Reading religious change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

The Fifteenth Annual Perth Medieval and Renaissance Group Symposium
Acknowledgements

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ARC Network for Early European Research (Friday reception)

SYMPOSIUM COMMITTEE
Andrew Lynch
Shane McLeod
Jacqueline Van Gent

Further thanks to: the staff of St George’s College, especially Margo Darbyshire and Annemarie Freeman; Harvey Cheese for kindly providing cheeses for the Friday reception; Professor Jane Davidson, Holly Leonard and members and students of the School of Music; and Brett Hirsch (website, programme, posters and technical assistance).
### Friday 23 May

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## Saturday 24 May

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<td><strong>PIETY AND THE POOR</strong></td>
<td><strong>EVIL AND EMOTION:</strong> <strong>LATER MEDIEVAL NARRATIVES</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Women, Identities, and Communities in Early Modern Europe</strong></td>
<td>Stephanie Tarbin and Susan Broomhall, ed.</td>
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<td>11:30 - 12:30</td>
<td><strong>PLENARY PAPER</strong></td>
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<td><em>Conscience and the Law: The Modernity of Thomas More</em></td>
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<td><strong>Chair:</strong> Professor Bob White</td>
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<td><strong>THE ENGLISH REFORMATION</strong></td>
<td><strong>RELIGION AND THE LITERARY IMAGINATION</strong></td>
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<td>Lesley O’Brien</td>
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<td><strong>AFTERNOON TEA AND MUSICAL PERFORMANCE</strong></td>
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<td><strong>Soloists, chorus and musicians from the UWA School of Music</strong></td>
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<td><strong>CONVERSION: AT HOME AND ABROAD</strong></td>
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Inter-disciplinarity in the conduct of research is a mantra approved by all, from research councils and grant-giving bodies to the aspiring postgraduate applying for those grants and writing the latest ground-breaking research proposals. Yet in the treatment of religion especially, it may be that at the level of teaching we have quite different practices in mind. Disciplinary departments are very different places from the fields in which we conduct our research. The disciplinary histories that create these differences are perhaps worthy of more discussion than we give them. Do we think in different ways, conceptualize in different ways, because of them? And does this create different results in our teaching from our research? Are we even looking at the same things? I will attempt to give these matters some thought from within my own experience. And to lighten the mental burden of travel-weary colleagues, I will illustrate my talk with some examples of the ways in which ‘religious change’ has recently entered the peculiar disciplinary world of ‘Shakespeare studies’.

This public lecture, preceding the symposium, will be hosted by the UWA Institute for Advanced Studies on Thursday 22 May, at 6:00 pm, in Geography Lecture Theatre 2, UWA.

For more details, please visit the IAS website: http://www.ias.uwa.edu.au/

All welcome!
When the twelfth-century abbess Heloise claims in her Ep. IV to be suffering ongoing sexual memories of her former lover Abelard, even at times of prayer and during the Mass, she is not, contrary to early modern and modern thought, offering a striking statement of individuality, a unique cri de coeur. Rather, she is taking the traditional and masculine discourses of monastic temptation and nocturnal emission and radically but deliberately rewriting them to take account of the female monastic body. At the same time, she brings into play the scholastic idea of memoria rerum, using this as a means of rendering ethical her continuing sexualized state. This constitutes an important moment in the development of the idea of the self in the twelfth century as this female religious reconfigures the outlines of the knowing female body.

This paper seeks to illuminate more of the dark, energizing paradoxes of Protestant modernity, with regard to a pretty tightly defined practice and period. The practice is fundamentalist reading; the period is 1520 to 1547. The sixteenth-century evangelical Bible has been almost universally celebrated in Western Cultural history, by evangelical as much as liberal traditions. This was the moment in which ordinary people became readers; took possession of their own reading; and broke free of oppressive institutional control of reading. Certainly this movement involved violent repudiation of Catholic and Jewish reading practices, but I focus instead on a surprising phenomenon: of violence being visited by evangelical readers on themselves. I isolate a series of dark, dynamic, yet demeaning paradoxes, all focused on the practice of reading: before evangelical readers could love the Biblical text, they had to hate it;
the simple literal sense turns out to reveal layers of complex textual ambiguity; declarations that the scriptural text precedes the Church in fact reveal the opposite; and extreme reverence for the historical truth of the unchangeable text produces repudiation of history.

Brian Cummings (Sussex)
Conscience and the Law: The Modernity of Thomas More

Conscience is a key word in contemporary politics and in the relationship of politics to individual identity. On any given day, by the more historically minded politician or journalist, the case of Thomas More will be quoted as an exemplary narrative of conscience. The greater surprise, then is that the historical consensus on More turns out to be that he does not conform at all to the twentieth-century model he has been made to conform to. He is, the consensus agrees, a conservative and orthodox figure on conscience, and defends the subtle line of scholastic theology against the solipsistic new-fangledness of emerging Protestant ideas about conscience. This paper will return to these questions via a reexamination of the complex scholastic legacy and the new pressures applied to it by religious change. It will argue against the comfortable modern liberal consensus on More but it will also try to find out whether the equally rigid counter-assertion of More’s orthodoxy has also misunderstood, and perhaps underestimated, the pressures of meaning being applied to ‘conscience’ throughout the sixteenth century, as religion turned and turned again.
Friday 23 May

Religious Change and Cultural Contact
Session 1A [9:30 – 11:00]
Chair: Andrew Lynch (UWA)

Bridgette Slavin (Sydney)
Coming to terms with Druids in early Christian Ireland

Shane McLeod (UWA)
A missionary free zone? The conversion of the Norse in 9th-century England

Text, Culture, Identity: The Mendicant Orders
Session 1B [9:30 – 11:00]
Chair: Anne Scott (UWA)

Paul Chandler (Insitutum Carmelitanum, Roma)
The Medieval Carmelites’ Search for Identity

Anne Holloway (Melbourne)
The Dominican Order: Simple as Doves or Prudent as Serpents?

Anna Welch (Melbourne College of Divinity)
In the Image of Francis: Franciscan Identity in the Written and Visual Sources of the Thirteenth Century
Sessions

Friday 23 May

Engaging with the Twelfth Century
Session 2A [2:00 – 3:00]
Chair: Carole Cusack (Sydney)

Tomas Zahora (Fordham)
*Pelagianism, Grace and aedificatio morum at the End of the Twelfth Century*

Carmel Posa (Notre Dame, Broome)
*‘Hujus autem discretionis beatus non immemor Benedictus’: Discretio and an Embodied Reading of the Rule of St. Benedict in the Writings of Heloise of the Paraclete*

Book Launch [5:15]

Fr. David Barry O.S.B. (New Norcia)
*Smaragdus of Saint Michael: Commentary on the Rule of Saint Benedict*
Published at Kalamazoo, Cistercian Publications.

Speakers:
Philippa Maddern (UWA)
Fr. Placid Spearritt O.S.B., Abbot of New Norcia.

*A reception, sponsored by the ARC Network for Early European Research, will follow the book launch.*
Sessions

Saturday 24 May

**Piety and the Poor**
Session 3A [9:30 – 11:00]
Chair: Jacqueline Van Gent (UWA)

Anthony Ray (Tasmania)
*Nobility and Poverty in the Cloister: The Cistercian Nuns of Bavaria during the Reformation*

John Tillotson (ANU)
*Piety and the Poor in the Wills of the Sixteenth-Century London Elite*

Nicholas Brodie (Tasmania)
*A Godly Exhortation: A Reformation of Histories of the Poor Law*

**Evil and Emotion: Later Medieval Narratives**
Session 3B [9:30 – 11:00]
Chair: Claire McIlroy (UWA)

Penelope Buckley (Melbourne)
*Changing Responses to heresy in the Alexiad and the West*

Andrew Lynch (UWA)
*Religion and Emotion in MS Laud Misc. 108: King Horn, Havelok, and the South English Legendary*

Anna Milne (Canterbury)
*Religious Belief in Salimbene de Adam’s Representation of Frederick II*
Sessions

Saturday 24 May

The English Reformation
Session 4A [1:30 – 3:00]
Chair: Andrew Lynch (UWA)

Stephanie Trigg (Melbourne)
‘If images be forbidden, why doothe the King weare S. Georg on his brest?’

Lawrence Warner (Sydney)
Piers Plowman, Prophecy and Religious Change, 1400–1555

Lesley O’Brien (ECU)
Religious Change in the English Reformation: Polemics, Politics and Henry VIII’s ‘Divorce Crisis’ c.1520–c.1535

Religion and the Literary Imagination
Session 4B [1:30 – 3:00]
Chair: Brett Hirsch (UWA)

Suzanne Wijsman (UWA)
Wild Men in Hebrew Manuscript Art of the Late Middle Ages

Christopher Wortham (UWA)
The Morality Play and the Reformation

Danijela Kambaskovic-Sawers (Macquarie, ANU)
Bible and Desire in the Sonnet Sequences of Drayton, Daniel and Shakespeare
Sessions

Saturday 24 May

Conversion: At Home and Abroad
Session 5A [4:00 – 5:30]
Chair: Philippa Maddern (UWA)

Carole Cusack (Sydney)
Enlightenment Concepts, Medieval Contexts

John Gascoigne (UNSW)
Pacific Exploration as Religious Critique

Jacqueline Van Gent (UWA)
Indigenous Conversions and Moravian Missions in the Eighteenth Century

Reforming Authority
Session 5B [4:00 – 5:30]
Chair: Stephanie Tarbin (UWA)

Marcus Harmes (Queensland)
The Representation of Episcopal Power in an Age of Persecution, 1640-1680

Elizabeth Murray (Melbourne College of Divinity)
Same Voice, Different Purpose: Clergy in Reformation North Shropshire

Jared van Duinen (UNSW)
European Irenicism and English Arminianism
Bridgette Slavin (Sydney)
Coming to Terms with Druids in Early Christian Ireland

Charles Plummer, in his Introduction to the *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* wrote, “The saint is regarded as a more powerful druid, the forces underlying his religion are conceived as magical rather than spiritual and moral, and the objects and ceremonies associated with his creed and worship are only a very superior kind of ‘medicine.’” Likewise, Alwyn Rees, in discussing the heroic aspects of Celtic hagiography, continually referred to the powers of the saints as their magic, while C. Grant Loomis went so far as to call the saints “white magicians.” Thus were the thoughts of many Celtic Studies scholars throughout much of the twentieth century. Overall, early Irish saints were deemed to be the direct inheritors of the powers of the druidic order, and what is more, their hagiographers understood the miraculous capacity of saints in terms of magic. The concept of “magic” promoted by these scholars, however, is a modern construction that has its own history of formation; and when such a contemporary notion of magic is placed on material written in the Middle Ages, it fails to take into account the specific rationality of the medieval worldview, and more particularly here, that of the medieval Irish clergy who composed these hagiographies.

This paper will investigate the role of the druid in Early Irish religious texts to illuminate the concept of druidecht, or druidry, among the Irish literati who wrote these tales. The focus of this study will be on aspects of eschatological beliefs of druids—and the Christian interpretation of such—that percolate throughout this religious material. Further attention will be brought to the acceptance of, and even justification for, certain attributes of druidic activity.

Shane McLeod (UWA)
A missionary free zone? The conversion of the Norse in 9th-Century England

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

**Rev. Dr. Paul Chandler O.Carm**

*The Medieval Carmelites’ Search for Identity*

The Carmelites began as an association of lay hermits in the Holy Land, probably in the last decade of the 12th century and without any one of their number being considered its charismatic founder or leader -- an unusual situation in the sociology of such religious groups. Their original rule was extremely brief, simple and austere, and apparently inspired by a desire to return to the practices of earliest monasticism. From the 1240s it began its migration from Palestine to Europe, where there was a rapid change from rural eremitism to an urban mendicant form of life, a transition which was contested for more than a generation.

The strong imprint of its origins on Mount Carmel, associated with the biblical prophet Elijah, the lack of a charismatic founder, and the order’s preference for narrative over theoretical forms of discourse about its spiritual identity, combined to promote a lavish growth of legendary history as the order sought to find and justify its place in the rapidly changing context of European religious life, and indeed to preserve its threatened existence. The paper will explore the ways in which the order’s creation of a symbolic or mythic narrative of its ancient origins expressed the Carmelites’ conviction of remaining faithful to primitive monastic ideals through crisis, migration and
change.

Anne Holloway (Melbourne)
*The Dominican Order - Simple as Doves or Prudent as Serpents?*

Founded in 1215 at Toulouse by Dominic Guzman, the Order of Preachers was formed to combat heresy, primarily from the Cathars. However, from the foundation of the Order, until the mid thirteenth century, there is little material from the Dominicans regarding who, or what they were. Even the material on Dominic himself was not put together until the 1234, only finally consolidated and included into the liturgy in 1256 - a date that coincides with the struggle for autonomy and authority between the masters of the University of Paris and the mendicants. This controversy in Paris by raising questions regarding the nature of the Order - its goals, arrogance, and unwillingness to cooperate - exposed the tacit nature of Dominican identity. Indeed the rush of documentation published during the 1250s and 60s by the Dominicans can be seen as a response to both external criticism and the need to respond to it. That the Order, with their privileges revoked and in danger of dissolution, were forced to articulate their position within church and society, and define their own identity.

What sort of form did this spiritual identity take on? What does it mean to construct an identity? Were there ramifications resulting from being forced to defend their existence whilst reinterpreting it on the run? Within this paper I will use a number of the texts written around the time of the Parisian Controversy (such as the Vitae Fratrum and the Liber de Eruditione Praedicatorum) to explore through these issues just how the Dominicans struggled to both address the accusations levelled, and simultaneously shape their particular spirituality.

Anna Welch (Melbourne College of Divinity)
*In the Image of Francis: Franciscan Identity in the Written and Visual Sources of the Thirteenth Century*

In the century following the death of St Francis of Assisi, the Franciscan order produced several written Vitae of their founder and sponsored the creation
of the major fresco cycle depicting his life in the Basilica di San Francesco - sources which presented to society not only the actual life of the saint, but also the communal identity and agenda of the Order as a whole. Traditionally, fresco cycles are interpreted as ‘texts for the illiterate’ - visual representations which informed and instructed the wider Christian community. Thus, frescoes and other visual sources are implicitly categorised by scholars as the major source of information for the wider community on the topic they depict. For the Franciscan order, fraught with internal schism during the thirteenth century and beyond, a strong, centralised image of communal identity (constructed for the instruction of both the Order’s members and the wider community), was of continued and extreme importance.

My paper will question the traditional understanding of visual texts, and re-interpret the role of the visual Franciscan material of the thirteenth century in the light of one important written text - I Fioretti di San Francesco. The Fioretti (Little Flowers of St Francis), a complicated anthology of oral stories about St Francis, was compiled and written down in the fourteenth century. Essentially, the Fioretti presents an alternate image of St Francis, vastly different from that portrayed in the various Vitae and other official Franciscan documents. The innate difficulties of using a complex anthology such as the Fioretti will of course be discussed, but ultimately the worth of this text lies not in the details of its composition, but in the tradition of St Francis it presents. My paper will argue that it is not the visual cycles of Francis’ life which illuminate the broader popular perception of the saint, but rather oral sources such as the Fioretti. The complex ideas of communal identity, the role of the founder, and the importance of written and visual texts in the deliberate construction of a separate and defined spiritual identity will be explored in relation to the textual and visual material surrounding the Franciscan order and their charismatic founder.

**Tomas Zahora (Fordham)**

*Pelagianism, Grace, and aedificatio morum at the End of the Twelfth Century*

Midway through the opening of his *Solatium fidelis anime*, a tropological commentary on Genesis written in the form of a meditative treatise, the Augustinian canon Alexander Neckam (1157-1217) introduces a lengthy refutation
of the Pelagian heresy. The rhetoric of the passage is not dissimilar to the diatribes against Faustus the Manichaean in Neckam’s later works and in the works of his contemporaries who saw in Faustus the prototype of the Cathar heretic. But while medieval Manichaean could easily be located in the southern regions of today’s France, contemporary incarnations of Pelagius are more elusive to trace.

A closer look at Neckam’s meditation in light of the transformations in intellectual and religious life at the end of the twelfth century reveals a conflict among scholars centered on the nature of moral virtue and the role of grace in moral improvement. At stake was the preservation of a tradition of teaching mores, especially as practiced by the Augustinian canons, and the interpretation and further dissemination of Aristotle’s moral philosophy. The canons’ emphasis on training in mores and on the importance of good works could easily be misrepresented as a close reflection of Pelagius’ (and Aristotle’s) insistence on human moral self-sufficiency—so close indeed that one way of reading Neckam’s attack on Pelagius is to see it as a defense of the Augustinian moral program against irreverent critics, and even against potential allegations of heresy.

Neckam’s resolution of the dilemma is suggestive of the later Victorines’ and other canons’ dealing with similar challenges, in that it involves an overwhelming emphasis on the importance of grace in all aspects of human life. Not only questions of moral ascent and salvation, but also human understanding and learning broadly conceived are brought into the discussion of grace. The result is a distinct shift away from the early-twelfth-century focus on human capacity, with consequent rejection of important Aristotelian theses and an internalization (in face of strong movement to the contrary among natural philosophers) of the view of the outside world. Neckam’s approach to the Pelagian problem offers us an interesting insight into a subject of prime importance in medieval intellectual and religious history that is usually known only from the works of select big names of intellectual history.

My presentation builds on the important contributions of Stock, Colish, Jaeger, Carruthers, McDonough, Nederman and others. In addition to edited works of twelfth-and thirteenth-century scholars is also based on unedited manuscripts of sermons and biblical commentaries of Alexander Neckam.
Heloise of Paraclete’s commentary on, and “so-called” critique of the Benedictine Rule is situated within her Letter VI of the later correspondence with Abelard. Her reading of the Rule provides a unique example of the possibility for women to discover their own subjectivity within their embodied condition. I intend to make a case for establishing Heloise as not simply disposing of, or going “beyond the Rule of Benedict to Scripture itself to find authority for the religious life”, as Mews asserts, rather, she is its supreme interpreter, commentator and faithful advocate particularly in terms of Benedict’s understanding of the discretionary role of the Abbot/Abbess. Far from merely “dwindling into virtue”, Heloise continues passionately to engage issues surrounding women’s subjectivity within a monastic context of renewal and innovation.

Anthony Ray (Tasmania)
Nobility and Poverty in the Cloister:
The Cistercian Nuns of Bavaria during the Reformation

The Sixteenth Century saw the aristocratic Cistercian convents of Bavaria enmeshed in frequent turmoil: the Peasants War, aristocratic rivalry, Cistercian reaction to the nuns’ lax and scandalous conduct, and the temptations of the new Protestant faith.

Although the Wittlesbach Dukes made great efforts to stamp out Lutheranism and reinvigorate the Catholic faith, and while the male houses of the Cistercian Order enjoyed a period of rejuvenation after the violence of the Peasants War, many of the female houses of the Order fell into stagnation, dissolution and poverty. In this paper I wish to examine the circumstances of the Cistercian nuns’ precarious situation and the manner in which the nuns - and the broader Cistercian Order - attempted to deal with their destitution.
John Tillotson (ANU)
Piety and the Poor in the Wills of the Sixteenth-century London Elite

In his excellent article “The Charity of Early Modern Londoners” [Transactions of the RHS 12 (2002), pp. 223-44] Ian W. Archer explored the relationship between religious change and charitable bequests in a sample of London wills from the period 1520-1640. In particular he examined “the notion associated with W.K. Jordan that a new rational protestant philanthropy emerged after the Reformation.” This paper will re-visit London probate records of the sixteenth-century, and will argue that the continuities in the provisions of individual testators are remarkable, given the shift in doctrine constituted by the abolition of Purgatory. I hope to open a discussion about why this might be the case.

Nicholas Brodie (Tasmania)
Godly exhortation to a reformation of histories of the laws for the better relief of the poor

The sixteenth-century development of the Old Poor Law in England has been termed a process of secularisation. Statutory misinterpretation, or neglect, has led historians to overemphasise secular features and thus subsequently overlook the nuanced influence of late Medieval Christianity upon the development of the Old Poor Law. This paper explores the role of religion within the framework of Tudor Laws for Begging, Vagrancy and the Poor, with particular reference to the 1530s and 1540s, wherein the basic elements of the Old Poor Law were statutorily established.

Penelope Buckley (Melbourne)
Changing Responses to Heresy in the Alexiad and the West

In 1204 Constantinople was sacked by westerners and the same immediate period saw the start of the Albigensian crusade. Both may be viewed among the long-term consequences of the First Crusade. In 1143 Eberwin wrote to Bernard of Clairvaux about what may have been the first outbreak of dualistic belief in the west and that same year the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos
died. Most of Anna Komnene’s Alexiad was written in the next several years (Magdalino). The Alexiad is studded with episodes concerning heresy: those in the earlier books involve Church-State politics and Alexios’s role as the defender of both. One, in Book Ten, appears a kind of parallel to the Crusade, Nilus descending on the Church ‘like some evil flood’, while the crusaders ‘like tributaries joining a river ... streamed towards us in full force’ (X 5). Komnene sees heresy and western aggression both as threatening Byzantine integrity.

The two heresy-narratives she places last strongly resemble the event described by Eberwin. He writes that some heretics were reincorporated into the Church but two of their leaders debated in public for three days until ‘the people’ took matters into their own hands and threw them on to the fire’ (Barber). In her Book Fourteen, Komnene has Alexios convert and resettle a whole Manichaean population and publicly dispute for several days with three of their ‘champions’. Fifteen shows the executioners impatiently throwing the Bogomil leader on the pyre and bystanders trying to do this to the other heretics. None of these features appear in the heresy-narratives placed earlier and they are closely tied in the final books with Alexios’s last days and a framework based on the Four Last Things. Alexios even simulates a Last Judgment that anticipates the more sophisticated methods of later inquisitions. Many late changes in his roles appear part of his response to Norman aggression and he ends a more extreme theocratic figure than he began.

The paper would examine these last two episodes in a speculative context of questions about the mutual impact of the eastern empire and the west through the crusades, as the Bogomil influence moved west and some western messianic militarism moved east. When cataclysmic events lead to apocalyptic reasoning - as the western world has found since 9/11 - taboos change, moral boundaries shift and what was unthinkable starts to be seen as stern necessity. Something like this process is mirrored in the Alexiad, perhaps partly anticipated in and perhaps partly anticipating changes in Europe.

Andrew Lynch (UWA)

Religion, bodies and politics in Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 108: King Horn, Havelok, and the South English Legendary

It is often said that the English narratives of Bodleian Library Laud Misc.
108 have important features in common, despite their notional division into romance and hagiography. This paper will approach the question of difference and similarity in these stories by considering their range and deployment of bodily, gestural and emotional thematics. Like the secular monarchs Horn and Havelok, the protagonists of the South English Legendary’s deeply adversarial world are led into exile, suffering, struggle and triumph. As their adventures are recounted, how do bodies and gestures inflect our understanding of the wider political significance of saints and secular heroes? What relation between religion and political change might be suggested through the Laud poems’ discursive registers of weeping, bleeding and dreaming?

Anna Milne (Canterbury)

*Tyrannus Rex? Religious Belief in Salimbene de Adam’s Representation of Frederick II.*

The chronicle of Franciscan Friar Salimbene de Adam is an eloquent and subjective representation of the religious changes, tensions, and diversities of the thirteenth century. The Chronicle was set in a century that was dominated by the rise of the Franciscan Order, the teachings of Joachim of Fiore, and the quasi-apocalyptic battle between Empire and Papacy, and it is these influences that provide the context for Salimbene’s literary representation of his time. Even though Salimbene has been a much-mined source for the Franciscan Order and Italian politics, not enough attention has been paid to Salimbene’s beliefs on their own terms. Attempting to bridge this gap, this paper considers the influences that formed Salimbene’s world-view and what implication this had for his portrayal of the ever-changing religious milieu of the world he lived in. The methodological approach of this paper combines both historiographical and textual elements, with a subsidiary portion testing the accuracy and viability of historiographical constructs to explain and identify the way beliefs were shaped in the Middle Ages. This is suggestive of a renewed historical interest in rehabilitating the experiences of those considered subjective sources. The figure of the last Hohenstaufen Emperor Frederick II, generally considered as an extremely biased interpretation, provides a representational prism to consider how Salimbene’s religious beliefs were formed, negotiated and projected. Close textual examination of relevant sections of the Chronicle
reveal that Frederick, as a manifestation of the tyrannical Antichrist, acted as a prominent literary construct, through which Salimbene could engage with the eschatological discourse of his time. Salimbene provides an individual response to the issues of his time, but one that provides a true and valuable insight into how religious change was received, understood, and represented by individual commentators. The paper as a whole illustrates and validates the continued use of Salimbene as an integral source for many areas of thirteenth-century study.

**Stephanie Trigg (Melbourne)**

“If images be forbidden, why doothe the King weare S. Georg on his brest?”

The long history of the Order of the Garter, from 1348 to the present, allows us to track the changing valencies of the medieval past in post-medieval culture and to interrogate its claims to a continuous ritual history. This paper focuses on Edward VI’s short-lived reforms to the Statutes of the Order, reforms which sought to undo the work of the “superstitiousnes and idolatrie”, and the “poperie and naughtines” that he said threatened to destroy the Order. Debates about the role of the saints, and the use of images, are played out in the King’s successive drafts, which show him seeking to balance traditional medieval observance with the more austere practices of the reformed church.

**Lawrence Warner (Sydney)**

*Reform, Revolution, or Recusancy?*

*Piers Plowman, Prophecy, and Religious Change, 1400-1555*

“Piers Protestant”: the happy alliteration seems to accord well with the sense that the afterlife of *Piers Plowman* was dominated by reformists, who either ignored the poem in favour of setting up Piers as their simple, anti-popish mascot or, if they were Robert Crowley, presented the entire poem as the centrepiece of his program of radical Protestant propaganda. Yet this narrative works only because it simply overlooks the massive amount of evidence to the contrary, in which Langland’s poem was equally admired by Catholics or recusants in the sixteenth century. My essay focuses especially on the sixteenth-century fascination with one of the poem’s Merlinesque prophecies (“When
you see the sun amiss, and two monks’ heads” etc., B VI 322f), especially as found in a commonplace book emanating from a hotbed of Catholic recusancy. This puts Crowley’s own emphasis on the passage in his 1550 edition in a new light, which no longer appears as the culmination of a tradition in which Piers Plowman leads the way to religious change, but rather as a rearguard action taken against an apolitical, non-reformist tradition that was much less easily assimilated into any particular paradigm, whether reformist, revolutionary, or recusant, than has to date been assumed.

Lesley O’Brien (UWA)
Religious Change in the English Reformation:
Polemics, Politics and Henry VIII’s ‘Divorce Crisis’ c.1520-c.1535.

The historiography of the English Reformation has been coloured by historians’ opinions on the counter-factual question of whether the English Reformation would have happened even if Henry VIII had not broken with Rome in order to annul his marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Essentially, it is a question about the progress of Protestant, evangelical or reformist beliefs amongst the English people before the forcible imposition of structural changes upon the church. Certainly, by the time of the ‘divorce crisis’, Protestant ideas had been embraced by some in England. Such polemical works as Simon Fish’s A Supplicacyon for the Beggers were once thought to indicate the rejection of late medieval Catholicism and the wide acceptance of evangelical beliefs, but revisionist scholars now suggest this has been exaggerated. Even so, in an environment where those who refused to renounce heterodox opinions could be executed for heresy, the political climate that made the publication of such texts conceivable, has not been adequately explored. In this paper, I argue that this climate was entirely new, emerging in the late 1520s and facilitated by the divorce crisis. I will also argue that within these new conditions the publication of polemical literature and dialogues (such as those between Thomas More, Christopher St German and William Tyndale) made religious change a matter of public debate.
Images of the “wild man”—the hairy, bestial, powerful and sometimes violent mythological figure who lived in the forest or wilderness, outside the bounds and standards of behaviour of civilized medieval Christian society—occur frequently in figurative art of the late Middle Ages. He is found inhabiting engravings, manuscripts, monumental sculpture, tapestries, wood carvings and metalwork, where he assumes a variety of roles or characters. In his early manifestations the wild man is portrayed as a menacing sub-human creature, characterised by super-human strength and a lack of spiritual enlightenment, making him prone to act at the basest level of instinct. His bestial nature is expressed in his appearance: often covered with thick hair, leaves or fur except for his head, hands, knees, elbows and feet, and sporting an unkempt beard and long dishevelled hair, he is a natural companion for the animals among which he lives, such as stags, bears and other wild beasts. In works from the later 15th century, some images of the wild man become more neutral or even represent positive values, as he appears more human and engages in the activities of civilised men. Here he symbolises strength and fertility, and the wild man image was used by artists and their patrons to emphasise these notions in heraldic art of the later period.

Hebrew manuscripts of the late Middle Ages are an important source of information on Jewish life in this period, revealed not only in the texts they contain, but also in the study of both codicological features and manuscript decoration and illustrations. Despite the many iconographic and stylistic correspondences between Jewish and Christian manuscript art during this period, there are few images of wild men in extant decorated Hebrew manuscripts although they appear frequently in Christian art. This paper will explore the depiction of wild men in four medieval Hebrew manuscripts, dating between c.1370-c.1480. It will discuss the derivation of the wild man motif from the art of the cultures that surrounded Jewish communities, and the adaptation and/or reinterpretation of the symbolic image of the wild man in a Jewish context.
Christopher Wortham (UWA)
The Morality Play and the Reformation

The moral play, also known as the morality play, underwent significant changes not only as part of the natural evolution of a dramatic form but also under the twin influences of the Reformation and secularisation. This paper will trace some of these changes across two centuries, from the early Castle of Perseverance (c. 1440) to Marlowe’s Doctor Faustus (c.1590). Familiarity with these plays will not be taken for granted.

The morality genre is important as a means of tracing the development of religious motifs through a period of intense change. It is also the primary genre of indigenous medieval drama upon which the structure of popular drama in Shakespeare’s generation is grounded.

Danijela Kambaskovic-Sawers (Macquarie, ANU)
Imortall smoke: The Bible and Desire in the Sonnet Sequences by Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel and William Shakespeare

The way sonnet sequences develop fictional uses of the first-person voice deserves more critical attention than it has received. This paper focuses its analysis on creative uses of Biblical subtext in representations of frustrated desire and creativity in three sonnet sequences (Samuel Daniel’s Delia, Michael Drayton’s Idea and William Shakespeare’s Sonnetes).

My paper will have three focal points. First, placing the three sequences in their historic and genre context (with specific reference to Francis Petrarch, Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser), I will seek to offer a fresh perspective on Daniel’s, Drayton’s and Shakespeare’s original, daring and often outrageous readings of the Bible, made to underpin representations of gender dynamics and auto-poetics in the sonnet sequences.

Second, I will point to individual differences in the way the three poets used Biblical subtext to argue that each author’s remodeling of the Biblical text corresponds to authorial priorities relating to representations of desire and the writing self. For instance, while all three poets remodel Biblical motifs to enhance characterization of their first person speakers; Michael Drayton and Samuel Daniel’s readings of the Bible seek to provoke an ironic, rather
than ritual reader-response, offer an ethical challenge, entertain the reader or engage him or her in a mental debate. William Shakespeare’s complex Biblical referencing, on the other hand, suggests idolatry of creativity and writing and serves to introduce important thematic links between discussions of desire in the two parts of his sequence.

Finally, I will suggest that, due to the popularity and importance of the sonnet sequence genre, sonneteers’ liberties with the Biblical text played an important role in expanding the ways in which the Bible can be culturally and imaginatively perceived.

Carole Cusack (Sydney)

*Enlightenment Concepts, Medieval Contexts*

Any attempt to examine the encounter between indigenous European religions (‘paganism’ or ‘pre-Christian polytheism’) and Christianity which employs the language of contemporary inter-faith dialogue, or posits an ‘indigenous’ encounter with an (incipiently) ‘global’ culture is fraught with danger and difficulty. These are analytical tools which employ Enlightenment suppositions: that the secular context creates a space where religions can meet equally and discuss shared concerns; and that freedom of religion and personal choice to be religious or not are more or less fundamental human rights. Medieval sources would suggest otherwise. What is known about ‘paganism’ is fragmentary and the subject of fierce scholarly disputes; what is known about Christian missions and the eradication of paganism is, in some cases, shocking violent, intolerant and triumphalist (eg Charlemagne’s Saxon wars).

This paper argues that the medieval era acknowledged the possibility of interreligious dialogue between the Christian Church and other versions of monotheism on occasion (eg with heretics, Jews, and Muslims), but that although indigenous polytheisms were perceived to be religions, no interreligious dialogue took place, nor was it possible. Rather, those writers who turned attention to these religions (eg Martin of Braga, Daniel of Winchester) sought to provide missionaries with weapons to nullify indigenous worldviews in order to replace them with monotheism. When interreligious dialogue took place, there was already sufficient agreement on premises (eg monotheism) to enable a conversation to take place. Indigenous polytheisms
were in the main world affirming and minimally soteriological. Thus, no conversation was possible until their particular world was destroyed or undermined, and could thus be seen to ‘need’ Christianity salvation from this world and eternal life in the next. Sadly, this was still the case in the Enlightenment, when Christianity continued to eradicate indigenous religions and cultures while the philosophers theorized religious equality and the multo-faith secular state.

John Gascoigne (UNSW)

_Pacific Exploration as Religious Critique_

The vast remoteness of the Pacific provided a screen on to which eighteenth-century Europe could project its own concerns and dilemmas - and one of the most pressing of these was the nature of religious belief and its political underpinnings. Hostility to the claims of the clergy provided much of the fuel for the English Deists’ attacks on the established order in Church and State. Such issues formed part of the intellectual baggage of some of the more questioning Pacific voyagers. When the European voyagers ventured into the Pacific, then, one of the key questions in the minds of the more intellectually curious was the extent to which indeed there were at least vestiges of a universal simple religion.

Allied to this was a concern to distinguish religion from superstition and a preoccupation with the forms of priestcraft. Such ruminations proved influential since accounts of Pacific voyaging were among the most popular forms of literature in an age hungry for information of distant lands and especially ‘the new world’ of the Pacific. Such issues will be examined in relation to the accounts of Cook’s voyages by Hawkesworth and Forster and the way in which such material was also put to polemical use by major figures of the French Enlightenment. The French response to the Pacific and the religious issues it raised will also be traced through the Pacific voyaging accounts of Bougainville and La Perouse and their reworking by Diderot.
Jacqueline Van Gent (UWA)
*First Fruit: Indigenous Conversions and Moravian Missions in the 18th Century*

The Moravian Church formed the first significant Protestant mission society and founded missions around the world from 1734. The strong Pietist roots of the Moravian Church are reflected in an emphasis on personal conversion. In their proselytizing efforts Moravians aimed at individual conversions - ‘First Fruit’ - rather than communal conversions of indigenous people. This paper argues that while indigenous conversion narratives are expressions of individual faith, they need to be read in the context of genre requirements posed by Pietist spiritual autobiographies and in the wider historical context of early modern colonial expansion. How do indigenous accounts of religious change reflect the fundamental reorganization of their societies, cultures and concepts of personhood?

Marcus Harmes (Queensland)
*The Representation of Episcopal Power in an Age of Persecution, 1640-1680*

The bishops of the reformed English Church are a neglected element of early modern studies. With some exceptions, such as Laud and to a lesser extent Abbot and Sheldon, the bishops who governed the Church of England in the seventeenth century have not been explored as a source of ecclesiastical authority. Neither has the question of what it meant to be the bishop of a reformed Church been subjected to extensive critical scrutiny. This paper aims to redress this balance, as it explores the meaning attached to episcopal authority which was both Protestant and reformed.

Whatever attention reformed episcopal authority has received in modern scholarship has asserted that the bishops themselves formulated theories of jure divino episcopacy, meaning that they endeavoured to preserve the episcopate from further reform by asserting the apostolic dignity of the office. However, reform, authority and dissent were in fact more complex issues. This paper will argue that bishops justified the basis of episcopal authority through recourse to the persecution of their order. To this end it examines a tightly associated body of literature which interpreted the persecution of both orthodox and dissenting clergy.
The notion of persecution was subjected to intellectual scrutiny in the Restoration period. The suppression of the episcopate and its degradation during the Civil Wars and Commonwealth was paradoxically a justification for episcopal power. The accounts of episcopal suffering, which reached their fullest and most comprehensive expression in John Walker’s text Of the Sufferings of the Clergy, allowed the orthodox clergy to illustrate the ecclesiastical discipline exercised by other Protestant communities.

Primary sources for this paper, including John Hales and the anonymous but pro-episcopal “A Person of Quality”, described the imperative to conform to ecclesiastical authority which emanated from other Protestant communities, including the religious authorities which had suppressed the bishops during the Commonwealth. As such, they could delineate the basis of Protestant religious authority. The representation of the bishops as victims therefore clarified their authority, as their own persecution revealed the conformity demanded by other Protestant communities. The bishops themselves, their chaplains and other clergy closely associated with the episcopate strove to establish and consolidate this interpretation.

Elizabeth Murray (Melbourne)
*Same Voice, Different Purpose: Clergy in Reformation North Shropshire*

The Reformation in England went through dramatic changes in religious policy with changes of monarch from Edward VI to Mary to Elizabeth. A close study of the clergy in North Shropshire reveals that church personnel affects the way the Reformation proceeded in that region. The structures of the church in England remained during the sixteenth century, although the character of that church was altered. How did the role of bishops change in a church with a lay monarch at the head? Did the loyalties of the bishop affect the parishes in their dioceses? Were the bishops or the parish clergy more influential in the lives of congregations?

The parish church personnel during the Reformation in Shropshire was generally stable. It was usual for a priest in Shropshire to serve in a parish until he died. The environment of English worship changed during the sixteenth century while most of the parish clergy remained in their cure. The role of the priest was transformed from mediators of divinity to preachers and
teachers of God’s word. How did the parish react to the idea that while the priest was the same man, his part in their religious lives was altered? Stability meant that North Shropshire was slow to acquire the new generation of educated clergy. Did this affect the way that the people of Shropshire received reformed religious doctrine? How did the reforming bishops cope with men who ‘loved images’ who also supported clerical marriage?

The paradox of the Reformation in Shropshire parishes is that the same priest who taught Roman Catholic doctrine became responsible for educating the laity in the new religious ideologies and worship styles while living through these changes with their congregations.

Jared van Duinen (UNSW)

European Irenicism and English Arminianism

The names Jan Comenius, John Dury and Samuel Hartlib are known to a number of disparate fields ranging from philosophy and education to agriculture and science generally. They are also significant figures in religious history chiefly for their ‘godly projects’ of the mid-seventeenth century which sought to find a means of establishing a universal reformation in Europe. The central objective of this endeavour was to reconcile the feuding factions of protestantism (chiefly the Lutheran and Calvinist churches) through the pursuit, apprehension and facilitation of a universal and unifying protestant truth; an exemplar of the application of pansophia.

To this end they (but particularly Hartlib) sought the assistance of the English church. This paper aims to explore the ways in which these irenic ideas of Hartlib, Dury and Comenius were initially received in the English protestant ecclesiastical context of the 1620s and 1630s; a context which ran the spectrum from establishment Arminianism to puritan separatism. It will interrogate the means by which the irenicism of these three thinkers was modified and adapted by various English (or British) divines and religionists to suit the English situation. It will also look at the impact which this experience of the English religious (and political) context may have had on the irenic objectives of Hartlib, Dury and Comenius. Thus, in a more general sense, this paper offers to shed light on the complexities associated with examining England in a European context and Europe in an English context.