

2013 Vagantes

University of Wisconsin-Madison
March 21-23



Welcome to the 2013 Vagantes Conference at the University of Wisconsin-Madison

Vagantes is an annual, traveling conference for graduate students studying any aspect of the Middle Ages. The conference was conceived with several goals in mind: fostering a sense of community among junior medievalists, providing exposure to an interdisciplinary forum, and showcasing the resources of the host institutions—all hopefully within a student budget.

Vagantes was a term applied to wandering clergy and minstrels in the Middle Ages. The spirit of the wanderer (and wonderer!) is alive in our graduate student conference, which travels each year to a different university of college in North America. The following universities have hosted the Vagantes Conference: Harvard University (2002), University of Toronto (2003), Cornell University (2004), University of Notre Dame (2005), UC-Berkeley (2006), Loyola University Chicago (2007), Ohio State University (2008), Florida State University (2009), University of New Mexico-Albuquerque (2010), Indiana University-Bloomington (2011). The University of Texas at Austin will host the 2014 Vagantes Conference; we hope to see you there!

Thursday, March 21

Registration

11.00

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Participants may pick up their registration materials any time during the conference

Welcome and Introductory Remarks

12.15-12.30

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Mark H. Summers, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 1:

12.30-1.50

Hybrid-Identities: Texts-Politics-Sexes-Saints-Monsters

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Matt Westerby, University of Wisconsin-Madison

(Un)holy Unions and Bloody Rebirths: Bodily Entanglement in the Old English *Lives of St. Margaret*

Meg Gregory, Illinois State University

Saintly Sex Change in *Tristan de Nanteuil*

Karen Adams, University of Pittsburgh

Filling Vernacular Gaps: A Case for the Anglo-Norman *Haveloc*

Raul Ariza-Barile, University of Texas

Break:

1.50-2.10

Panel 2:

2.10-3.30

Voicing Gender: Poetic and Devotional Formations of Femininity

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Diane Fruchtman, Indiana University-Bloomington

Gendered Silence in the Romance Thereof

Leah Pope, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 2 (cont.)

Departures of the Feminine Poetic Voice Within the Courtly Lyrical Space
in Bietris de Romans' *Na Maria Pretz e Fina Valors*

Michael Weinberg, UCLA

Characterization of the Virgin Mary in a Traditional Maternal Role and as
Compared with Other Female Characters in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros
de Nuestra Señora*

Jillian Striker, University of Texas

Break: **3.30-5.00**

During the break, we encourage you to explore the new wing of the Chazen
Museum of Art. A selection of medieval coins and objects from the permanent
collection will be available for viewing in the new Object Study Room located on
the Second Floor of the Chazen. Maria Saffioti Dale, Curator of Paintings,
Sculpture, and Decorative Arts at the Chazen Museum of Art, will be present to
answer questions and facilitate discussion.

Keynote Address: **5.00-6.00**

Chazen Museum of Art, Auditorium

“Romanesque Sculpture, The Senses, and Religious Experience”

Prof. Thomas E. A. Dale

Professor of Art History
University of Wisconsin-Madison

Keynote Reception: **6.00-7.00**

Chazen Museum of Art Lobby

Friday, March 22

Registration (Breakfast) **8.15**

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Panel 3: **9.00-10.20**

**Scholars, Sovereigns, and Patrons: Ideas and Spaces in
Cross-Cultural Translation**

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Lindsey Hansen, Indiana University-Bloomington

“Arabic Masters”: Exploring the Arabic Education of Latin Scholars in the
Twelfth Century

Nicholas Jacobson & James Barnes, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Alfred's Tools: The Instruments of Kingship in the *Consolation of Philosophy*

Dmitri Sandbeck, University of Wisconsin-Madison

A Sepulchre for Byzantium: Hagios Polyeuktos, Anicia Juliana, and Female
Patronage in Sixth-Century Constantinople

Daniel Cochran, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Break: **10.20-10.40**

Panel 4: **10.40-12.00**

**Sovereignty in Stone: Structuring and Sculpting
Political Identities**

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Daniel Cochran, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Crusading Ethic as a Divine Inheritance: Philip IV and the Sculptural
Program of Saint-Louis at Poissy

Sarah Celentano, University of Texas

The Angevin Kings of Naples and Mendicant Architecture

Alexander Harper, University of Toronto

Panel 4 (cont.)

Between the City and the Cathedral: A New Reading of the Bas-Reliefs on Notre Dame's South Transept

Allison Myers, University of Texas

Lunch Break: **12.00-1.30**

Please see the brochures in your information packet for restaurants and locations.

Panel 5: **1.30-2.50**

Constructing Kingship: The Good, The Bad, and the Royalty

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Jillian Striker, University of Texas-Austin

Alfonso Villainized: The King as Antagonist in the Legend of Bernardo del Carpio

Katherine Oswald, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The Noble Bastard: Enrique II, López de Ayala, and the Ethics of Kingship

Bretton Rodriguez, Notre Dame

The Development of Sacral Kingship in Ottonian Ruler Images

Laura Wangerin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Break: **2.50-3.10**

Panel 6: **3.10-4.30**

In-House Affairs: Domestic Spaces and the Politics of Intimacy

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Michael R. Weinberg, UCLA

The Price of a Cup of Mead: An Exploration of the Bad Hostess in *Beowulf* and *The Saga of the Volsungs*

Rebecca Aylesworth, University of Minnesota

Sexuality in Medieval Valencia: Authority and Intimacy in the Christian Home

Johan MacKechnie, Queens University (Ontario)

A Guidebook for Mary de Bohun: Images of Old Testament Women as Agents in the Bohun Psalter-Hours

Kendra Grimmett, University of Texas-Austin

Dinner in Madison

All are invited to join UW-Madison students for dinner on the town. Please consult the brochures in your information packet for other dining suggestions.

Saturday, March 23

Registration (Breakfast): 8.15am
Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Panel 7: 9.00-9.50
Hands-On Devotion: Tactility and the Spiritual Encounter
Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Sarah Celentano, University of Texas-Austin

Weaving the Wounds of Christ: Monastic Women's Devotion and Tapestry Production in the Middle Ages
Bevin Butler, Arizona State University

Veiled Hands, Veiled Presence: The Donor Portrait of Otto I and Christocentric Touch in the Magdeburg Ivories
Nicole Pulichene, Bard Graduate Center

Board Member Voting 9.50-10.20
Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Panel 8: 10.20-11.40
Emotive Materials: Sensual Affect and the Embodied Response
Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Erin Sweany, Indiana University-Bloomington

Monstrous Metalwork and Apotropaic Alloys: Framing the Fuller Brooch and Alfred Jewel
Ashley Lonsdale Cook, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Panel 8 (cont.)

The Corpse and the Worm: the Prevalence of Decomposing Matter in Late Medieval Imagery
Alicia Cannizzo, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Dynamic Stillness: Melancholia in Middle English Lyric
Sarah Kate Moore, University of Washington

Lunch 11.40-12.45
Union South Northwoods (3rd Floor)

Board Meeting 11.40-12.45
Union South First Nations (3rd Floor)

TEAMS Workshop 12.45-1.45
Pedagogy and the Middle Ages
Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Laura Wangerin, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Join faculty from the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the University of Texas-Austin for a roundtable discussion sponsored by the Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages.

Break: 1.45-2.00

Panel 9 **2.00-3.20**

Staging the Medieval: Performing Piety and Replaying the Past

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Nicholas Jacobson, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Meyer Schapiro and the Imaginative Archive

Luke Fidler, Northwestern University

A Holy Drama: The Cell of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutis Inclusarum*

Jacob Doss, Boston College

The Truly Divine Comedy: Reconciling Humor and Piety in Medieval Religious Theatre

Miriam Poole, Indiana University-Bloomington

Panel 10: **3.40-5.00**

Past, Present, and Apocalypse: Saints and the Production of Temporal Authority

Union South Industry (3rd Floor)

Moderator: Ashley Lonsdale Cook, University of Wisconsin-Madison

The *Vie de St. Denis* Manuscript and Philip IV of France

LauraLee Brott, University of North Texas

Apocalypse Nowish: Christian Apocalyptic Thinking and Reassessing

'Decline and Fall' in Late Antique Roman Gaul

Madeleine St. Marie, Claremont Graduate University

Martyrs 'Carried into Heavenly Honor without Blood': Paulinus of Nola and Fifth-century Martyr-Making

Diane Fruchtmann, Indiana University-Bloomington

Break: **5.00-5.30**

Keynote Address: **5.30-6.30**

Union South Landmark (3rd Floor)

**"The Disfigurements of Desire in
Chaucer's Religious Tales"**

Prof. Elizabeth Scala

Associate Professor of English Literature
University of Texas-Austin

Final Banquet: **6.00-7.00**

Union South Northwoods (3rd Floor)

Enjoy Madison!

PAPER ABSTRACTS

Panel 1: Hybrid-Identities: Texts-Politics-Sexes-Saints-Monsters

(Un)holy Unions and Bloody Rebirths: Bodily Entanglement in the Old English Lives of St. Margaret

Meg Gregory, Illinois State University, Department of English

The Old English St. Margaret is often seen as a transitional or mediating figure, one who blends saintly pain and devotional healing, anesthetic and agonistic practices, and the corporal and spiritual worlds. Using a posthumanist approach, this paper seeks to add a further layer of entanglement to Margaret's figure by illustrating the ways in which she transgresses the boundaries between humans and animals in the Old English *Lives of St. Margaret*. I argue that in this text Margaret's life is framed through the work of her body (rather than the scribe's) and that this bodily work happens because of a productive joining of two figures, woman and animal, who both suffer as members of a categorical negative (man/woman; human/animal) in the patriarchal binary system. Relying on Karen Barad's conception of "the entanglement," Bruno Latour's "surround," and Donna Haraway's "contact zones," I explore how Margaret's rebirth by way of the dragon in the text allows her to gain new life and firmer textual agency. Further, this paper briefly investigates a second demonstration of animal rebirth that is relevant to all Old English texts, but particularly poignant in this context: Margaret is reborn when her life is written down on vellum. Literally she lives in and on the skin of an animal. Importantly this textual and bodily union affords Margaret a kind of staying power as she continues to be invoked and revived later by historical female figures like Margery Kempe and Joan of Arc and as she continues to hold a position at the center of a long influential cult within the Church.

Saintly Sex Change in *Tristan de Nanteuil*

Karen Adams, University of Pittsburgh, French and Italian

In the fourteenth-century *chanson de geste* *Tristan de Nanteuil*, the eponymous hero's first lover is Blanchandine, a Saracen woman, who is later baptized and becomes his wife. Shortly after her baptism and their marriage, Blanchandine is disguised as a man and called Blanchandin in order to avoid detection by her father, and while she is disguised her cousin Clarinde falls in love with her. Clarinde's love for Blanchandin and her determination to marry him ultimately leads to the miraculous intervention of an angel, who grants a female-to-male sex change to Blanchandin. This saves him from Clarinde's wrath and legitimizes their marriage, and Blanchandin even engenders a child with Clarinde. In the latter portion of the poem, their son Gilles becomes a saint. In this paper, I examine the relationship between saintliness and sex change, and I show that Blanchandin(e) is a saintly character who prefigures Gilles' holiness. Blanchandin undergoes many trials which are characterized as saint-like suffering and penance; he loses his arm in an attack in which he is also separated from Clarinde and Gilles...

...and while searching for them over the next 30 years, he carries around his severed arm in a reliquary-like bag. I show that Blanchandin's holiness is complicated, however, by the narrator's ambiguous stance on the marriage of Blanchandin(e) and Clarinde. While the marriage and the sex change are repeatedly depicted as God's will because Saint Gilles will be born of them, Blanchandin and Clarinde's troubles indicate that they are being punished nonetheless for marrying as two women, before the sex change took place.

Filling Vernacular Gaps: A Case for the Anglo-Norman *Haveloc*

Raul Ariza-Barile, University of Texas, Department of English

Despite being central to the narrative development of a popular Middle English romance (*Havelok the Dane*), the Anglo-Norman *Lai d'Haveloc* remains an overlooked text. A short narrative poem, *Haveloc* illuminates constructions of Norman-English cultural tension, nation-building, travel, translation, colonial divide, and trans-European maritime contacts, all of which feature prominently in current discussions of globalization in the Middle Ages. My talk will treat the protagonist of *Haveloc* as a hybrid product who responds to a variety of labels (Norman-English; prince-vassal; colonizer-colonized), but more importantly, it will problematize, through the figure of Haveloc, first, why Anglo-Norman literature has not generally been included in the canon of "medieval English", and second, why this text in particular has not yet received due scholarly and editorial attention. My treatment of the subject will benefit from criticism that views the Norman colonial project in England as fundamental to the production of what we would call multicultural literary practices, as Laura Ashe convincingly shows in her recent study *Fiction and History in England 1066-1200*. However central to the development of a vernacular romance tradition – the Havelok legend – Anglo-Norman romance narratives are still somewhat eclipsed by their Middle English counterparts. As a whole, my discussion argues that in favoring one vernacular corpus over another, we may miss the opportunity to access romance traditions comparatively and globally. In other words, in reclaiming the Anglo-Norman *Lai d'Haveloc* as English despite being written in a "French of England" as Jocelyn-Wogan Browne would say, one fills both a vernacular and scholarly gap.

Panel 2: Voicing Gender: Poetic and Devotional Formations of Femininity

Gendered Silence in the Romance Thereof

Leah Pope, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of English

Since its relatively recent discovery in 1911, the small body of criticism produced to discuss *Le Roman de Silence* has focused almost exclusively on the question of gender. This is to be expected in attempting to reconcile a cross-dressing female knight as heroine with the narrator's misogynistic rants and reimposition of female subservience in the conclusion. Prevailing theories of medieval gender have, however, fallen short of conclusively classifying this poem as either proto-feminist or misogynistic; new approaches are necessary for a more productive inquiry into the gender norms both of the world of the poem and the world of the thirteenth century in which it was produced.

Though scholars have noted the oddity of naming a poem *Le Roman de Silence*, along with numerous potential allegorical implications of Silence being the title character, recent scholarship has neglected to thoroughly explore the rhetoric of audibility as a tool to illuminate the text's approach to gender. I examine the function of gender in this romance through audibility to provide fresh insight into the roles of secondary characters, showing that the gendering of audibility is more complex than the masculine being heard while the feminine is silent: reproductive audibility, for example, is laudable for female characters in this text. I further examine the association between reproductive audibility and masculinity as it informs the complexly constructed gender of Silence as a lady knight. I assert that as a non-reproductive entity, Silence him/herself is concurrently representative of both the feminine and the masculine, torn between *his* audibility and *her* silence. I argue, through this gendering of audibility, for a reading of *Le Roman de Silence* that ascribes silence to femininity, but simultaneously empowers women through a softening of normative gender roles.

Departures of the Feminine Poetic Voice Within the Courtly Lyrical Space in Bietris de Romans' *Na Maria Pretz e Fina Valors*

Michael Weinberg, UCLA, Spanish Literature

Among the approximately 450 troubadours, about twenty poets are women, known as *trobairitz*. Of these, there is one *trobairitz*, Bietris de Romans (fl. s. XIII?), whose only song has been called the sole example of lesbian love in the troubadour corpus. Recent scholarship, however, has opposed this notion, emphasizing the other aspects and applications of the ordinarily construed erotic language of her *canço*, the genre *par excellence* for expressing amatory sentiment. The language that she uses, so it is argued, is consonant with women's ordinary styles of communication and the expression of (non-erotic) sentiment between them in that period.

This departure, however, also offers an opportunity to re-examine lyric in the feminine voice. In troubadour song, by generic convention and by numerical proportion, a masculine poetic voice praises and addresses a figure of a feminine beloved, the *domna*, who is almost always silent. Furthermore, it is taken for granted that all these amatory articulations occur in a lyrical space of the masculine voice's making. The *trobairitz*, consequently, are read as playing in a man's world: their lyrical formulations are dependent upon elements already furnished to them by their masculine counterparts and are measured against criteria of amatory value and exercise already employed by troubadours.

Taking advantage of the discrepancy between earlier and later readings of Bietris's song, on the basis of that and others by different *trobairitz*, I argue for a kind of "egalitarian" participation between poets and poetesses (or, perhaps, masculine and feminine poetic voices) in the same courtly, lyrical space, whose elements (as of a poetic "micro-universe") are constituted on the grounds of the rhetorical and poetic theory of the time, by which courtly values, variously praised in song, are tied to ethics and the (often, but not always, amatory) behavior that it signifies.

Characterization of the Virgin Mary in a Traditional Maternal Role and as Compared with Other Female Characters in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*

Jillian Striker, University of Texas, Spanish

The figure of the Virgin Mary in Spanish literature most often signifies an aspect of religious dedication that resembles maternal devotion. Literary settings in which the Virgin interacts with the faithful provide opportunities to investigate the portrayal of a powerful female figure in a patriarchal society. It is interesting to note the differences between her interactions with men versus women, since she takes on a different social role in each setting. The role of women as portrayed by medieval authors is based primarily on Biblical examples, such as the maternal nature of the Virgin Mary, Rachel mourning her lost children, or the barren woman's intense desire to be a mother. According to Ana Diz, it is common for female characters to be completely supplanted by the Virgin in their maternal roles, because she is the human mother of the incarnate God, making her either a rival or a model for other female characters. The Virgin is an ideal woman, and as such she is more than a match for any other female figures, especially mothers; she is more than a character, she is human, just as they are. This paper, explores the way in which the Virgin Mary in Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* is characterized as a maternal figure by examining the role of women in medieval religious literature and subsequently analyzing several *Milagros* in which the Virgin Mary takes a primary role not only as a powerful female heroine, but also as a mother.

Panel 3: Scholars, Sovereigns, and Patrons: Ideas and Spaces in Cross-Cultural Translation

"Arabic Masters": Exploring the Arabic Education of Latin Scholars in the Twelfth Century

Nicholas Jacobson & James Barnes, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Research on the Latin translation of Arabic natural philosophical texts in Spain and Sicily has been immense, with particular emphasis having been placed on the study of translators such as Adelard of Bath, Robert of Ketton, Plato of Tivoli, and Hermann of Carinthia. While this scholarship has provided well needed insight into the Arabic influence on the Latin-speaking world, scholars focusing on the narrative of translation and transmission have paid less attention to the social context that allowed such transmission to occur in the first place. The fact that Latin clerics traveled to the Byzantine Empire, the Crusader States, Damascus, Sicily, and Spain in order to learn from Arabic masters, and that they sat as students--perhaps alongside Muslims or Jews--at the feet of these masters raises questions about the formation of Latin knowledge and pedagogical practices in the years leading up to the formation of the university. We would like to identify and examine the "Arabic Masters" (*magistri Arabici*) referred to in Adelard of Bath's *Questiones Naturales*, and to illuminate the relationship that existed between the teachers and their Christian and Jewish students

Alfred's Tools: The Instruments of Kingship in the Consolation of Philosophy

Dmitri Sandbeck, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of English

Among the many significant digressions from the Latin source in Alfred of Wessex's translation of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, one from the seventeenth chapter particularly illuminates Alfred's purpose in creating the translation. Alfred writes earnestly of the tools "tolum" necessary for a king to practice his craft. These tools are the three important classes of men who help a king maintain his reign: priests, soldiers, and workers, and Alfred insisted that these human instruments were necessary for a king to rule wisely. This paper argues that the work of translating the text presented an opportunity for Alfred to investigate his personal thought in shaping Anglo-Saxon kingship on literary and cognitive levels. This is evidenced by Alfred's metaphor in describing the tools and material "andweorc" he thinks he needs to properly exercise power and to leave a legacy "min gemynd on godum weorcum". Already the work of such scholars as Miranda Wilcox, Malcom Godden, and Brit Mize illuminates the use of cognitive metaphors in Alfred's work; through such language, this paper seeks to examine Alfred's personal—rather than political or didactic—purposes for translating Boethius, showing that Alfred's work on Boethius causes him to conceive of kingly thought as needing a set of cognitive tools that aid in the proper exercise of power.

Boethius's *Consolation* often examines proper modes of thought and action for those in power, and Alfred's translation necessarily engages with those modes of thought and action within an Anglo-Saxon context. Thus Alfred himself represented the ultimate target audience of his own work. In keeping with his objective in translating other texts such as Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*, Alfred used the act of translating and rewriting Boethius's texts to better understand his own role as well as the proper modes of thought that he ought to employ as king. In translating the *Consolation*, Alfred addressed the common anxieties of leadership that he perceived in Boethius's writing

A Sepulchre for Byzantium: Hagios Polyuktos, Anicia Juliana, and Female Patronage in Sixth-Century Constantinople

Daniel Cochran, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Art History

Built by the noblewoman Anicia Juliana and rediscovered in 1960, the sixth-century church of Hagios Polyuktos was the largest and most ornate basilica in Constantinople prior to the construction of Justinian's Hagia Sophia. In the first major publication on this site, *A Temple for Byzantium*, Martin Harrison argues that the building's ostentatious decoration compares with scriptural accounts of the temple of Solomon and that even the basilica's measurements follow precisely the dimensions given in Ezekiel 41:4. Harrison's conclusion that Juliana "clearly intended not only to vie with Solomon in all his kingly glory, but also to match the splendor of his building" remains the dominant understanding of the design and function of Juliana's magnificent church.

I argue that Harrison's conclusion reveals the extent to which historians continue to interpret examples of Byzantine female patronage within a masculine...

...framework. I explore how Juliana's church functions to articulate female power within a world typically hostile to women and in which the language of patronage was gendered male. I argue for a reinterpretation of the dimensions and ornamentation of Hagios Polyuktos as intentionally evocative not of Solomon's Temple but of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Byzantine tradition had long associated the Holy Sepulchre with the empress Helena, the archetypal female authority whose piety and patronage were emulated by many of Juliana's female ancestors. By drawing a parallel between her church and that of the Holy Sepulchre, Juliana reaffirmed her dynastic relationship with these pious women and publicly proclaimed her immense power and orthodox piety.

Panel 4: Sovereignty in Stone: Structuring and Sculpting Political Identities

Crusading Ethic as a Divine Inheritance: Philip IV and the Sculptural Program of Saint-Louis at Poissy

Sarah Celentano, University of Texas, Art History

Philip IV of France founded the Dominican priory of Saint-Louis at Poissy in 1297 to glorify his recently canonized grandfather, Louis IX (d. 1270). While scholars tend to focus on the Poissy priory church as an example of Philip's promotion of Louis' cult, there is little discussion of how the space functioned as a site of religious activity or how its sculptural program would have functioned in a liturgical context. The priory church was destroyed during the French Revolution and now survives only in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century drawings and prints, the most detailed of which are by Jules Hardouin-Mansart, Pierre François Cassier, and François Roger de Gaignières. Components of the figural sculpture program, however, survive, the most notable being two of the six statues of children of Louis IX that were once installed in the arm of the interior south transept.

I will argue for an interpretation of the Poissy sculptural program that no other scholar has yet advanced. After examining the surviving material evidence of the church and demonstrating how it fostered a performative religious experience for its lay viewer through spatial and sculptural elements, I will contend that Philip's choice to represent only six of Louis IX's eleven children may be understood in terms of crusade—and that Poissy itself functions as a crusade monument. Works such as Joinville's *Vie de Saint Louis* (begun ca. 1305) criticized Philip for not measuring up to Louis' saintly life, in which crusade loomed large. At Poissy, Philip illustrated his descent from a family of crusaders, thereby demonstrating his own crusading ethic and piety. When combined with the transformative qualities of sacred space, however, these politicized figures acquired mystical overtones. The viewer would understand herself as having entered the heavenly realm, where she encountered the eternally living members of Philip's crusading family.

The Angevin Kings of Naples and Mendicant Architecture

Alexander Harper, University of Toronto, Department of Art

Scholars of Angevin Architecture in southern Italy often note the turn of the fourteenth century as the beginning of a paradigm shift in the Dynasty's architectural policies. Reaction to the Vespers Rebellion (from which the crown lost the Island of Sicily), a perceived lack of funds and building materials, and the piety and reforms of the regime's new King Charles II often are cited as reasons for a shift in architectural policy from the ostentatiously French forms of the Dynasty's first king Charles I to a more austere, Italian-influenced brand of Gothic architecture.

The cathedrals of Naples and Lucera (Apulia) and the single hall "barn churches" of Santa Maria Donna Regina in Naples and San Francesco in Lucera are cited as exemplars of this shift, marking the point when the architecture of the mendicant orders begins to influence the buildings of the Angevin crown. However, the survival of numerous austere, single hall private chapels within Angevin castles built by Charles I, as well as the original plan of the church of Sant'Eligio in Naples, reveals that an austere Angevin architectural style existed well before the perceived paradigm shift and the political and economic events thought to have brought about that shift.

This paper argues that these earlier chapels, whose formal origins date to private French chapels from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including Sainte-Chapelle, influenced the form of the Angevin "mendicant cathedrals," revealing that the crown's churches after 1290 are more French than often argued. In fact, they are based off of a style that is quintessentially French and noble, and reveal that modern conclusions on sobriety, austerity, and regality do not always equate to medieval standards.

Between the City and the Cathedral: A New Reading of the Bas-Reliefs on Notre Dame's South Transept

Allison Myers, University of Texas, Art History

Eight bas-reliefs flank the south portal of Notre-Dame in Paris. Carved c. 1258, they have emerged today as one of the cathedral's most baffling and understudied works of art. The scenes are striking for their lack of religious imagery – there are no halos, no wings, no saints with attributes. Each quatrefoil-encircled image is of the mundane world. The prevailing interpretation of the reliefs appeared in an 1869 article by Félix de Verneilh in which he argued that they present two narratives of student life, prudently placed on the church in an effort to reform the notoriously disobedient student body. Verneilh's article successfully quashed the dominant theory that the scenes showed some as-yet unknown religious imagery. His reading, however, has major flaws. Facing the episcopal palace, the south façade would have been used by anyone conducting business with the bishop or his clerks. This included students, but also lawyers, local magistrates, and common citizens. Sitting at eye level, the reliefs were positioned in a place of prominence. Is it possible that such prime real estate would have been used to correct the behavior of such a minority social group as students? It seems unlikely.

In this paper I offer a reading that considers the social and physical space of the south façade and the episcopal palace. The bishop of Paris was a powerful magistrate and his influence extended across the urban fabric of the city. Rather than scenes of student life, I argue, the bas-reliefs carefully construct the public image of the bishop's civic power through discrete narrative moments. Through a close analysis of the scenes and a discussion of the bishop's civic jurisdiction I show how these moments reflect the four major areas of the bishop's control – commerce, civic administration, justice and education. Placed on the cathedral, opposite his palace, the reliefs ultimately served as propaganda to bind the bishop's secular power to his sacred office.

Panel 5: Constructing Kingship: The Good, The Bad, and the Royalty

Alfonso Villainized: The King as Antagonist in the Legend of Bernardo del Carpio

Katherine Oswald, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Spanish and Portuguese

The Spanish epic legend of Bernardo del Carpio was first documented in writing in Lucas de Tuy's *Chronicon mundi* (1236), and was later recorded in the thirteenth century in Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* (1243), the *Poema de Fernán González* (c. 1250), and Alfonso X's *Estoria de España* (composed in the final decades of the century). The *Estoria de España's* account of Bernardo's life and deeds mentions additional songs and tales about the hero, though none remain today. Later, the legend was revisited in many ballads, which were first conserved in writing in the sixteenth century.

Two of the most salient characteristics of Bernardo del Carpio are his illegitimacy (in most versions of the legend he is the product of the clandestine relationship between Jimena, sister of Alfonso II, and San Díaz, Count of Saldaña) and his participation in Charlemagne's defeat at Roncesvalles. Both lead to great tensions between Bernardo and Alfonso, given the King's imprisonment of San Díaz as well as his initial willingness to cede his kingdom to Charlemagne. The representation of this animosity escalates throughout the retellings of the legend, as the figure of the King evolves from one who capably defuses the tensions with Bernardo to one in constant opposition with the hero, presented as both a coward and a bully.

In this paper I will analyze the development of the portrayals of Alfonso with regards to the tensions between the King and Bernardo caused by San Díaz's imprisonment and Alfonso's pact with Charlemagne. I will base my discussion on the three thirteenth-century chronistic accounts of the legend and two later ballads, "Por las riberas de Arlanza" and "El valeroso Bernardo," and will offer explanations for the changes that arise in the King's character throughout the legend's transmission in the Middle Ages.

The Noble Bastard: Enrique II, López de Ayala, and the Ethics of Kingship

Bretton Rodriguez, *Notre Dame, Literature*

In the late fourteenth century, Enrique II overthrew and killed his half-brother, Pedro I, to seize the throne of Castile. While this type of internal conflict was not uncommon in the kingdom at that time, its result was. Enrique II, an illegitimate son with no official claim to the throne, had succeeded in making himself king. For the first time, a bastard ruled over Castile.

Lacking the normal justification that came with legitimacy and having assassinated his legitimate half-brother, Enrique II had to find a different way to support his rule. He responded by crafting an ideological program that vilified Pedro I as a tyrant while presenting himself as a divinely appointed ruler. Pero López de Ayala's various literary and historical works were a vital part of this ideological framework. These works, especially his *Crónica del rey don Pedro y del rey don Enrique*, did more than just attack Pedro I and praise Enrique II. When examined together, it is clear that Ayala constructed a new type of "ethical monarchy," in which the king's morality directly determined his right to rule.

Morality, especially that of the king, had been an important aspect of Iberian historiography for centuries. However, it had previously been used primarily as a means of explaining negative events. For instance, the Moors conquered Visigothic Spain as a divine punishment for the sins of King Rodrigo. In Ayala's work, however, morality became one of the key attributes of Castilian kingship and sufficient justification both for the overthrow of Pedro I and the rule of Enrique II. By tying ethics to kingship, Ayala legitimized Enrique II's right to rule and transformed the very idea of kingship.

The Development of Sacral Kingship in Ottonian Ruler Images

Laura Wangerin, *University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of History*

By examining Ottonian political philosophy in conjunction with pictorial representations of Ottonian rulers, this paper will demonstrate how the dynasty used images as part of their efforts to legitimize their rule as sacral, as well as show how the images themselves serve as evidence for how this idea of sacrality evolved. The focus of this paper will be the three Ottos (Otto I, II, and III), since it is with them that the real change in a philosophy of rulership came about; while they did clearly borrow rituals and symbols from the later Carolingian rulers, partly out of an effort to ground their legitimacy by linking themselves to the old regime, what they ended up creating was something new. The Carolingians portrayed themselves as heirs to the great Old Testament kings; the Ottonians ended up portraying themselves as the impersonators of Christ himself, the *christomimetes*.

Panel 6: In-House Affairs: Domestic Spaces and the Politics of Intimacy

The Price of a Cup of Mead: An Exploration of the Bad Hostess in *Beowulf* and *The Saga of the Volsungs*

Rebecca Aylesworth, *University of Minnesota, Department of German, Scandinavian, and Dutch*

How does one judge whether a hostess is good or bad? Why do characters engage in acts of bad hospitality and what motivates them to do so? Grendel's mother in *Beowulf* and Gudrun in *The Saga of the Volsungs* are troubled, ambiguous characters, and frequently engage in inhospitable behavior. Scholars generally agree on the importance of the hostess in medieval Germanic literature, but this exploration will further that discussion by examining the roles hostesses play when they engage in malevolent, violent, or subversive behaviors to pursue their goals.

Grendel's mother and Gudrun's hostile actions are motivated by revenge, and female characters are limited in the ways they can seek vengeance for the killing of their kin. These two hostesses are unique, taking on autonomous roles as leaders of their halls, subverting male authority, and engaging in hostile behaviors as a method of seizing control. The action of commandeering power from others is not without risk; the reciprocal relationships the hostesses engage in with their guests allow them to manipulate social situations, but they bring with them dangerous and deadly outcomes. Although both characters have the advantage of inherent or inherited supernatural powers, these bad hostesses suffer consequences for their acts of bad hospitality. Grendel's mother dies at Beowulf's hand and Gudrun loses everyone she loves and tries to commit suicide as a result of her actions, both outcomes of the seditious roles they play.

Ultimately, these characters act as malevolent hostesses as a means to their only realistic end; engaging in bad hospitality is the sole avenue through which they have a chance of achieving revenge. As this exploration argues, their actions demonstrate that other options are inaccessible and undesirable - consequently, the decision to be a bad hostess remains the only viable path open to Gudrun and Grendel's mother.

Sexuality in Medieval Valencia: Authority and Intimacy in the Christian Home

Johan MacKechnie, *Queens University (Ontario), History*

Although the Church argued adamantly against relationships between Christians, Muslims and Jews, the fact is that sexual partnerships often existed between household members of different faiths. Information about many of these relationships can be found in the *Archivo del Reino de Valencia*. Moreover, it is possible to examine if there were differences in the treatment of slaves and servants at the time depending on if they were Christian or not. Archival records illustrate that there were considerable differences between "free" and enslaved female domestics but the way justice was administered to people for sexual crimes was not...

...always dependent on religious affiliation. First, female servants had fixed terms of service. Second, masters were obliged to pay servants a salary. And, third, while enslaved members were usually Muslim, domestic servants in 14th century Valencian Christian households were predominantly Christian. Beyond these things, female domestics had much in common; they performed many of the same chores; and they were described as "household dependents". Religious associations did not seem to protect Christian servant women from being considered sexually available to the head of the household. Many archival cases illustrate that it was common for masters to have sexual access to female servants and slaves.

This comparative study of female domestics within Christian households of 14th century Valencia showcases the sexual subordination and household violence that women endured in households. Archival records show that inter-religious sexual encounters occurred within households at this time, but the question of faith did not seem central as to whether or not abuse was perpetrated. Of more concern was gender inequality; the way female domestics were treated is argued to have been a more insidious threat to the culture at the time than the question of faith that the Catholic Church claimed was of prime societal importance.

A Guidebook for Mary de Bohun: Images of Old Testament Women as Agents in the Bohun Psalter-Hours

Kendra Grimmet, University of Texas, Art History

When Humphrey de Bohun died in 1373, he left behind his widow Joan and their two young daughters Eleanor and Mary. Because Humphrey and Joan's marriage had not produced a male heir, it seemed likely that the Bohun dynasty would end with Humphrey's co-heiresses. Confronted with a moment of dynastic crisis, Joan de Bohun preserved her family's memory and its influential position by arranging high-status marriages for her daughters. Sometime between July 1380 and February 1381, Mary de Bohun married Henry of Bolingbroke, John of Gaunt's wealthy, royally-connected heir.

In celebration of Mary's union with Henry, Joan commissioned the Bohun Psalter-Hours for her newlywed daughter. In addition to the manuscript's functions as a prayer book and a richly-illuminated monument to the Bohun-Lancaster marriage, I propose that the Bohun Psalter-Hours is also a didactic guidebook for Mary de Bohun. The manuscript's abundant images of Old Testament matriarchs, including Eve, Sarah, and Rebecca, promote numerous lessons about the roles and responsibilities of medieval, aristocratic women. Through close analysis of its visual program, I argue that one of the Bohun Psalter-Hours' lessons is that medieval women gain agency through motherhood.

In this paper I focus my analysis on the images depicting Rebecca's story. Rebecca begins as an obedient maiden and transforms into an authoritative matriarch. The illuminations indicate that Rebecca's childbed is the catalyst for her increased agency. Many medieval noblewomen, including Joan and Mary, experienced the same life events portrayed in the Rebecca cycle: marriage, childbirth, and the management of their households. Because Joan would not be present to counsel Mary through her transition from dutiful daughter to capable wife and mother, Joan commissioned the Bohun Psalter-Hours to include images of Old Testament matriarchs as examples for Mary to consult after she left her mother's household.

Panel 7: Hands-On Devotion: Tactility and the Spiritual Encounter

Weaving the Wounds of Christ: Monastic Women's Devotion and Tapestry Production in the Middle Ages

Bevin Butler, Arizona State University

One problem for understanding nuns' devotional objects from the middle ages is that prominent scholars of medieval women's spirituality have focused on the devotional aspects as they are manifest in the *reception* of images and objects. I argue that for many medieval devotional objects, it is within the *production* of such objects that greater insight is to be discovered. The Last Judgment Tapestry, woven in the Dominican convent in Nuremberg of Saint Catherine, or Katharinenkloster, is an object that communicates valuable insight into medieval devotional practices through its production by nuns.

While acknowledging, as other scholars have suggested, that the meditative elements of prayer, the identification with the suffering body of Christ, and tactile aspects of devotion are all integral components to the spirituality of medieval women, I argue that a contemplative trance was induced by the rhythmic act of weaving. Moreover, when combined with the tactile physicality of the artistic process, this trance facilitated the nuns' ability to meditate on their own physical interaction with the body of Christ. It is my thesis that the slow and incremental weaving of the symbols of the Last Judgment into the warp and weft of the tapestry worked in a manner similar to the imaginative meditation on the stigmata and the instruments of the Passion.

Veiled Hands, Veiled Presence: The Donor Portrait of Otto I and Christocentric Touch in the Magdeburg Ivories

Nicole Pulichene, Bard Graduate Center, Decorative Arts, Design History, Material Culture

The Magdeburg ivory group (ca. 962–968 C.E.), consisting today of sixteen panels, constitutes the only remaining vestige of Magdeburg Cathedral as it was constructed under the patronage of Emperor Otto I (r. 962-973 C.E.). Questions regarding the ivories' dating, production, and original orientation within the church have long occupied scholars, but the group has never been the subject of sustained iconographic investigation. In order to redress this gap in scholarship, this project focuses on the *Presentation* panel (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. No. 41.100.157), in which Otto I is shown offering Christ a model of Magdeburg Cathedral through veiled hands. Along with the panels depicting New Testament narratives, the *Presentation* invited the devotee to imagine him or herself likewise engaging in a relationship with Christ that was physically proximate yet emphatically mediated by objects. The paper will address how this didactic message is reiterated in unique ways in each of the Magdeburg ivories, which depict Christ and biblical devotees reaching for and touching one another through the mediation of architecture, textiles, and the human body. By studying the ivory group in terms of the physical interaction of the represented figures, this paper argues that Christocentric touch was, and continues to be, central to understanding the Magdeburg ivories and the devotional milieu in which they were produced and used.

Panel 8: Emotive Materials: Sensual Affect and the Embodied Response

Monstrous Metalwork and Apotropaic Alloys: Framing the Fuller Brooch and Alfred Jewel

Ashley Lonsdale Cook, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Art History

From the same tradition of the Sutton Hoo treasure and the Staffordshire Hoard, in which ostentations displays of wealth and power take the form of wearable objects, the Alfred Jewel and the Fuller Brooch exhibit this same preference for glittering metalwork, glistening gemstones and gleaming enamel. This attention to the reflectivity of the material surface of these two objects mirrors, in part, the sensory theme of each work. The Alfred Jewel is an *aestel* and would have been placed at the top of a pointing rod for directing the eye to the correct word in a manuscript. This object includes rock crystal, known for its translucent clarity, over an enameled personification of sight encased in reflective gold. The textured gold filigree case takes the form of a scaled reptile or snake, which once devoured the wooden pointing rod through its gaping mouth. The Alfred Jewel is often compared to the Fuller Brooch, a shield-like convex silver brooch depicting the personifications of all five senses within a ring of roundels containing humanoids, various monsters and florets. The Fuller Brooch and the Alfred Jewel both emphasize sight personified as the central figure and scholars agree that sight is akin to spiritual wisdom in Anglo-Saxon England. Many have discussed the implications of the personification of the senses in both examples at length, however, my essay will discuss the monstrous frames of each object. I consider material together with apotropaic iconography as they affect viewers and users through vision and I engage with Robert Deshman's concept of corporal sight in Anglo-Saxon art. I will also consider the monstrous frames as following in the tradition of the evil eye appropriated from Classical Antiquity. In doing so, this paper will consider the relationship between the personification of the senses, the protective monstrous frames and the viewer in the Alfred Jewel and the Fuller Brooch.

The Corpse and the Worm: the Prevalence of Decomposing Matter in Late Medieval Imagery

Alicia Cannizzo, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Department of Art History

The late middle ages saw a proliferation of images of the decomposing body. The fact that these images were commonplace is one of the most enigmatic differences between the sensibilities of the medieval era and those of the present day, where death is considered to be a private matter. This difference has led some scholars, like the early twentieth century historian Johan Huizinga, to claim that obsession with the skeleton and the worm in the middle ages overran more beneficial cultural and emotional concerns. Recent scholarship has been more generous to these images, using them to explore the tradition of *memento mori*. I will examine the corpse in tomb effigies in Northern Europe as a means of addressing a shifting perception of the body and materiality in Northern Europe. I will investigate the significance of the decaying corpse and how such a shocking image came to be ubiquitous in funerary art. Based on the work of Caroline Bynum...

...and Herbert Kessler, I will argue that the decomposing corpse is evidence of one of the most important ideas of medieval thought; the paradox of flesh as the source of both sin and of salvation. This examination will draw upon a medieval English poem on the subject, *A Disputacioun Betwyx be Body and Worms*. Just as Michael Camille was able to humanize the preponderance of death imagery in medieval manuscripts in his excellent book, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet*, I aim to show the importance of the corpse in tomb sculpture and prove that the image of the corpse and the worm are vital examples of the complex medieval relationship with materiality.

Dynamic Stillness: Melancholia in Middle English Lyric

Sarah Kate Moore, University of Washington, English Department

With the recent surge of interest in affect studies as a field of inquiry, the question of the emotions—how we experience them, how we interpret and express them, and how we understand and empathize with them in others—is increasingly relevant to the study of literature and art in all its forms. Following Silvan Tomkins and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, I define “affect” as emotion as it is written on and through the body. With this in mind, I will examine the affect of melancholia as it appears in several Middle English lyrics from the 13th through the 16th centuries.

Melancholy has received a great deal of attention in theoretical and psychoanalytic studies of emotion since Freud's 1917 essay “Mourning and Melancholia.” However, if (as J. A. Burrow suggests in his seminal essay on the Rawlinson Lyrics) Middle English lyrics are “poems without contexts,” how can we trust that medieval melancholy was the same melancholic emotion we experience today? In order to get a handle on the landscape of medieval melancholia—as expressed through that genre which lends itself so easily to affects of mournfulness and desolation, lyric poetry—I will examine how medieval melancholy is filtered and articulated through the body in these texts. The lyrics I have chosen to explore express various nuances of affects we might today group under the rubric of “melancholy,” including (1) a general malaise or alienation (often linked to the transitory nature of life), (2) love-longing, (3) vicarious sorrow for the suffering of humanity, and (4) a peculiarly medieval affect which I'll call “joyous melancholy.” I will argue that we recognize in these lyrics—and in the medieval bodies we imagine uttering and inhabiting them—something of ourselves, which may go far in explaining their enduring appeal.

Panel 9: Staging the Medieval: Performing Piety and Replaying the Past

Meyer Schapiro and the Imaginative Archive

Luke Fidler, Northwestern University, Art History

How do strategies of critical anachronism foster sensitive engagement with art objects and architectural monuments from the past? More precisely, how *did* anachronistically cinematic modes of perception reconfigure the practice of medieval art history in the 1920s and 30s? Examining the photography and film criticism of art historian Meyer Schapiro (1904-1996) during his 1926-27 researches at...

...the abbey cloister of Moissac, I argue that the confluence of medievalism and the moving image should be understood as foundational to Schapiro's practice of medieval art history.

For both Schapiro and his contemporary Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), debates about perspective, time, and phenomenology centered on the ascendant form of cinema. Both lectured and wrote on film during the 1920s and 30s as part of the vanguard of the contemporary film studies movement. Both saw the cinema as a testing ground for theories of perspective (although Schapiro's thoughts in this area remain unpublished), and their experience of the cinematic mode inflected their conceptualizations of medieval spectatorship. Film, put simply, modeled an imaginative engagement with the medieval past.

Turning to Schapiro's unpublished negatives and manuscripts, I reconstruct first his investigation of, and then his writing on, the sculptures at Moissac. Although his seminal publications on the abbey cloister have long been a touchstone for medieval art historians, an accounting has yet to be given of the revolutionary ways in which Schapiro's interdisciplinary interests informed his work. Attending to his photography and his theories of cinema, I argue that Schapiro's inquiry into the Romanesque past exemplifies a form of imaginative, anachronistic, historicizing gesture that has yet to be fully appreciated or utilized.

A Holy Drama: The Cell of Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutis Inclusarum*

Jacob Doss, Boston College, Theological Studies

This paper extends Sarah McNamer's insight that devotional texts dedicated to affective meditation on the Passion are a type of "intimate script" intended to be played out "in a private drama of the heart." Drawing on Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutis Inclusarum*, I will show that the very physical space inhabited by the solitary operates also as such a stage. I will illustrate this point by examining Aelred's specific recommendations regarding the cell. For example, he counsels that the cell be decorated to recall the place of the Passion, Golgotha and Christ's tomb. The white linen on the cell's altar, a crucifix, and pictures of the Virgin Mother and the virgin disciple, John, are meant to correspond to the very "place of Jesus' suffering and death." Within the space of the cell, the anchorite is to re-enact the drama of the Passion by physically draw[ing] near to the Cross, with the Virgin Mother and John. Thus, I will argue that just as Aelred's "intimate script" can be understood to produce transforming affections, the space of the cell, transformed into Golgotha, provides a physical space to aid the transformative reading. I will show further that Aelred's description of the anchorite's cell draws on a tradition extending back to the anchoritic cell of the Egyptian desert, whose geography has been aptly analyzed by Darlene Hedstrom, and which, according to Abba Moses, for example, was the place where the desert solitary would be taught "everything."

The Truly Divine Comedy: Reconciling Humor and Piety in Medieval Religious Theatre

Miriam Poole, Indiana University, Theatre History, Theory, and Literature

This paper will explore the use of comedy in religious theatre in medieval England and Germany. Throughout its history, Christianity has held an ambivalent view on theatre, with some Church fathers such as Tertullian rejecting drama as an institution altogether and other religious writers such as Hrotsvit adopting drama as a tool in religious instruction. Yet what seems perhaps the most contradictory to the use of theatre as religious instruction—even blasphemous at times—is the inclusion of humor and parody in medieval religious plays. Through an examination of two plays centered on the life of Christ—the Wakefield *Second Shepherd's Pageant* and the Redentiner *Osterspiel*—I will explore the use of humor in religious theatre and attempt to understand how something seemingly heretical, or at the very least anti-pious, was condoned by the Church at the time. I disagree with Mikhail Bakhtin's theory that the inclusion of humor in religious theatre was a subversive activity from the common people, but rather agree with Martha Bayless when she writes that humor served as an illustration of how intertwined the realms of sacred and profane were for the medievals. I will also devote some attention to the differentiation between classical and medieval comedy, for medieval comedy appears to be born less out of Aristotelean "lampoons and invectives" but instead stems from the recognition and acceptance of human folly. Through analyzing the parody of the Lamb of God's incarnation with a stolen sheep disguised as a child and the addition of comic devils to an Easter story, as well as exploring theories of comedy and its function, it becomes clear that the term "religious comedy" is not a paradox.

Panel 10: Past, Present, and Apocalypse: Saints and the Production of Temporal Authority

The *Vie de St. Denis* Manuscript and Philip IV of France

LauraLee Brott, University of North Texas, Art History

The *Vie de St. Denis* Ms. 2090-2, a richly decorated illuminated manuscript commissioned by Philip IV of France in 1317, depicts the life of Saint Denis. Charlotte Lacaze's "The *Vie De St. Denis* Manuscript," a doctoral dissertation published in 1978, is the only existing comprehensive analysis of this manuscript. Lacaze recognizes the possibility that Philip IV's goal was to reestablish royal patronage upon Saint Denis, and thus solidify the relationship between God and the French Monarchy. This scholarship does not, however, incorporate within its methodology to consider the historical relevance of the complex political, religious and social relationships that might have motivated the commission of the *Vie*. Guided by an examination of the actions of the contemporary Pope Boniface VIII, who sought to limit the privileges of the French monarchy and was therefore at political odds with Philip IV, and an analysis of the images in the *Vie de St. Denis*, I will argue in this paper that commissioning this manuscript suggests Philip IV was asserting his own political agenda in light of his tense relationship with Pope Boniface VIII. Moreover, these images reify and highlight the interrelationship between the site and figure of Saint Denis and the French monarchy as a method of...

...legitimization instituted by Abbot Suger, who transformed the abbey of Saint Denis in the twelfth century and by Louis IX who aggrandized the sites reputation as the resting place for French monarchs.

Apocalypse Nowish: Christian Apocalyptic Thinking and Reassessing 'Decline and Fall' in Late Antique Roman Gaul

Madeleine St. Marie, Claremont Graduate University, School of Religion

St. Martin of Tours is a pivotal figure in Late Antique Christianity. Immortalized by Sulpicius Severus, Martin was an integral figure in the emerging cult of saints. His words and deeds served as important reminders and examples for those who sought an ascetic life. Martin also lived during the period of Roman Gaul's political fragmentation and ultimate detachment from the western Empire. According to Sulpicius Severus, Martin believed his lifetime immediately preceded the great cataclysm of the Second Coming of Jesus Christ. In fact, the apocalyptic rhetoric attributed to him demonstrates how Martin and his followers reconciled their present world to the future that had been promised to them through an explicitly Christian vocabulary. Through eschatological discourse, the anomy that we would assume would arise from such uncertainty transformed into certainty and reassurance, shifting the emphasis away from the violent invasions of the 4th century to the Kingdom of Heaven on the horizon.

This paper will focus on the eschatological response to events of Martin's lifetime and will contrast the formation of such a discourse among Christian believers with what we actually know about the end of the Roman west. Martin's thoughts on his world offer an unique vantage point into the period of transition from the classical world into western Medieval Europe. This paper will also address a lacuna in the study of the time period. As Peter Brown's new book has shown, modern histories often contrast the decline of the western Empire with the axiomatic rise of the Church. However, as I intend to argue, Martin negotiated his identity as a Christian in the flagging western Roman Empire and expressed this tension through apocalyptic rhetoric, making sense of a troubled present and offering reassurances through the promise of the imminent intervention of God.

Martyrs 'Carried into Heavenly Honor without Blood: Paulinus of Nola and Fifth-century Martyr-Making

Diane Fruchtman, Indiana University, Religious Studies

The crowds gathering in Nola every January for St. Felix's feast day heard the bishop, Paulinus, eulogize a typical martyr, who exercised his powers in typical ways—with instances of healing, exorcism, and intervention. But Felix was not a typical martyr. In fact, by the standards of many he is not even a martyr. Felix fails, as a martyr, because he did not die. That is to say, he did not die a violent death at the hands of those who opposed Christianity. Rather, he died peacefully as an old man, well after the threat of persecution had passed, having achieved the status of martyr—according to Paulinus—long before his death. Paulinus writes that Felix's willingness to die for his faith made him worthy of survival, and that his subsequent life of service to the Church constituted a continued martyrdom, or witness,...

...to which other Christians should aspire. This notion that martyrdom is independent of death is not something that Paulinus manufactures solely for Felix's benefit: he extends the title of "living martyr" to Victricius of Rouen, who was very much alive at the time. Martyrs, for Paulinus, did not need to die to earn the title.

Why did Paulinus insist on Felix's martyr-status, rather than identifying him primarily as a confessor or an ascetic? The categories existed, but Paulinus chose not to use them. And how would a living person's martyr-status affect his authority within the Christian community? The authority of confessors had twice previously riven the Christian community; wouldn't martyrs be worse? And what does it say about temporal existence that Paulinus regards Felix's survival as guaranteeing a status above that of other, slaughtered, martyrs? By exploring such questions surrounding Paulinus' treatment of Felix and Victricius, I will attempt to further our understanding of the phenomenon of martyrdom and of martyr-centered spirituality in late antiquity.

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