the relationship between a playwright and 'his' play, I wish to take the question of 'late style'—the persistent but unstable notion that writers, towards the end of their careers, turn back to their early work and rework it from the later perspective; a notion deployed in relation to nineteenth-century writers such as Ibsen, James and Browning and, indeed, consciously acquired by those writers in analogy with Shakespeare—and to focus on the unstable nature of the assumptions of what comprises 'late style', as variously defined not only by twentieth-century critics from Adorno to Millgate but also by scholars from the eighteenth century onwards intent on creating chronologies for canonical writers—notably Chaucer and Shakespeare—for whom exact biographical confirmation is lacking.

As a key instance, I will examine the crisis repeatedly caused in Shakespearean biography by the post-Tempest collaborations. These plays (wrecking, as they do, the redemption narrative of Shakespeare's career culminating in Prospero's valediction) in their irreducible supplementarity—embodied both in *Henry VIII*'s awkward relationship with the earlier plays of medieval history and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*'s tense engagement with the legacy of Chaucer—resist the author-centred assumptions that persist both in studies of Shakespeare's 'late plays' and in Shakespearean biography and thus offer a more complex and appropriate model for Early Modern dramatic production.

Andrew McRae - University of Exeter

'The Poetics of Sycophancy: Ben Jonson and the Caroline Court'

Ben Jonson's late patronage poems, published in *Underwoods*, raise a particular set of critical

challenges. Written to King Charles I and to members of his family and court, the poems seem uncomfortably direct in their appeals for material support; strikingly, they lack the subtleties and labours of dissimulation which shaped Jonson's Jacobean poems addressed to patrons. In the face of this unnervingly forthright Jonsonian voice, the few critics to have considered these poems have disagreed on their intent. While some have found them purely sycophantic products of the poet's 'dotage', others have identified seams of destabilizing irony and dissent.

My paper aims to reassess this body of poems by situating them in the context of shifts in contemporary political discourse. This approach is derived from ongoing work on a monograph, titled 'Unauthorized Texts: Satire and the Early Stuart State'. In this study I identify throughout the early Stuart era an increasing appreciation of political division, which effectively fractures preexistent assumptions that political and poetic expression may be founded on common cultural values. In particular, in the work of court poets of the 1620s and 1630s, statements of patronage are increasingly politicized, and codes of dissimulation give way to more categorical statements of political identification.

The paper situates Jonson as a poet committed to the king, yet deeply concerned by the collapse of shared assumptions. I argue that Jonson's poems, though fundamentally statements of loyalty, thus creak under the pressures of emergent tensions, and consequently expose what his earlier patronage poems had sought to efface: the very competition of courtly life, and the incipient challenges to the authority of the court. As such, they help to delineate the contours of early Stuart royalism.

Constant Mews - Monash University

'Logic, rhetoric and theology in Peter Abelard'

Peter Abelard is often remembered for his achievement as a logician and as an interpreter of Aristotle, but frequently it is assumed that he remained only a logician, who was more interested in language games than in theology itself. In *The Philosophy of Peter Abelard* (Cambridge, 1997) John Marenbon criticises the assessment that Abelard was only a critical thinker, and argues that after he came to appreciate the limitations of logic, he applied himself to ethics. Marenbon considers ethics to be the foundation of Abelard's theology. In this paper I look at an angle of Abelard's thought that Marenbon gives relatively little attention to, his thinking about rhetoric and on Cicero as a theorist of language. I argue that Abelard became very interested in certain philosophical rhetorical concerns, by the time that he started work on the *Logica Ingredientibus* and in his theological writing. Only subsequently did Abelard begin to explore issues of ethical theory.

Anthony Miller - University of Sydney

'The earth and its secrets in Georgius Agricola'

Agricola's *De re metallica* (1550), the greatest Early Modern manual of mining and metallurgy, presents itself as a new version of epic. It records not military conquest but the conquest of nature, by new technological heroes. Its twelve books claim to treat the ancient and useful subject matter that marks epic. Its catalogues of the mining cities of Germany promulgate national greatness. It forges a new literary decorum: 'To the degree that the arts of metalworking are unsuited to any elegance of language, to that degree my book is devoid of verbal polish.' And it rewrites the mythological persons and places of ancient epic: it is in mines and foundries that one will truly discover the Chimera, the Titans, and the cave of Cyclops. In Agricola's illustrations, the newly mapped earth, with its underground veins and passages, resembles the human body, newly mapped by Vesalius at almost the same date. Furnaces rise up in the form of domed classical temples, their fires like altar fires, tended by metallurgists robed like priests, escorted by apprentices like acolytes. Agricola's reimagining of mining and metallurgy makes him the boldest of the Early Modern proponents of mining and metallurgy. These writers welcome the fact that they live in an Iron Age, and they reimagine it in terms that challenge Ovid's version and that recuperate Vulcan's outcast status. Metallurgy takes historical and honorific precedence over agriculture, since agriculture cannot exist without tools. The Iron Age exhibits the power of human ingenuity and curiosity, not greed; mining and metallurgy take on a heroic 'virt?', not baseness.

Adelina Modesti—Monash University

'Establishing Markets for Art in Early Modern Bologna: shifting patterns and emerging values'

Seicento Bologna saw the emergence of a vital and intense art market, which vacillated between aristocratic, intellectual and mercantile forms of 'collezionismo'. The paper will examine the various markets for art which developed over the century, considering the role of patrons and intermediaries as agents and *protettori* of local artists and the strategies employed to promote and sell their work. The part played by a new breed of art professional—the art merchant—in the display and circulation of Bolognese artworks, and in determining supply and demand, will also be addressed. What 'value'—economic, symbolic, political and cultural—did Bolognese artistic producers and consumers place on art objects, and by what criteria were artworks and artists judged? New forms of exchange will also be considered, such as the increasing use of art and cultural objects as collateral (economic capital versus cultural capital), in a market driven more and more by public commercial interests (the economic 'piazza') and subject to financial fluctuations in private fortunes.

Cary Nederman - Texas A & M University

'Mechanics and Citizens: The Reception of the Aristotelian Idea of Citizenship in Late Medieval Europe'

In Book 3 of the *Politics*, and again in Book 7, Aristotle left no doubt that he regarded members of banaustic occupations—those of 'mechanics', men who worked with their hands or were compelled to earn a living—as unqualified for citizenship in its best and fullest sense. Aristotle was hardly unusual in this regard; ancient Greek and Roman philosophers manifested considerable disdain for the political capacities of persons who engaged in physical labor. The situation in thirteenth-and fourteenth-century Europe in which the *Politics* was circulated was quite different. By the time of its translation into Latin circa 1260, an important strain of medieval thought had dignified the value of labor on profoundly Christian grounds. Moreover, the 'commercial revolution' that Europe experienced during after 1100 encouraged a revaluation of productive work. The proposed essay will consider how medieval authors negotiated this divergence between Aristotle's rejection of manual laborers as qualified for full civic identity and rights, on the one hand, and the medieval Christian acceptance of physical work as a worthwhile human pursuit. Among the authors to be considered will be Brunetto Latini, Pierre DuBois, Marsiglio of Padua, and Nicholas Oresme.

Frankie Nowicki - Monash University

'The Burgundian Model and its Implications for Polish Music of the Late Middle Ages: Influence, Interaction or Obscurity?

The period surrounding the fifteenth century is extremely important in the history of Polish music as it saw the beginnings of a polyphonic repertory emerging from Poland. This repertory is mainly the result of influence from the Western European tradition and contains music by both local and European composers.

Potential musical influence in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from Northern Italy is hinted at by the inclusion of several works by two significant Italian composers, Zachara de Teramo and Johannes Ciconia, in at least two Polish manuscripts of the mid fifteenth century (PL -Wn378 and PL- Wn8054). These manuscripts also bear the works of one of Poland's earliest named composers, Nicolaus de Radom. However, the extent of influence flowing from Northern Italy into Poland is still largely uncharted, with nothing substantial having been published in English and only preliminary studies being achieved and published in Polish.

The period 1380-1440 is particularly interesting in the history of European music as it contains what may be regarded as the 'incubation' period for the development of a new musical style that is associated with the Burgundian Court and representative composers, Dufay and Binchois. Of particular interest is the close assimilation of the style of Dufay and Binchois in a number of Nicolaus de Radom's compositions.

The aim of this paper is to examine the long reliance on the 'Burgundian' model which features the confluence of French and Italian styles at the end of the fourteenth century, producing a single style called, variously, 'Mannerist' or 'Ars Subtillior', and to trace its influence and its interaction with the Polish tradition. Does this Polish aspect give cause to re-examine the accepted historical model or is it simply an obscure occurrence from the geographical outskirts of Europe?

Sally Parkin - University of New England

'Witchcraft as Words, Witchcraft as Malefice, Wales, 1536-1736'

Witchcraft court cases in Early Modern Wales were of two distinct types: witchcraft as words, or slander, and witchcraft as malefice, those cases where a woman was tried for premeditated harming activities associated with witchcraft practices. Both types of cases can be related to the customary and traditional legal and social mechanisms pertaining to women and witchcraft which had existed in Wales for hundreds of years prior to the Early Modern period.

The majority of Welsh cases were witchcraft as words cases for the crime of slander, lodged in the Courts of Great Sessions, not in the ecclesiastical courts as occurs outside Wales. The motivational force behind these cases and the Early Modern legal toleration afforded such women can be directly related to the pre-1536 Law of Women, a specific system of laws concerning women which existed within the customary traditional Laws of Hywel Dda. The Law of Women designated the importance of individual social place and the honour price (sarhaed) of every Welsh woman. Witchcraft was not the issue in witchcraft as words cases; its existence was an accepted fact. All witchcraft as words cases concerned women and these women knowingly lodged their cases in a court which could, if it had followed the dictates of the Witchcraft Act of James I (1604), have moved the slander case into a criminal witchcraft case. This did not occur in Wales. Witchcraft as malefice cases were in the minority in the Courts of Great Sessions records for 1536-1736, despite the profound popular belief which prevailed in Wales before, during and after the 1536-1736 period. Many women were considered to be witches by their communities, but they were not brought to court on malefice charges. The actual witchcraft court case was the final phase of a three stage process which ensured that court cases were used only as a last resort. Following the customary practices of generations, those who thought they were bewitched could undertake a personal protective phase and, if

this was unsatisfactory, they began the second or communal protective phase. Only when both these phases had been attempted without success, did the victim(s) lodge a criminal court case. The Welsh case was brought only to make the woman as witch admit her guilt, not because the accusers wanted the woman executed. Welsh women as witches did not die for their actions, nor did their communities want to see them die. This concept is unique in terms of witchcraft historiography.

Kim Phillips - University of Auckland

'Sacred Gestures in Secular Space: Sacralising Aristocratic Bodies in the Fifteenth Century'

A unique copy of a fifteenth-century household ordinance addressed to the level of marquess, duke or earl, preserved in BL Harleian ms 6815, provides a remarkable perspective on bodily regulation in aristocratic households. It describes in elaborate detail the daily movements of the household servants in proximity to the lord from morning prayers through three meals to bedtime arrangements, all minutely choreographed and ordered according to concerns to display the correct degrees of rank. The obsession with rank is fascinating in itself, but the descriptions of servants' gestures as they come into the lord's presence and when they prepare his table napery, bed linen or food achieve a level of ritualised worshipfulness that can have been inspired only by ecclesiastical gesture. After examining such gestures, this paper will attempt to locate this process of sacralisation among changing meanings of aristocracy and social change in the fifteenth century.

Alberto Pizzaia - Monash University

'Revolution in Historical Language'

Today most scholars in their respective disciplines claim to be in a revolution of some kind, and to be leading other disciplines with their 'innovative' ideas, e.g. architects, critical theoreticians, cultural studies scholars etc. Those claims fall short of a revolution as their ideas are often intertextualities. Progressive historians also believe in an era of great transformation and have accordingly produced inspiring work. But it still amounts to a tentative start in the long path of revolution, made longer by the little support from fellow historians. The changes made so far are still a slow metamorphosis at best and not sufficient for a paradigm shift. Going the extra step into radical changes is of paramount importance as it would restore some leadership to a subject believed doomed till recently. For history to lead the present inquiry it needs historians to get a true revolution working for themselves. A case study in Trecento music, politics and culture best illustrates some ways in emancipating the study of history,

giving some suggestions for an actual revolution in its language, if not in history itself.

Sarah Plant - Macquarie University

'"Wise Handling and Faire Governance": Spenser's Female Educators'

Several of Spenser's most significant female characters play important and somewhat extraordinary roles in the dissemination of spiritual knowledge within The Faerie Queene. In appearing to take part in the ritual life of the Church, they seem to be out of step with contemporary definitions of womens' roles. Women were still unable to celebrate any of the sacraments, although the Protestant Church retained the Catholic practice of allowing baptisms in extremis by midwives and other attendants until the reign of James I.

Spenser is careful to draw attention to the role of women in the education of youthful characters in particular, emphasising the youth and inexperience of the Red Cross Knight as he enters into an educative relationship with Fidelia. He is also careful to distance such spiritual learning from the more traditionally male-dominated worlds of the Church and the University. His placement of the spiritual teachings offered by the women in the House of Holiness in a domestic rather than ecclesiastical setting indicates a gendered subtlety to his religious allegory.

While there is no reason to suggest that Spenser is advocating a female ministry, the significance of his allocation of such important educative roles to women merits further attention. These women, who are praised by the poet for their "wise handling and faire governance" (II.i.54) as they seek to educate, are the focus of this paper.

Lucy Potter – University of Adelaide

'Metamorphosing Genres: Marlowe's *Dido, Queen of Carthage* and Virgilian Epic'

This paper contests a tradition of reading *Dido* as 'farce,' albeit 'fine farce' (Jackson I. Cope, 'Marlowe's *Dido* and the Titillating Children,' *English Literary Renaissance* 4 [1974]: 316), with an interpretation of the play as a serious exercise in generic transformation—a rewriting of Virgil's epic as tragedy. Two, interconnected strands form the basis of my argument: that Marlowe's *Dido* 'translates' more than just Books 1, 2 and 4 of the *Aeneid*, and that the *Aeneid* itself is an example of generic metamorphosis, that is, an exercise in turning tragedy into epic.

The first strand of my argument investigates the play's re-presentation of Virgilian themes that

span all of the *Aeneid*, including Books 5-12. In this section of the paper, I pay particular attention to the problematic representations in *Dido* that seem to have determined what critics are able to say, or rather, unable to say, about the play as tragedy: the play's beginning, where a homoerotic Jupiter dangles Ganymede on his knee (1.1.1-49); the play's end, where three characters die rather than Virgil's one (5.1.316-28); the play's original performance by boy players.

The second strand of my argument explores references to tragedy and its performance in the *Aeneid*. Using a Girardian analysis, I suggest that the crucial aesthetic requirement of Virgil's epic relies not on the expulsion of a character marked as a cultural scapegoat but on the expulsion of tragedy itself. In light of this argument, the paper concludes with a call to reassess the prevailing critical opinion that Early Modern tragedy is a 'masculine' genre.

Ursula Potter - University of Sydney

'"Your father gives commandment at home, I in the schools": negotiating authority in Tudor schools'

In Renaissance pedagogical theory, schoolmasters were represented as superior members of society, highly respected for their learning and the singular role they played in training the nation's youth in Latin skills, virtue and *civilitas*. In practice, however, schoolmasters in Tudor England were more likely to be figures of contention and mockery than of favour and respect. This had much to do with the poor quality of many schoolmasters in provincial England, but it was also a consequence of their status as hirelings of the local community. Robert Burton summed up the novice schoolmaster's career path as follows:

> he shall have a Falconer's wages, ten pounds a year, and his diet, or some small stipend, so long as he can please his Patron or the Parish; if they approve him not (for usually they do but a year or two) ... serving-man-like, he must go look a new Master.

This paper explores the invidious status of sixteenth-century schoolmasters in provincial grammar schools; it draws on pedagogical treatises, school statutes and school records to reveal a high level of discord between parents and schoolmasters, and between the civic authorities and appointed masters. Common issues of complaint against schoolmasters are for arrogance, excessive corporal punishment, their unfitness to teach, exacting bribes, drunkenness, misuse of school premises, and questions of religious orthodoxy. Schoolmasters in turn complained of pupil absenteeism or unruly behaviour, of interference by parents and of their indulgence towards their children, of children being moved to another school, and of the paucity of their stipends. The paper considers some of the public strategies employed by

school governors and patrons in their attempts to delineate the schoolmaster's territory, and to negotiate a balance of authority between parents and pedagogue; it concludes by suggesting that a more private strategy not found in the school statutes may be found in the stage pedants of Elizabethan comedy.

Raia Prokhovnik - Open University

'Constructing and Reconstructing *Leviathan*'

The paper explores several linked levels of construction in the study of *Leviathan*. First it identifies the uncontroversially constructionist elements in Hobbes's argument in Leviathan, deployed in the conceptualisation of the covenant, and highlights the constructionist dimensions of the interpretive literature. It then argues that Hobbes can be interpreted as a constructionist in several respects through his key conception of the role of artifice, which means both invention and workmanship. The notion of artifice is central to Hobbes's understandings of the agency of ordinary persons in covenanting, of the role of the philosopher in reflectively constructing civil philosophy, of the role of the writer in the rhetorical construction of the text, and of his methodological constructionism through deconstruction and hypothesis.

Leviathan can, in addition, be interpreted as developing the conception of artifice further. The argument rests on an analysis of both the state of nature and 'man' as hypothetical. Hobbes can be read as a social constructionist because he posits the necessarily social character of human life—expressed in socially organised practices, values and language; in the way that the social gives meaning to the 'natural', the dependence of the 'natural' on the social; and because for Hobbes we live in a mind-affected world of perception rather than through an unmediated apprehension of raw data. Humankind is not naturally social, and not naturally social. Human life is unsustainable outside the social, for Hobbes.

Furthermore, Hobbes can be interpreted as, more specifically, a political social constructionist, where 'political' refers to the mind-affected conceptualisations of the authority and sovereignty of government. In *Leviathan*, both social and human identity logically require the social order and arrangements that only a strong government can supply. The social world cannot exist prior to the generation of a political framework, in civil society, the commonwealth, and law. There is no evolutionary myth of progression in *Leviathan*, from the natural to the social to political order. Hobbes articulates the political construction of the social and the social construction of individual subjectivity. The category of the 'social' exists for Hobbes but it has no independent status. It is dependent upon the necessary logical prior framework provided by the civil. Only within civil society can reflective and unpremeditated social constructions take place. In *Leviathan*, the logical construction of a well-ordered commonwealth is the urgent task facing humankind.

Melissa Raine - University of Melbourne

'Food and the Performance of Piety in *The Book of Margery Kempe*'

Margery Kempe's brand of piety is often seen, thanks to her proclivity for weeping and wailing, as disruptive and individualistic. However, Margery's acts of ecstatic abandonment are counterbalanced by her repeated participation in conventional food practices, which emphasise her self-control. Although we think of food as an oral activity, Margery's dietetic conduct is also highly visible to those with whom she shares a table, permitting her to display a highly regulated and conformist version of piety, not only to her table companions, but to the readers of her text.

Janine Riviere - University of Queensland

'"Filthy Dreamers and Scurrilous Dreams": The Politics of Dreams in Seventeenth-Century England'

In seventeenth-century England, debate about dreams centered around the issue of the orthodoxy and significance of dreams as supernatural experiences. Critics of dream interpretation and prophetic dreams condemned widespread beliefs and practices as the 'superstitious', 'enthusiastic', and 'ignorant' follies of the so-called 'vulgar'. A study of learned attacks on dreams may be situated within historiographical debates on cultural divisions and 'popular cultures'. This paper will firstly explore the cultural implications of the politics of dreams and secondly examine who were the 'vulgar' and why particular beliefs in dreams were denigrated under this category. I will argue that the term 'vulgar' referred not to the 'common rabble', or to a specific class, but instead to a particular world-view which was deemed undesirable and in need of reform. Furthermore, I will argue that by attempting to de-mystify dreams as natural phenomena rather than as supernatural, learned authors were endeavoring to reform and educate literate audiences. Moreover, I will also argue that the controversy surrounding dreams as supernatural phenomena was primarily instigated by moralist and elite concerns that purportedly supernatural dreams were liable to incite heresy and rebellion and the spread of 'superstition'.

David Rollison - University of Western Sydney

'The Social Boundaries of Local Communities in Early Modern England'

This paper explores the breaking down, in Early Modern England, of one of the definitive boundaries of all pre-modern tributary empires ('civilisations'), including medieval Christendom: the boundary between the non-vernacular, imperial languages of government, religion and high culture, and the languages of the subject populations. We too easily forget what (e.g.) Thomas More knew, that English was 'the tongue', as one of Shakespeare's disdainful nobles put it, 'of the common mouth'. As a development of my earlier work on the 'proverbial culture' of William Tyndale, in this paper I unpack the implicit meanings of 'vernacular language chunks' that are reported speech from village and small town life, in pursuit of the idea that they reveal conceptions, even philosophies of life, that were not only indifferent to, but often incompatible with, official epistemologies and conceptions of order. Vernacularization was not a neutral process. The common tongue was the carrier of social and political ideas that were incompatible with and subversive of official conceptions of hierarchy and order, and that, if unchecked, were bound, eventually, to relegate them to the margins of social and constitutional life.

Lyndal Roper – Royal Holloway College, London (Plenary)

'The Figure of the Witch'

This lecture considers the varied ways in which the figure of the witch could be transformed and used for different purposes. We are used to considering the witch as a figure of unalloyed evil, excoriated and shunned. But the lecture begins by focusing on a series of representations of the witch that do not seem to fit this assumption. Images of witches in Augsburg can be found as heroic figures in civic chronicles, as parts of the city's antique heritage, on city gates and towers. Indeed, the figure of the witch might even form a part of the way in which a powerful city like Augsburg might represent itself. This was not what I expected to find, and this led me to re-examine the ways in which Early Modern people used the figure of the witch and the Devil. I then argue that there is a rich seam of comedy in the Devil books of the sixteenth century, in the German *Faust* and even in demonology itself. Demonology can be seen as drawing on a range of techniques of rhetoric and entertainment, and as akin to the Devil Books. In the final section of the lecture, I ask what uses individuals might have made of the figure of the witch. I consider two cases, one from Augsburg in 1661, in which Johann Lutzenberger made, like Faust, a pact with the Devil; and one from Noerdlingen in 1598, in which a woman appears to have deliberately taken on the figure of the witch as an intense witch-hunt in the town came to an end.

Philipp W. Rosemann - University of Dallas

'Reflections on the History of the *Sentence* Commentaries'

At the beginning of her recent magisterial study on Peter Lombard, Marcia Colish remarked: 'I was struck by the fact that medievalists would be able to survey and map the *terra incognita* that remains in our knowledge of much of the history of speculative thought from the middle of the twelfth century to the end of the period if the *Sentence* commentaries of all the scholastics known to have made them could be studied in chronological order and in a comparative way.' Such an exhaustive study is obviously an impossible dream, as it would have to cover far too much ground for a single scholar to master—even if most of the *Sentence* commentaries did not remain unedited! Yet a more modest, and still fascinating, project does not seem unrealistic. Without pretending to draw a comprehensive picture of the development of speculative thought from the thirteenth century to the sixteenth, one could still attempt to define some of the great lines in this development, and do so just on the basis of the one fundamental literary genre of the *Sentence* commentary. This is the project I have recently embarked upon. In this paper, I would like to present some preliminary results of my research, concentrating on the development of the literary structure of the *Sentence* commentaries from the first glosses (example: Alexander of Hales) through the 'classic' commentaries of the thirteenth century (ex. Bonaventure and Aquinas) and the later *quaestiones* commentaries (ex. Duns Scotus and Ockham), right to Martin Luther's marginal notes in his printed copy of the *Sentences*. The changes in literary form reflect changes in the different authors' understanding of theological method, and indeed of the theological project itself.

Juanita Feros Ruys - University of Sydney

'Metamorphosing medieval women: the experience of Heloise'

What happens when we try to imagine the minds, bodies, feelings and experiences of the medieval women we study? Too analytical an approach and we risk distancing ourselves from our subjects by an artificial alterity; too emotional an approach and we risk subsuming our subjects in our own self-identifications. Using the fascinating history of reading Heloise, this paper explores the means and methods of imagining the medieval women we study. Issues raised include the fine line between empathising with and identifying with one's subject, the struggle to balance factual with fictional genres when writing of medieval women, and the nature and extent of historical alterity (with particular reference to Kathleen Biddick's *The Shock of Medievalism*). This paper is particularly concerned with how we may recover the works of medieval women writers currently at large amongst the vast mass of anonymous medieval poetry, and argues that the act of attribution, of 'hearing' a recognisable 'voice' within a text, requires that academic medieval studies encompass methodologies which acknowledge and valorise the empathetic, the personal and the intuitive. Finally this paper suggests that in imagining ourselves into, or playing the roles of, medieval women, we are not taking

unwarranted liberties with our subjects of study, but in fact continuing a literary means of self-awareness and self-expression which, as Mary Carruthers (*The Book of Memory*) and Gerald Bond (*The Loving Subject*) have shown, was utilised by medieval women writers themselves.

Denise Ryan - Australian National University

'Herod's Law: Sovereignty and Trespass in the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors' Pageant.'

The extant English plays on the Visit of the Magi in the Nativity sequence draw on Matthew 2:12 which relates that the Magi, being warned in a dream that King Herod intends harm to Jesus and themselves, avoid returning to Herod and go home 'by another way.' Herod's response to this evasion, which prevents him from identifying the Christ child, is, of course, to wreak vengeance on all the male children of his realm under two years of age in an attempt to nullify the threat to his own authority.

In the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors' pageant, Herod grants the Magi clearly defined access to his realm for the purpose of seeking the newborn Christ: a 'passport' for one hundred days. Their circumvention of the bounds of his authority in taking the alternate route home effectively delimits the extent of Herod's self-proclaimed power and influence. This represents, in legal terms, a contumelious insult, a trespass against Herod's honour, to which his pride dictates he must respond. This paper conducts a reading of the aborted confrontation between Herod and the Magi in light of medieval and Early Modern concepts of sovereignty and territory. It examines the form and language of safe conducts awarded to aliens entering into England for trade or diplomatic purposes and relates this evidence to the portrayal of Herod's dispossession of power and authority in the play.

Paul Salzman - LaTrobe University

'Shutting Up *Love's Victory*'

In this paper I examine the textual history of Lady Mary Wroth's pastoral play *Love's Victory* (c. 1621). Specifically, I trace the fortunes of the two extant manuscripts of *Love's Victory*: the Penshurst manuscript and the Huntington manuscript (HM 600) and consider the way that the manuscripts circulated within and outside the Sidney family. This leads to my speculation that the currently accepted view of the relationship between the two manuscripts can be challenged. I also discuss my own experience as editor of *Love's Victory*, particularly in relation to the restricted access allowed to the Penshurst manuscript, and pay some attention to the status of the Roxburghe Club facsimile edited by Michael Brennan.

Anne Scott – University of Western Australia

'Food of life, food of death: transformations within feasts in Piers Plowman.'

Piers Plowman takes the elementary necessity of food and, through imagery of feasting, expresses the human being's need for more than material food. I shall examine how images of banquets as Langland uses them focus directly on the issue of what people need and how language can either conceal or reveal such need. To understand the poem's use of the banquet in its cultural context, it will be useful, first, to survey late medieval banqueting practice and scriptural connotations of the banquet image, giving particular attention to ways in which medieval people included the poor in their feasting, whether by ritual or effective provision of food. Provision of food is fundamental to the poem, the image of the banquet a focus for satirical conjunctions. By showing the aberrations of those who feast to excess, Langland does more than add to an already large library of medieval imagery for gluttons. He emphasises the sinful arrogance that makes them disregard the poor as not needing to be thought of as human; when the feasters cast out the poor they ignore even their basic, animal need for sustenance. This is the greatest sin one human being can commit against another, and the wealth of imagery in the poem ensures that we do not miss the point. Bestial gluttony, arrogance in attitude and downright cruelty of neglect are all sins described in the context of banquets. In striking allegory, Langland sets such neglect of the poor in the larger context of moral decrepitude as feasters turn banquets into parodies of the word. Langland's concern that the poor should be fed is presented as more than a pious, poetic or even personal hope; the poem makes authoritative statements that show without doubt that unless the non-poor feed the hungry they will not be saved.

Pam Sharpe - University of Western Australia

'Transgressing boundaries: a miscarriage and a sexual scandal in Colyton, Devon in 1682'.

Detailed evidence was presented to the Exeter Quarter Sessions in Midsummer 1682 concerning Mary Pease, a servant who had miscarried in the household of the presumed father, her master, Roger Satchell, and then attempted to escape to avoid being searched by local women. This case was similar to very many presented in the courts of Early Modern England. However, when placed in the context of what we know of the political and religious history of Colyton at this time, the facts of the case and their implications begin to take on wider meanings. When we reconstruct the full history of some of the actors in the case, the light is differently cast. To what extent was Mary Pease's miserable situation an aside in a

much more complex story? What can the case tell us about studying the social history of sexual matters in this time period? Were these happenings really about a miscarriage, or a miscarriage of justice? And what boundaries were being transgressed in the parish of Colyton at this time?

Jennifer Bailey Smith—University of Western Australia

' Dislocated voices: the trobairitz' poetics of space'

When the trobairitz wrote their lyrics it is undeniable that they did so within the confines of troubadour lyric established by their male predecessors. It is also undeniable, however, that the trobairitz voice, if only by reason of gender, is somehow 'different' from that of the troubadours. How do we negotiate these levels of similarity and difference? This paper will examine the ways in which the trobairitz appropriate and manipulate tropes from the troubadour lyric, particularly those concerning location and embodiment, in order to generate a space from which to speak. Like the male poets, the trobairitz locate themselves 'here' and 'now', and express a desire for presence and voice. Unlike the troubadours, however, when the women assume the role of poet, their mode of finding a legitimate position within the genre shifts from the masculine assertion of a voice within a topographically defined space, to the assertion of a physical presence within an undefined, but undeniably present, space.

Valerie Spear - Australian National University

'Change and Decay? The secular world and the nunnery in late medieval England'

The swift and relatively bloodless Dissolution of the English monasteries remains a topic of lively debate, with historians still speculating on the reasons for the apparent lack of public resistance to the overthrow of a deeply-rooted system. There is a popular notion, for example, that the public accepted the fall of the religious houses because it considered monasticism to have become too tainted by the secular world to be worthy of defence. My paper uses monastic records from a number of medieval English nunneries to present a different view, arguing that signs of secular influences there were not necessarily interpreted as evidence of irresponsibility or impiety by the public. It also seeks to re-visit the psychological environment of the 1530s, in which the nuns appear under siege, either striving to protect their communities, or cherishing a hope that a house already dissolved might rise again.

Max Staples - Charles Sturt University

'Giorgio Vasari and the fictional origins of art history'

Vasari's writings have provided the locus for recent discussion of issues of contemporary concern, such as Salomon's thesis that he ignored and/or patronised women. The process of reading Vasari as a series of ideological choices with a calculated meaning, and one with particular resonance for our own time, somewhat underemphasises the literariness of his work.

In a work where critical judgement ranges from warm to flattering, the imperative seems to be aesthetic effect and readability, rather than rhetoric. In this paper I seek to locate some of the sources for Vasari's structure and style in the popular narrative fiction of his day, such as the *novelle* of Boccaccio and Sacchetti.

Questions of content can be linked to Vasari's personal ambitions, at least as well as they can be explained by ideological bias. As a correction to and trumping of Ghiberti, for example, the *Vite* operate only partly on the level of what they say, and much more on the level of superior literary effect.

Jason Taliadoros - University of Melbourne

'Swapping his wig for a tonsure: A lawyer's foray into theology and canon law. The example of Master Vacarius'

This paper seeks to explore the possibility that the intellectual disciplines in the mid-to-late twelfth century were in a state of metamorphosis. In particular I wish to look at the case of Master Vacarius, who is most famous for his role in initiating the study of Roman law in England in the mid-twelfth century. He was trained in Roman law at the University of Bologna and travelled to England in his capacity as a Roman civil law legist, or lawyer. Yet, we see that his intellectual interests ranged beyond that of secular Roman law. His treatise on marriage, the *Summa de matrimonio,* is a journey for him into the territory of the canonists. A further treatise of his on the subject of hypostatic union, the *Tractatus de assumpto homine*, is a foray into the theologian's field.

In the *Summa de matrimonio*, Vacarius entered the marriage debate of the twelfth century and left a unique imprint—a concept of marriage formation which differed from the two existing models of consent and consummation which were the subject of this controversy. This was the notion of *traditio* being the formative moment of marriage. Such a notion was based in Roman civil law, yet purported to satisfy canonists' notions of precedent and authority, as well as theologians' notions of sacramentality. How successfully Vacarius achieved this will be

examined, as well as the significance of such an attempt.

In contrast, in the *Tractatus de assumpto homine,* the Roman law influence is less marked and the propositions appear to be more the repetition of orthodox theological hermeneutic. Again, I will examine how successful his foray was when judged by the standard of contemporary theological writings.

Why did Vacarius write on canon law and theology? What was the interplay between his professed expertise—Roman civil law—and the disciplines of canon law and theology? What would this have meant for his readers? What significance does it have for us as scholars of the twelfth century?

John Tanke - Union College

'Requiem for the *Beowulf*-poet: The Dragon's Hoard as Sublime Object'

Beginning from the commonly-held views that 1) *Beowulf* invites us to reflect on the analogy between treasure and (heroic) poetry, and 2) the poet has sought to reconcile the demands of Christian ideology and Germanic legend by staging a kind of epic apocalypse, this paper will explore the dragon's hoard as a 'sublime object' in the sense articulated by Slavoj Zizek. If it is the function of treasure in Germanic poetry to symbolize heroic worth, both for the poet and the characters in the poem, what are we to make of his decision to lay an ancient curse on the hoard, a curse that is identified as pagan-religious in origin and one to which the hero falls victim? While the motif of cursed gold is attested in later Norse and German sources, the *Beowulf*-poet's use of it is strikingly non-traditional and innovative (as evidenced by the anonymity of every character who has had prior dealings with the hoard). Winning the gold is both the measure of Beowulf's final heroic act—he slays the dragon but falls victim to the curse—and a 'traumatic symbol' for the poet himself. There is no longer safe access to the treasury of Germanic legend. It has necessarily, and retroactively, been cursed by Christian ideology.

Stephanie Tarbin - University of Western Australia

'Forming and transforming gender: transvestism and prostitution in late-medieval London'

Among the many cases of sexual immorality appearing before the court of the mayor and aldermen of London are scattered references to cross-dressing. These include several instances of 'strumpets' dressed in male attire and one intriguing, late-fourteenth-century case

of a 'man in women's clothing who slept with many persons'. This paper examines the role of clothing in the constitution of identity, evident in the civic records of London, and considers the gender implications of these cases. I am particularly interested in exploring the tension between the civic authorities' sense of the distinctiveness of male and female physical characteristics, on the one hand, and the notion of gender as 'performative', following Judith Butler's useful formulation.

Cheryl Taylor - James Cook University

'*The Cloud of Unknowing* and aspects of recent theory'

The paper applies selected concepts developed in literary theory over the past forty years to *The Cloud of Unknowing* and associated writings, with a view to assessing whether such an approach can elucidate the writings, in comparison with traditional literary or spiritual analyses. Anthropological theories of the *limen* as a creative transitional site are applied experimentally to the shifting significance of the cloud of unknowing, a significance which is never resolved in *The Cloud*, but culminates in paradox and continued denial of knowing. Permeability of boundaries between hierarchical levels, as in the opening discussion in *The Cloud* of the disciple's progression, are discussed as another aspect of the writing which may lend itself to analysis under theories of liminality. The key linguistic concept of binary oppositions, developed especially in the feminist theory of H?l?ne Cixous, is considered in relation to passages in the *Cloud* texts which point towards a transcendence of such oppositions. Alternatively, texts such as *Discretion of Stirrings* are discussed as possibly evoking the state of *betweenness* advocated by Luce Irigaray. The tendency of his writing to indicate spaces between or beyond the categories and divisions fundamental to rational discourse—a tendency which the application of modern theoretical concepts brings into prominence—is a concrete expression of the *Cloud*-author's distrust of 'bodily' language as a medium for spiritual teaching. Comparison of this distrust with the fundamental poststructuralist recognition, also deeply distrustful, that language discursively constructs both the subjective and the social orders, arguably supports an assessment of the *Cloud*-texts as being themselves liminal to the discursive context of the 1390s. Like poststructuralist theory, the writings attempt to stand beside the objectified 'reality' produced by discourse. Whether or not these are genuinely new conclusions, or simply fashionable and complex ways of restating old knowledge is nevertheless a question which must be asked.

Allie Terry - University of Chicago

'Reintroducing Fra Angelico to the Public Eye: Patronage and Politics at San Marco'

Fra Angelico's frescoes at the convent of San Marco in Florence have become a symbol of the artistic expression of spiritual piety in the history of Renaissance art. Yet, despite the modern fame of the paintings, scholars have claimed that most of these images remained inaccessible to the Renaissance public because they were created specifically and only for the Observant Dominicans living within the walls of the convent. Along the same lines, these images would have been inaccessible to contemporary fifteenth-century artists, and thus would have had little impact on the course of the history of art. My paper confronts these notions and suggests a second social use of the architectural space of the convent, one in which laymen were not only allowed access to Fra Angelico's paintings but were also an intended audience for the imagery from their conception.

I will reexamine the circumstances of Medici patronage that led to San Marco's decoration by Fra Angelico in the context of Florentine humanism in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century, and seek to understand the political significance such an undertaking might have had for the Medici family. This analysis will enable us to deconstruct traditional notions about the aesthetic offered by Fra Angelico and to reassess the impact that Fra Angelico's work had on his contemporaries. Perhaps more significantly, analyzing the relation between the decorative program of San Marco and the roles required of its various lay audiences would further enable us to question the place of religious imagery in political strategies of patronage, and to suggest an alternative approach to the aesthetic offered by Fra Angelico's paintings.

Natalie Tomas - Monash University

'Seeking the female voice in Renaissance Florence'

The title of this paper plays on the title of an edited collection of essays by Sheila Fisher and Janet Halley entitled, *Seeking the woman in late medieval and renaissance writings (1989).* Similar to them I am seeking the female voice in male-authored texts. My approach, however, is an historical rather than a literary one and the 'texts' I will be using include diaries, sermons, letters, humanist treatises, legal records, chronicles, convent records, as well as literary ones including humour. My project is a broad one attempting to analyse the relationship between representations of womanhood by Florentine men over the course of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and the realities of women's lives. I will be reading these documents 'against the grain', assuming that gender is not a fixed category, but is 'slippery' and contested, I intend to examine this 'slipperiness' of gender represented in male-authored texts on one hand, and how women themselves might have influenced those representations on the other.

I can only discuss a tiny fragment of this project here and this paper is intended as a work in progress—raising issues rather than providing definitive answers. After discussing the methodological issues involved, including my use of E. Jane Burns' approach in her study of French romance literature in *Bodytalk* (1993), I will outline three case studies, based on different types of texts: religious works, humanist treatises and collections of *facetiae* or humorous stories and jokes. I will analyse them 'against the grain' in order to outline a strategy for seeking the female voice in Renaissance Florence.

Stephanie Trigg - University of Melbourne

'The Autobiographical Turn in Contemporary Chaucer Criticism'

This paper seeks to contextualise and historicise some recent trends towards autobiographical positioning in recent Chaucer studies, whereby the critic introduces a personal or indeed confessional tone to introduce or frame discussion of the Chaucerian text or critical problem at issue. If historical studies have embraced 'the linguistic turn', and literary studies 'the historical turn', what methodological or disciplinary conclusions can we draw from this increased tolerance of and interest in a more personal voice, at this relatively late stage in Chaucer criticism? The autobiographical 'turn' in literary studies has been well developed in feminist and new historicist criticism, but it is not a mode that has been widely embraced by feminist Chaucer scholarship, for example: in contrast, it is increasingly in the areas of queer and postcolonial criticism that Chaucerians have become more tolerant of, and indeed, fascinated

by the possibility of a more personal critical engagement with medieval poetry.

Does this personal voice represent a political challenge to the ideals of professional neutrality and critical objectivity, cultivated so carefully over the course of the twentieth century? Or does it reflect an increased anxiety about the social isolation and perceived disengagement of professional literary criticism? Stylistically, this turn represents a return to a more personal level or degree of engagement with the Chaucerian text as practised by Chaucer's first poetic imitators in the fifteenth century and his early editors and readers in the sixteenth. What other kinds of 'return' is it possible to diagnose in recent Chaucer criticism?

Sue Tweg - Monash University

'Past Present Present Past': the metamorphosis of history into infotainment.'

Some people recall (in *1066 and All That*) Sellar and Yeatman's wry dictum that 'History is not what you thought, it is what you can remember'. This tongue-in-cheek definition clearly had more than a grain of truth in it, judging by recent responses to historical subjects. Sellar and Yeatman assumed a kind of generally accepted master-narrative in English history (the only one that really mattered), where manly heroes battled villains, villeyns, peasants and uncertain kinds of ladies. This was a narrative punctuated by 'memorable moments' and vivid individual characters. It was also a body of received historical reality against which the reductive, punning clever comedy of *1066 and All That* was designed to play.

A fundamental metamorphosis began mid-twentieth century when the joke started to turn in on itself. Stirring moments and individual heroes began to attract the interest of commercially-minded tourist providers and cash-strapped owners of historical sites; together these two made a marriage that has prospered in extraordinary ways. Mediaeval and Early Modern historical subjects have been especially favoured for reconfiguration along theme park lines. Bus tours to Glastonbury are designed to appeal to Dungeons and Dragons fans, while mediaeval Shrewsbury is now 'Cadfael Country' with a Quest Centre opposite the abbey, sharing fame with the Tower of London by being cast as a thrilling crime scene theme-park. While these sites are undoubtedly fun to visit, especially with children, historians may well wonder what happens to history undergoing such a metamorphosis into a species of showbiz. Add to this a distinctly postmodern edge in souvenirs and, as this paper will suggest, history may well become not what you thought, but what another generation is likely to remember in quite startling new ways.

Jacqueline van Gent - University of Queensland

'Fluid identities. Concepts of bodies and persons in Early Modern witchcraft'

Willem de Blecourt suggested in a recent paper on witches' transformations into animals to view metaphors of shape shifting in the context of oral narratives. Thus they present a linguistic rather than a somatic phenomenon. His argument offers an interesting new perspective on the relationship between oral narratives and the historical records of witch trials and is in many aspects persuasive. However, the somatic aspect cannot entirely be subsumed into language. As the evolving debate about the body in history demonstrates, there is a need for a conceptualisation of historical somatic experiences. This paper argues that the field of Early Modern witchcraft offers excellent sources to explore historical notions of persons and bodies. Both the witch and her/his victim presented the description of somatic states such as illness or the change of body fluids and, in rare cases, shape shifting, as evidence of magic to the courts. In this paper I suggest the inclusion of historical notions of embodiment to the current historical debate on witches' abilities to transform themselves and others.

David van Mill - University of Western Australia

'Hobbes and the limits of liberty'

It is, perhaps, the main criticism of Hobbes's political philosophy that his sovereign is too powerful to allow any meaningful exercise of freedom. This reproach was launched by his contemporaries and it continues to be a dominant theme of current commentators. It is not my intention to deny that Hobbes provides the sovereign with a considerable range of powers. The majority of these are uncontroversial; few would quarrel with his claim that the sovereign should have the capacity to raise taxes, make laws, form a military, and coin money. A warning bell does sound for some commentators, however, when Hobbes discusses other powers concerning issues such as censorship, civil education, freedom of association, and property rights. In these areas Hobbes is accused of introducing the spectre of tyranny, even though what he actually says about these issues has received almost no attention in the secondary literature. Even commentators who hold a charitable disposition towards Hobbes (Oakshott 1975; Ryan 1983, 1988; Baumgold 1988; Flathman 1993) have left what he says on these matters largely unexplored. In the first section of the paper, I wish to suggest that a closer look at these issues reveals that Hobbes is not guilty of some of the abuses suggested by his critics. In the second section, I try to preempt a couple of criticisms that can be levelled at my interpretation. In particular I try to undermine the idea that Hobbes is unconcerned with liberty, and I argue that the suggestion that Hobbes's absolutism is incompatible with liberty is false.

Robert von Friedeburg - University of Bielefeld

'Metamorphosis of Politics: Self-Defence in German and British political thought: Althusius—Arnisaeus—Eliot—Parker—Hobbes—Locke'

Historians of political thought have begun to discover how contemporaries attempted to argue about armed conflict within the body politic without giving licence to anybody to escape order and subjection. To them, the duties of 'office' and the concept of 'self-defence' became of overriding importance. Most contemporaries agreed that while 'self-defence' had been allowed to men by the law of nature, the courts of law of the respective body politic had the office to render such devices unnecessary. Moreover, the religious wars of the sixteenth century proved how dangerous the concept of 'self-defence' could become.

From 1530 and until 1552, the Holy Roman Empire was first in experiencing the onslaught of religious tension and subsequent civil war. But already during the debates about the legitimacy of an armed defence of the true faith during this period, Philip Melanchthon had finally come to cautiously rule out the application of the notion of 'self-defence' by law of nature to individual subjects. The dangers of the common man entering into resistance on his own account were subsequently borne out during the events at Munster, the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Night and the assassinations of Protestant or allegedly pro-Protestant princes such as William of Orange, Henry III and Henry IV, and the Gunpowder Plot (November 1605), between 1584 and 1610. From 1559, English Protestants had every reason to protect, rather then endanger, their Protestant monarch.

English and Scottish interest in German affairs grew after the battle at the White Mountain in 1620 and subsequently began to recognize some of the argument concerning 'self-defence' that had been elaborated in the Empire until this point. As the English 'ancient constitution' began to crumble under the mounting pressure of conflict between King and Parliament from 1642 onwards, the exhaustive philosophical and legal reasoning on the nature and basis of the body politic found within political texts emanating from Germany thus appeared increasingly attractive. However, as German ideas on self-defence were used and quoted, they underwent a significant transformation within their new English context. The state of necessity gradually transformed into ideas of a state of nature.

Evelyn Wallace-Carter - Flinders University

'Masculine immaturity and metamorphosis in Shakespeare's plays'

Transformation, in both a secular and religious sense, is at the heart of many of Shakespeare's plays and it is the transformation of the immature male characters with which he is mainly

concerned, including—in many of the comedies, problem plays and late romances—their eventual metamorphosis into husbands. (His young women, almost without exception, are already mature personalities.)

The three principal types of change that Shakespeare uses are 'Ovidian metamorphosis, moral and intellectual growth, and religious awakening' (Roger L. Cox, *Shakespeare's Comic Changes: The Time-Lapse Metaphor as Plot Device* (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1991) 16-17, n.1.), and it is the latter two types of change (both of which lead to self-knowledge) with which I am concerned here: the need for 'moral and intellectual growth' and 'religious awakening', or repentance for past misdeeds. Both of these eventually occur, to varying degrees, in the plays where a happy ending is achieved, but occur to a lesser degree, or not at all, in the tragedies.

In their narcissistic self-absorption, Shakespeare's immature men reveal the link between immaturity and anxiety about acquiring an integrated personal identity. The playwright has the characters which are being studied here (Adonis, Claudio, Benedick, Bertram, Othello, Posthumus and Leontes) exhibit a quite specific form of immaturity, in that they reject or suspect women, believing that they risk losing their precarious masculine identity if they have close relationships with females. To a greater or lesser degree, they are terrified of their own and the female characters' sexuality and adopt various stratagems to circumvent, diminish or debase this.

All are in need of the transforming power of love, and, when this is attained, social, sexual and/or generational differences are overcome and mutual understanding with their partners is achieved. However, for those immature male characters who never learn the importance of love, self-realization is not achieved and no metamorphosis takes place.

Claire Walker - University of Newcastle, NSW

'Negotiating Authority: The Abbess as Mother in Seventeenth-Century English Convents.'

In post-Tridentine monasticism, the boundaries between the cloister and the world remained permeable, despite the reformers' efforts to secure separation through *clausura*. Although physical breaches of the enclosure were tightly controlled, it was more difficult to prevent incorporeal infringements, such as the intrusion of lay values and discourse. The religious women were not solely responsible for this violation; monasticism invariably drew upon secular concepts in the quest to define and regulate an ordered spiritual life. Hence the ideals of Early Modern society shaped convent culture and provided the language by which nuns understood their place in the monastic environment.

Nowhere was the secular metaphor more evident than in household government where rules, statutes and advice books couched the relationship between the abbess and her nuns in terms of the patriarchal family. In the monastic family the mother abbess ruled her spiritual daughters, who were all sisters, under the overarching control of father confessors and other paternal superiors. Yet the neatness of the terminology belied the complexity of the monastic household. In an enclosed community of women, physically separated from male supervisors and responsible for their own economic livelihood, the metaphor was challenged consistently by internal relationships and daily household business.

This paper will explore familial symbolism within Early Modern English cloisters through the nuns' understanding of the 'patriarchal household' and their place within its hierarchy. While it is possible to determine the religious women's interpretation from their regular intercourse inside and beyond the enclosure, periods of crisis accentuated the nuns' attitude towards internal 'maternal' and external 'paternal' rule. Nowhere was this more obvious than in the Brussels Benedictine community, where during the first half of the seventeenth century the nuns defied their abbess in a quest for spiritual and political satisfaction which took the house to the brink of annihilation. The Brussels dispute reveals the complexity of abbatial power in convents, and questions the utility of the familial metaphor for convents.

William Walker - University of New South Wales

'"Milton's Republicanism", History, and *Paradise Lost*'

One of the major claims made by critics currently attending to the political meaning of Milton's *Paradise Lost* is that the poem is an expression of Milton's 'republicanism'. This view is mistaken for several reasons, one of which is that the general understanding of history on which both classical republican and Machiavellian political thought is founded is radically different from the general vision of history Milton presents in his epic. More specifically, Milton's explicit and comprehensive vision of history in the final books of the poem differs from the republican vision of history in the way it accounts for the following:

i) the causes of human experience

ii) the overall shape of human experience

iii) the efficacy of individuals to renovate corrupt societies

iv) the importance of political organisations, such as cities and states, to human

experience at large

v) the kind of examples set and lessons to be learned from history

vi) the kind of pleasure to be derived from descriptions of history

That Milton's understanding of history differs in these respects from that presented by the so-called 'classical republicans', such as Polybius, Cicero, Sallust, and Lucan, as well as Machiavelli, severely compromises the case that is currently being made for Milton's republicanism in *Paradise Lost*.

Greg Warburton - University of Newcastle, N.S.W. (Plenary)

'A Peculiarly English Notion: The Familiar as a Symbol of Cultural Metamorphoses'

The cultural fabric of Early Modern England has for a number of years been a field of research well ploughed by historians who have revealed the culturally diverse character of Reformation and post-Reformation England. Moreover this research has demonstrated the peculiar and somewhat ambiguous forms that culture might take in the Early Modern period: cultural forms and meanings could on the one hand, be strongly specific to certain groups and particular spheres of influence, but cultural boundaries were also subject to a significant degree of overlap and interactive influence. The cultural landscape of Early Modern England, as varied and diverse as it was, can therefore be seen as having undergone a continual transition throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Reformation and post-Reformation England, were periods then of cultural metamorphoses. Similarly beliefs and ideas in the witch's familiar, a creature thought to aid the witch in the workings of *maleficia* were changing during the Early Modern period, and the transformations that familiar beliefs underwent, should be viewed as reflections of the greater metamorphoses to which Early Modern England was subject, as the Reformation struggled to firmly cement itself within the framework of English culture. The familiar, perceived as such was a cultural meeting point, a nexus at which the diverse 'cultures' of the period could merge, conflict, interact, and diverge. Within the figure of the familiar are echoes of the conflicts and contests of Early Modern England over gender, authority, religion, belief, superstition, and power. The familiar acted as a vessel, in which, over the course of more than one hundred years, debates over these aspects of the cultural fabric of the Reformation were disputed and negotiated, but never successfully resolved. This paper shall therefore explore the witch's familiar as such: as a symbol and representation of the cultural metamorphoses of Reformation and post-Reformation England.

John O. Ward - University of Sydney (Chair)

Panel: Francesca Bussey, Keiko Nowacka, Joanna Kabanoff, Carmel Davis

'Medieval Female Mystical Religious Discourse: Unitary Phenomenon or a Plurality of Responses?'

The panel is addressed to a recent controversy over the nature of the female religious mystical response, c.1075-1325: somatic or intellectual? Bynum or Hollywood? Was there a 'male agenda' which has shaped the way the female religious mystical response has come down to us? How far is it possible to reach through time and text to the phenomenon that lies behind our sources? How far did women share in male discourses (mystical theology, neoplatonism, courtly love, etc.)? Who WAS Marguerite Porete? What is the relevance of Heloise's story? How far are there regional differences in the female religious and mystical response (Low Countries, France, Italy, Germany, England etc.)? What role did 'illness' play in the female mystical religious response?

Kerry Ward - University of Michigan

'Sheikh Yusuf—Scholar, Sufi, Saint, Soldier & Subaltern?'

Born into the royal house of Goa in the Celebes islands, Sheikh Yusuf (1629-1699) was part of an Islamic community that spanned the Indian Ocean. His pilgrimage and education in Mecca and Jeddah as a youth established his reputation as a Shafi'i scholar. Upon his return to the Indies, the Sultan of Banten entreated him to join the court as an Islamic scholar. There he became a Master of the Khalwatiyyah Suffi order, while under his leadership, the Banten court became a centre of Islamic learning in the Indies. Sheikh Yusuf sided with Sultan Agung against the sultan's son when the latter allied himself with the Dutch East India Company in order to seize power. He became the leader of fierce resistance against the Dutch, fleeing to the interior of Java to continue fighting. In 1683 he was captured by the Dutch, assisted by Bantenese and Balinese troops, and imprisoned in Batavia Castle. His fame was so great as a saint and a soldier that the Dutch feared his imprisonment would cause riots. Sheikh Yusuf was then exiled to Ceylon but his following was so widespread in the region that he was shipped off to the Cape of Good Hope in 1694 for 'safe keeping'. At the Cape, Sheikh Yusuf was recognized simultaneously as a saint, a scholar, a royal and a rebel. He died in 1699, having been banished with his entourage to a remote coastal farm to eke out subsistence on the southern tip of Africa. This paper examines the metamorphosis of individual identities in the Early Modern Indian Ocean region, arguing that in exceptional cases reputation spans time,

place and culture in ways that even exile cannot erase.

Lawrence Warner - Australian Academy of the Humanities

'Obadayah, Urso, and the Judaizing Crusade'

The crusading enterprise pushed medieval thinkers into new understandings of sacred texts and history. The seismic effects of these changes can be measured in two interconnected texts by Norman Italians written c.1120, a Hebrew autobiography and a crusade chronicle. In the former, Obadyah the Proselyte gives manifold reasons for his conversion, three of which occurred in 1096: crusaders' slaughter of Jewish communities in the Rhineland; celestial upheaval that he took as a fulfilment of Joel: 'The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood before the great and terrible day of the Lord come'; and a terrible dream that made him afraid of the uncircumcised. But he also reports a rumour that an archbishop of Bari had apostatised and disappeared into the east, which circulated in his youth. Prawer has shown that Obadyah here relies in part on a story related in the Monte Cassino *Historia Belli Sacri*, in which one Urso, former Archbishop of Bari, is now the right-hand man of an Egyptian caliph. During the crusade, Urso urges the caliph to trap imprisoned bishops by asking them to fulfil Jesus' saying that those with as much faith as a grain of mustard seed can command a mountain to move. (They succeed and Urso collapses in despair.) This essay presents historical evidence against Prawer's position that this story was circulating in some form during Obadyah's youth, suggesting instead that its pertinence to Obadyah's narrative inheres in its drama of biblical literalism in a specific *crusading* context. The crusade relied upon a mode of thought best defined, in the terminology promulgated by medieval Christian thinkers, as 'Judaizing'. Insofar as the wars over Jerusalem signalled the fulfilment of scriptures, the proselyte took them as confirmations of the truth of a Judaizing literalism, and the falsity of the Judaizing crusade.

Viv Westbrook - National Taiwan University

'Territory and Access in Shakespeare's 1+2 *Henry IV* .'

One of the fundamental issues of Reformation was the promotion of the English language and English literacy. When it was eventually licensed in 1538, the English Bible was a national statement, asserting independence from Rome, authorising the English Word, and fortifying a developing national identity. The textual space of the English Bible irreversibly pervaded public and private, textual and performative spaces. Though critics have often commented on Shakespeare's subversiveness in the History plays, no one has noted the fact that by

undermining the communication process in I and II *Henry IV*, Shakespeare both subverts Reformation textual ideology and undermines the State concerns about the correlation between growing literacy and rebellion.

In I and II *Henry IV* the English language is frustrated by Welsh, declaring its separate national identity and undermining patriarchal displays with ballads. The vernaculars of the Tavern, those of the thieves, the ostlers and the tapsters undermine any notion of a shared language, and in attempting to assume authority through language Mistress Quickly becomes the vessel whom language escapes, to comic effect. The infinite flexing of the language by Hal and Falstaff further alerts us both to the elasticity of language and the seeming impossibility of Reformation's best hopes that a common English language will unite England with God, and the State's worst fears that it will unite the English people to rebellion.

Bob White - University of Western Australia (Plenary)

'The metamorphoses of Shakespeare'

Shakespeare's metamorphoses are manifold and this paper traces just a few of them. As a person living in his own times he was a professional dramatist, actor and theatre shareholder, apparently without the public egotism of Marlowe or Jonson but well liked, successful and even, as time went on, a 'brand name'. Down through the centuries in England he has turned into national poet, imperialist icon, intellectual polymath, a bogey to anti-imperialists, anti-populist symbol of elitism and snobbery, and—full circle—into a writer who can be chosen to inaugurate even a new Australian Aboriginal theatre group. In just one decade, the 1980s, he was first trusted as a writer who represented authentic female experience, then reviled as misogynist and homophobic upholder of the normativeness of heterosexual roles, to overt homosexual and even 'the noblest feminist of them all'. In the same decade his works were appropriated by proto-fascist and dedicated socialists to justify their points of view. On the scale of place, he has been mediated by various national poets into a central figure in non-English cultures—translated by Pasternak he became Russia's national poet, by Goethe he became Germany's—and later Japan's. And in the last two decades he has metamorphosed from an antiquarian and quaint reminder of past times to the hottest film scriptwriter of all. Is there any secret to this phoenix-like capacity to 'turn and turn again'? This paper argues that Shakespeare's cultural and even linguistic transportability derives not so much from any 'universal' quality, but from his inveterate curiosity about the processes of metamorphosis itself. As befits one whose favourite antecedent was Ovid and who included in one of his earliest plays a character called Proteus, Shakespeare's plays all focus on moments of human change and transition. In comedies the precipitating event is falling in love; in histories he shows political change effected by mere human beings struggling over ideology, some winning and some losing; in tragedies he shows individuals confronting situations that challenge their

habitual modes of thought, taken out of their personal depths into the surprising crucible of crisis; and in the romances the simple agent of change is slow time itself, which gradually reassembles scrambled human relationships. However, if he expresses through his plays any general philosophy, it is that the wheel comes full circle and that apparent change is in fact revelation of a deeper stability of signification. To some this will be a dismaying conclusion, to others a reassuring one, but to all it is at least a focus for asking fundamental questions about human beings living in their own societies.

Daniel Wilksch - Monash University

'Time and Place in Stow's *Survey of London*'

John Stow published his 1598 *Survey of London* after a long career compiling English chronicles. This paper will look at the *Survey* in the light of the tradition of London Chronicles, from which Stow drew, to explore changing attitudes to time, space and memory in the later sixteenth century. The *Survey* can be seen as an adaptation of the London Chronicle tradition that incorporates some new attitudes to London as a physical and symbolic space, while attempting to celebrate and reinforce other, older understandings.

Carol Williams - Monash University

'Hearing the Silence: Changing directions in the study of music in popular culture 1100-1500'

This paper aims to study the role of music and its location in the history and culture of the European middle ages and Renaissance by focussing on the song in relation to history and the web of ideas that gives rise to it. Two related problems will be addressed. 1) A preliminary survey of the very few studies that focus on popular culture in the medieval and Renaissance periods reveals that they are virtually silent. While they may be quite rich in literary reference and liberally illustrated with visual artwork, there is rarely reference to, or description of sound or music in popular culture. This is particularly puzzling since the literature and visual artwork of the time frequently and openly makes reference to sound and music making. Why are modern texts interpreting this tradition so silently? 2) Though we have a fairly clear picture of the range of music activities of the church and of the courts from this period we know little of what must have been a rich tradition of popular music at more mundane levels. The reason for this is that only the privileged had recourse to education at anything but the most rudimentary level and the historical process of preservation of sources depends almost entirely upon the written word or note. The methodology which structures the rationale for collecting appropriate resources must address the question of how to extend knowledge and understanding of music

in popular culture given the scarcity of primary sources. Some potential research avenues are discussed.

Andy Wood - University of East Anglia

'Social Conflict and Plebeian Identity in Early Modern England'

This paper assesses the contrasting regional characteristics of popular politics and social conflict in England between the early sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries. In particular, it compares and contrasts the cultural and institutional forms of popular politics in the industrialised Peak Country of North-West Derbyshire (which formed the subject for my first book *The politics of social conflict: the Peak Country, 1520-1770* [CUP, 1999]) with the patterns prevalent within East Anglia. Special attention is given to the relationship between social change, political culture and the decline of rebellion within the region after 1549. I will argue that the small region or 'Country' represents the best geographical starting-point for the study of popular politics in the period; partly, because social conflicts were often heavily localised; partly, because popular political cultures were typically defined within the boundaries of the village, town or 'Country'. In both cases, attention is drawn to the possibilities and pitfalls in the use of criminal and equity court records in the reconstruction of Early Modern popular political cultures.

Chris Wortham - University of Western Australia

'Ventriloquising James I: who really speaks for the king *in Measure for Measure*?'

It has been a critical commonplace to identify the figure of the Duke in *Measure for Measure* with King James I. The situation is more complex. If there is a political identification to be made, and one may argue that there is, the question is: who is to be identified with what or whom?

James I wrote two substantial works of political theory, the well-known *Basilikon Doron* and a less well known treatise, *The True Law of Free Monarchies.* This paper examines whether the Duke speaks for either text and, if so, for which one. It also opens up the more interesting question of whether the other text is also spoken for by any character in the play and, if so, by whom.

Glenn Wright - Regents College

'With quantyse and with gyn': The Basket Motif in Romance and Fabliau'

The virtual absence of a non-Chaucerian Middle English fabliau corpus has long been a crux of scholarship in the field. At the same time, it has been observed that other ME genres, such as romance, are liable to include material apparently conceived very much in the spirit of the fabliau. Indeed, a direct comparison of ME romances with their French-language antecedents yields numerous cases in which the former amplify the specifically fabliauesque elements of the story, often at the expense of tonal and stylistic uniformity.

I would suggest that this seeming paradox can be explained in terms of the folkloristic substratum of comic plots and its relationship to formalized literary genres. In brief, French-language texts are much more likely to groom received popular story-types to fit an idealized generic template. My exemplar in this context will be the 'basket motif,' whereby an intrepid youth gains access to his sequestered lover by concealing himself in a basket of flowers. The best known treatment of this plot device is in the Old French *Floire et Blancheflor*, where the crafty libidinalism of the motif (squarely the focus of most non-romance analogues) is conscientiously subordinated to the atmosphere of refined sentimentality that has earned the text the designation *roman idyllique*. Conversely, the English redaction, *Floris and Blauncheflur*, is much more alive to the motif's saucy comic potential, moving at a lively clip and soft-pedaling elements extraneous to the central interest in the boy-hero's risky prank. The fact that the Anglo-Norman fabliau *Le Chevalier a la Corbeille* turns essentially the same material to much raunchier ends simply provides another example of the generic determinism of French-language texts, as the basket motif is once again refashioned in full accordance with formally codified conventions. While the Gallic bracketing of romance and fabliau treatments of inherited motifs leaves us with many clear specimens of both genres, the relatively freewheeling appropriation of these motifs by English adaptors allows expression of the fabliau ethos within the world of romance, and so substantially removes the impetus for a categorically discrete body of texts to serve this function.

Keith Wrightson—Yale University

'The decline of neighbourliness revisited'

The notion of the eclipse or declension of community, sometimes described as 'the decline of neighbourliness' is one of the longest established interpretative themes in the social history of Early Modern England and early America. Though sometimes criticized as a legacy of nineteenth-century models of social change, it continues to exert influence, not least because it encapsulates a perception of change which was shared by many contemporaries. This paper

will briefly examine the theme of 'the decline of neighbourliness' in the light of recent analyses of networks of social obligation and their boundaries in Early Modern England, suggesting that it should be defined more precisely rather than rejected as an outmoded concept, and that if subject to such redefinition, it retains value as an approach to the social dynamics of the period.

Last updated 29 June 2001

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AUSTRALIAN and NEW ZEALAND ASSOCIATION for MEDIEVAL and EARLY MODERN STUDIES

THIRD CONFERENCE
5-8 July 2001
The University of Western Australia
Perth, Australia

METAMORPHOSES -- PEOPLES, PLACES, TIMES

POSTGRADUATE ESSAY PRIZE

A prize will be offered for the best essay written by a postgraduate in connection with the Third ANZAMEMS Conference, 5-8 July 2001. The following conditions apply.

1. Candidates must be currently enrolled for postgraduate study at a university in Australia or New Zealand, and proof of enrolment will be required on submission of the essay.

2. Any essay submitted should be no more than 3500 words long (excluding footnotes and bibliography), on a topic of the writer's choice within the fields of medieval and early modern studies. Each essay should be adequately footnoted and documented, with a bibliography. Two hard copies should be provided together with a floppy disk version in Mac Microsoft Word5.1 (or above) and RTF.
Note: The word-limit applies to the written version of the paper. The aural version must be strictly limited to a delivery length of 20 minutes.

3. The essay will be judged by a panel consisting of the President (ex officio) and two other members of ANZAMEMS, one of whom will be either the editor, or the deputy editor, of *Parergon.*

4. The winner will receive a travel bursary of $250 for assistance in attending the conference, $500 in prize money, and a year's free subscription to *Parergon.*
(iv) Should the winner be a currently paid-up subscriber to *Parergon,* the year's free subscription will commence on the expiry of the current subscription.
(v) Should the winner be resident in the conference host city, the travel bursary may be applied to other travel connected with study.

5. The prize will be presented at the conference dinner, and the winner will present the paper

at a plenary session of the conference. (The winner will receive a complimentary ticket for the annual dinner.)

6. The writer of the winning paper will be encouraged to submit the paper for publication in *Parergon,* subject to the usual process of refereeing.

The deadline for submissions is **3 June 2001**. Papers should be sent with proof of current enrolment and [cover sheet](#), to:

Associate-Professor Andrew Lynch,
c/o English Department,
University of Western Australia,
35 Stirling Highway
CRAWLEY WA 6009
Fax: (08) 6488 1030
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POSTGRADUATE BURSARY SCHEME

The ANZAMEMS III Conference Committee offered ten travel bursaries of AUS$250.00 each to current or recent postgraduates who are currently unwaged, to sponsor them to attend the conference and deliver a paper at a session.

One of the ten bursaries is reserved for award to the winner of the Postgraduate Essay Prize (entries close 30 April, 2001)

Twenty-two application forms were received by the extended due date of 28 February, 2001. The following nine applicants have been chosen as eligible to receive one of the remaining nine bursaries.

Kerry Ward, Michigan, USA

Allie Terry, Chicago, USA

Sophie Gee, Harvard, USA

Barbara Bennett, Auckland, NZ

Martin Grimmer, Hobart

Greg Warburton, Newcastle

Jon Elbourne, Wollongong

Lilla Smee, Sydney

Ursula Potter, Sydney

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CONFERENCE UPDATES AND NEWS

The conference will be held in the stunningly beautiful surroundings of St George's College, **UWA and the** UWA campus.

Do you need information on child care facilities at UWA during your stay?

For information on holidaying, care hire and other travel arrangements in Western Australia, please follow the link to the WA Tourist Commission's website.

Would you like information about Perth, including shopping, maps, directories and live views of the city?

The committee is planning a series of associated events and productions.

- There are a number of related conferences taking place at the time of ANZAMEMS conference.

- An optional trip to the Benedictine monastery of New Norcia, Australia's only monastic town, for delegates to the conference. Just one and a half hours from Perth, the monastery, established in the countryside north of Perth by Spanish monks early in the nineteenth century, is renowned for its Baroque architecture and paintings. 27 of the buildings are classified by the National Trust and the town as a whole is registered in the National Estate. The buildings house richly decorated interiors, Old Master works of art and extravagant furniture and furnishings. Its fascinating museum contains one of the finest collections of movable heritage in Australia. You will see paintings by Spanish and Italian masters, gifts from the Queen of Spain and a fascinating array of artifacts which

tell the story of New Norcia's early contacts with indigenous people and as a centre of the monks' extensive farming and culture .

Proposed itinerary Sunday 8 July 2001:

9am. Departure from St George's College.

11am-1pm. Two-hour specialist tour of the historic New Norcia sites.

1pm. Lunch at St Ildephonsus College.

2pm-3.30pm. Opportunity to explore New Norcia and the art gallery at your own pace.

5-5.30pm. Arrive back at St George's.

$50 per head for the day - includes private coach, specialist tour and lunch. Special concessional rates for art gallery entry.

PLACES ARE STRICTLY LIMITED: BOOK NOW.

- A major exhibition of early modern art works, maps, and scientific instruments to be held at the Lawrence Wilson Art Gallery, UWA, June to August 2001: Cultural Encounters: French and English Visions of Australia 1770-1840

- "Distant encounters": a display of manuscripts, maps and rare books held in the Scholars' Centre, UWA Library.

- A drinks reception at Perth's Robert Muir Old and Rare Books bookshop.

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Related Events

- GENDER, MEDICINE AND HEALTH. Convenor Patricia Crawford and Delys Bird. Sunday 1 June 2001.

- GENDER AND FAMILIES. PARENTS AND CHILDREN 1300-2000. Convenor Patricia Crawford. Tuesday 3 June 2001.

- CULTURAL ENCOUNTERS in the INDIAN PACIFIC REGION, 1200-1800: 10-13 July 2001 Convenors Pamela Sharpe and Chris Wortham. 10-13 July 2001.

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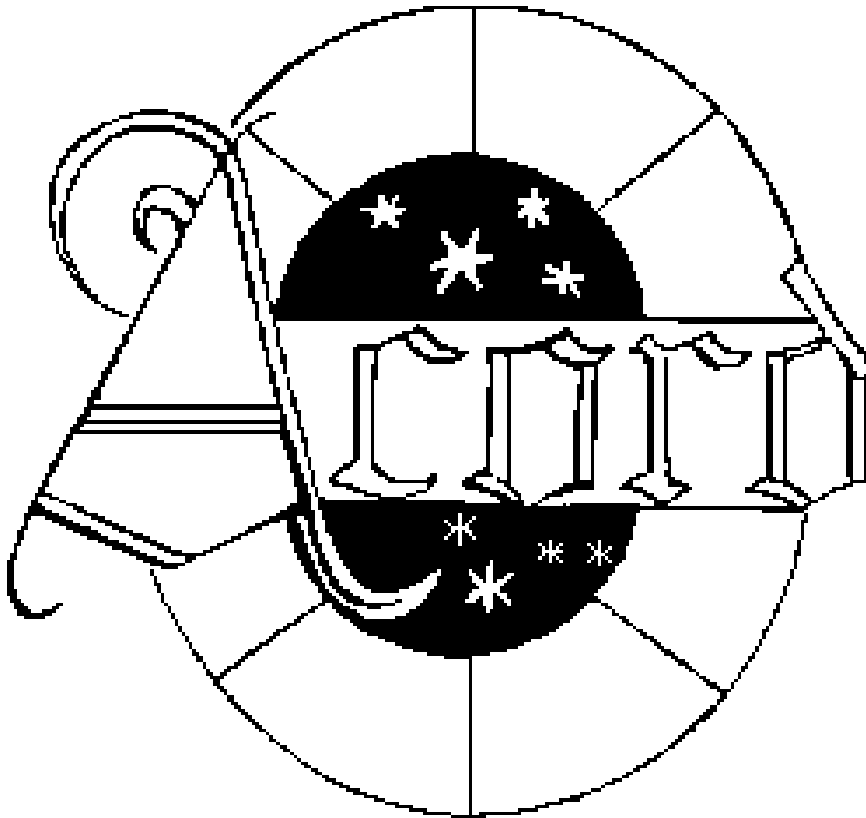
Acord

Margaret Arnold : *alto, organetto*

Jerzy Kozlowski : *bass*

Richard Excell : *vielles, rebec, psaltery, gemshorn*

Carol Williams : *Gothic harp, minstrel harp,*

psaltery, rebec, tenor

Sue Tweg : *reader, alto*

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Acord was formed in 1979 by three musicians and musicologists then at Monash University (Margaret Arnold, Carol Williams and Richard Excell; they were joined by Sue Tweg in 1980 and Jerzy Kozlowski in 1988). The group soon became established as one of Melbourne's leading early music ensembles, being awarded the Harold McDonald Memorial Prize by the Early Music Society of Victoria in 1983. As well as presenting its own annual concert series, **Acord** has performed at festivals presented by the Early Music Society of Victoria (many times), MIFOH (1992) and the Arts Centre Trust (1992), and at several scholarly conferences, including the **International Medieval Conference** held in Leeds (U.K.) in July 1997.

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