



**Organising committee:**

Roman Bleier, Brian Coleman, Clare Fletcher, Katherine Sedovic, Christina Wade

## Panel I: Nature, Magic, and the Metaphysical Realm

**Peter Casby (NUI, Galway)**

***Title: Living Trees as Medieval Material Culture***

A certain persistent reverence for trees associated with medieval enclosed settlements in Ireland has aided in the protection of both sites and trees. Many of these environments survive today in various states of preservation and dilapidation and are very much alive through a series of vegetational successions. (Keller, 1997) Human action defines the juncture where the life-history of an earthen enclosure and the life-histories of its trees entwine. A tree, when intentionally incorporated into a cultural landscape, is material culture but not just as a mere artefact. Although bound up with the processes of human landscape creation it also has a life of its own. (Rackham 1997, 116) How is human action entwined with the life-histories of such trees?

In this paper I will address the potential contribution that currently living trees can make to the study of Gaelic enclosed settlement. As material culture, trees are manifestations of traditional knowledge; products of a Gaelic phronesis or practical wisdom. Interactions between human and non-human entities such as trees are significant factors in the formation of places and landscapes. Put succinctly, 'Non-human agencies not only co-constitute the contexts of life, but they also frequently reconstitute the fabrics of day-to-day life and the places and spaces in which it is lived.' (Jones and Cloke 2008, 79)

**Scott Eaton (QUB)**

***Title: Confessions of a Witch-Finder: Projections of Fear and Desire in A Confirmation and Discovery of Witchcraft***

The witch-finder John Stearne is often overlooked when discussing the East Anglian witchcraft trials of 1645 to 1647, and instead, emphasis is placed on his partner Matthew Hopkins. But Stearne was a central figure in the witch-trials of the 1640s, extracting confessions from suspects and providing evidence in court against them. He was therefore well situated to report on events and did so by publishing a pamphlet in 1648. However distorted witches' confessions might be, Stearne's publication can provide a fascinating insight into his mind-set and the mentalities of those examined.

By analysing the pamphlet, this paper will explore the social issues hidden within the text. In the 1640s, England experienced civil war, plague, famine and the 'little ice age', all of which are reflected in witches' confessions, albeit implicitly. Suspected witches fashioned their stories based on historical precedents, and mixed them with personal fears and desires. Likewise, any possible embellishments to these stories by John Stearne signify his own ideologies. Nowhere is this more obvious than within the concept of the familiar spirit – a demonic creature allegedly given to a witch by the Devil. In this paper I will argue that the familiar spirit described in the pamphlet functions as an index to early modern beliefs which can help identify attitudes towards sexuality and gender, as well as the socio-religious beliefs which sustained them.

**Alison Elizabeth Killilea, UCC**

**Title: Næfne he wæs mara þonne ænig man oðer :  
*Exploring the Parameters of Grendel's Gigantism***

One of Grendel's most defining features appears to be his apparent gigantism. Line 1353 describes him as being "larger than any other man", and he is also referred to as an *eoten* and a *þyrs*, both of which are defined by the Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary as "giant". On top of this, because of Grendel's association with Cain and with the *ealdsweord eotenisc*, the "giant-sword", a link has been suggested between him and the Nephilim, the "giants" who inhabit the earth in Genesis.

However, these terms are often more complex than first imagined. Besides the dilemma concerning *eoten's* apparent reference to the Jutes in the Finnesburg digression, we must also consider its usage in descriptions of Wiglaf's and Eofor's swords, both of which are described as being *eotonisc*, as crafted by giants. Furthermore, *eoten's* Old Norse cognate *jǫtunn* must also be explored, along with what implications its use in the Old Norse canon may have on Grendel's gigantism. This paper will also examine Grendel's relation to Cain and the Nephilim, looking to both the Vulgate Bible and the apocryphal Book of Enoch, and whether or not these relationships condemn him to his colossal status.

Through a detailed linguistic and cultural analysis of these terms, I wish to blur the certainty of Grendel's gigantism and monstrosity, and offer instead, an alternative and more nuanced view of his character.

## Panel II: Scandinavian Memory and Identity in Narrative Sources

**Agnieszka Mikołajczyk, University of St Andrews**

***Title: Negotiating Memory and Identity in Mediaeval Iceland: Ideological Contrasts Between the Sagas of Magnús Ólafsson and Haraldr Sigurðarson in Morkinskinna and Heimskringla***

The paper examines ways in which saga-authors construct memory and Icelandic identity in two major thirteenth-century compendia of *konungasögur*: *Morkinskinna* and *Heimskringla*. These aspects are scrutinised more specifically in the two sagas of eleventh-century Norwegian rulers: Magnús Ólafsson and Haraldr Sigurðarson. As *Morkinskinna* is regarded as the most important source for *Heimskringla*, this comparative perspective aims to shed new light on the ideological complexity of the two compendia, and contribute new insights to the ongoing debate on the royal ideology of power in Old Norse sagas. This is done by focusing on the multi-faceted representations of Icelanders' relations with the kings of Norway and on the manner in which saga authors negotiate – by means of structural and narrative devices and emphases, authorial comments and ideological standpoints – the complex nature of royal authority and the Icelanders' self-perception in their interactions with the monarchs.

Drawing mainly on Theodore Andersson's and Ármann Jakobsson's research on the structure and aesthetics of *Morkinskinna*, as well as on recent studies on the political biases in *Heimskringla*, the author of the paper argues that the two sources employ different means of representing the

ideologically complex ideas of kingship. While the apparent structural disunity of *Morkinskinna* may be considered a means of “augmenting” memory, the *Heimskringla* author adopts a selective approach to his source, thereby seemingly “simplifying” the perception of the past in the present. The implications of augmentation and selection are interpreted as manifestations of the saga authors’ ways of negotiating identity and memory in medieval Iceland.

**Michael Knudson, University of Aberdeen**

***Title: Where Fact Meets Fiction: The Scandinavian Historical Roots in the Middle English Romance Havelok the Dane***

Unlike the Old English *Beowulf*, whose Scandinavian characters and setting have engendered numerous debates about Scandinavian influence, no such critical conversation has explored the Middle English romance *Havelok the Dane*’s possible Scandinavian sources with the same vigor. Though some scholars have briefly flirted with ideas of Norse influence in the tale, the general consensus remains that *Havelok* is merely a Middle English re-working of an Anglo-Norman tale. Yet, the Middle English version contains an element unique from its older French counterparts (*L’Estorie des Engles* by Geoffrei Gaimar and *Lai d’Havloc*), the use of the name Birkebeyn for the Danish king. This name, while neither existing in native Anglo-Saxon tales nor in the French versions, finds exclusive use in Scandinavian history from a time preceding the Middle English version by approximately a century. With scholars placing this work as coming out of Lincolnshire, an area that lies deep in what was the Danelaw (the north and east regions of England previously controlled

by the Scandinavians in the tenth and eleventh centuries), the Birkebeyn name then causes us to reevaluate the extent of possible Scandinavian links in *Havelok the Dane*.

This paper seeks to explore these links between Middle English romance *Havelok the Dane* and the Scandinavian historical figures and events of the Norwegian civil war period (ca. 1130–1240), most notably the *birkebeiner*-faction and Hákon Hákonarson. By evaluating the parallel presentation of history and the *Havelok* story, I suggest that we will see this tale in a new light, as a product of a mixed Anglo-Scandinavian culture whose connections to both identities were still as vibrant as ever.

## Panel III: Life and Death: Constructing Posthumous Identities

**Katie Bridger, University of Leicester**

***Title: “Fyve power men ... shall holde fyve torches a boute my herse”: Identity, memory and the Leicestershire gentry, c.1490-c.1550***

To date, a comprehensive study of the wills of the Leicestershire gentry has not yet been accomplished. This paper will consider a number of these sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, offering an evaluation of the efforts to create, influence and consolidate posthumous identity in the spheres of private and public memory. The private relates to the immediate social connections of the person in question, and the public relates to those further afield. The gentry are identified in this instance by reference to their respective titles of ‘knight’, ‘esquire’, or ‘gentleman’ in the documents. The paper belongs to a larger agenda

which, in part, considers the role of the social network in the facilitation of the gentry's use of the landscape as a vehicle for self-expression. It engages with both qualitative and quantitative analysis to reveal the written and inferred concerns of this social group. A variety of evidence for the conception or reinforcement of identity and memory can be extracted. As an example, where physical testimony has been lost, these documents can suggest where the final resting places of these individuals may have been, and how they might have looked. Much can be said for the position of intended burial in terms of both geographical and physical location. Visual expression will be shown to have been especially important for the expression of identity and cultivation of memory in an ever-changing world, dominated by social performance and architectural display.

**Melanie Peters-Turner, University of Birmingham**

***Title: "For the Divine Service which is to be Said for my Soul": Testamentary Evidence for Memorialisation in the Middling Classes***

Last testaments are one of the few surviving records which give voice to the personal beliefs of later medieval people. In their wills testators were able to arrange bequests to benefit their immortal soul, to assuage sins, and to endeavour to reduce the amount of time they would be forced to endure in Purgatory. This was most commonly believed to be achieved through prayers and masses enacted in honour of the deceased.

Most medieval testators sought to bring some kind of relief to souls residing in Purgatory by leaving bequests to be fulfilled after their demise. For the Great and the Good of

society, this was frequently accomplished through ostentatious endeavours such as the founding of religious houses, establishing personal chantries, and the employment of priests to sing perpetual masses in their memory. These expensive undertakings were less likely to be accessible to those of the more middling classes, who nevertheless remained concerned about the remembrance of their soul in Purgatory.

This paper discusses the ways in which those below the ranks of the magnates and nobility were able to ensure that their souls were remembered while staying within the limits of their lesser financial resources. Though remaining true to their position in society, these men and women were nevertheless able to approximate many of the extravagant undertakings of their social betters.

The wills which form the core resource for my thesis are all drawn from the North Yorkshire region, and date from the latter part of the fourteenth century.

**Anna Vrtálková, Charles University, Prague**

***Title: Way to Immortality in Late Middle Ages in Bohemia***

People in Middle Ages wanted to stay remembered, not to be forgotten as they believed that if somebody was still remembering them and especially praying for them they would spend less time in purgatory and their sins will be forgiven. And nobody wants to be forgotten. Their way how to stay remembered was often through their last wills where they were asking monks in monasteries to pray for them, or that on the cup for the church should be written their name,

that on the anniversary of their death the towns bells should be ringing, etc.

My paper will be focusing on many creative ways how medieval townsmen tried to stay in memory of others in Late Middle Ages, as well as how did they were identifying with their town. One of the main sources will be last wills of medieval townsfolk through which I would like to show that medieval men and women on theirs deathbed were mostly highly religious people who were trying to take care of their families and states and also of their immortal soul. In their last wills people were donating money, properties and estates to the religious institutions as churches, monasteries, hospitals and schools. Most of the money went to the churches and were used to take care of the building or to decorations because churches were seen as one of the most important building in the city and they were pride of the city. I would like to show on examples from Bohemia how they were trying to find their way to “immortality”.

## Panel 4: ‘In remembrance of hym’: Constructing Heroic Identity Through Memory

**Grace Timperley, University of Manchester**

***Title: Embodying memory: theorising the ‘unknown’  
heir***

Medieval romance is replete with literal and metaphorical articulations of memory and identity, and the eminent figure of the ‘fair unknown’ represents the confluence of these ideas. Almost inevitably, in the genealogically-oriented

romance genre, the 'unknown' hero is also a dispossessed heir.

Memory is pertinent to 'heirship' in a number of ways, not least in the senses of genealogy and legacy. In historical contexts, recollections of birth are essential to proofs of age and thus the ability to come into inheritance; while in popular literature, recollections of infancy (or of 'origins') are essential to legitimating the claims of the unknown heir to the inheritance. As Augustine says, knowing one's own origins, the key to identity, requires outside agency; for the 'unknown' heroes of romance there are 'tokens of recognition' as well as the spoken testimony of mothers or supernatural witnesses. But the estranged child can also manage his own origin mythology: in *Havelok*, heroic identity emerges in the young hero's recollections of his sisters' murder, witnessed as an infant; in *Torrent and Eglamour*, the child bears arms symbolising his earlier abduction by a wild beast. Significantly, these devices memorialise moments of familial separation, rather than of birth, as the originary point of heroic identity.

The paper will trace imaginative depictions of memory (and forgetting) in Middle English romance, considering the implications of 'unknownness' defining identity; and of the child as stranger, both as one estranged from familiar socioeconomic environs and in the Augustinian sense of the ultimately irrecoverable personal memory of one's infant self.

**Natalie Hanna, The University of Liverpool**  
***Chaucer's "worthieste knyght": The Identity of Troilus Through the Memory of Hector***

"To be a perfect knight, is not necessarily to be a perfect man": Charles Mitchell notes this distinction in his 1964 study on the worthiness of Chaucer's knight pilgrim in *The Canterbury Tales*. Yet, while the concept of knightly 'worth' has been revisited more recently – Kempton: 1987, Morgan: 2009 - what might qualify one as better than the worthiest knight has not been considered. Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* approaches this issue directly through his presentation of two Trojan knights: Hector and Troilus. Troilus' identity is directly associated with that of his brother Hector, as he is repeatedly recognised as a "secunde Ectour". Critics have debated whether or not this comparison casts Troilus positively, as the next Hector, or less enthusiastically, as second to Hector (Arner: 2010).

This paper will address this argument through examination of the semantics and associated phraseology of the status "worthy knyght", which is only used denote Hector and Troilus in the poem. It will propose that Chaucer uses this phrase to conjure the memory of Hector, in order to acknowledge Troilus' promise of greatness, but failure to live up to his brother's reputation. Drawing on medieval literary and historical texts and images, it will be shown that the reader is encouraged to remember both Hector's actions in *Troilus*, and also his legend from earlier medieval texts, to identify him as the better man. In doing so, Chaucer's "secunde Ector" will be shown to reveal a semantic

distinction in his writing on what identifies a knight as “worthy”, “worthieste”, and “beste”.

## Panel V: Visualising Identity: Memory, Models, and Manuscripts

**Laura McCloskey, Trinity College Dublin**

***Title: From Metal to Vellum: Artistic Transition and Evolution in Early Medieval Irish Illuminated Manuscripts***

While medieval Irish illuminated manuscripts are widely known as being some of the finest examples of book arts of the period, few modern scholars study the precise links between Celtic metalwork and the stylistic motifs present in illuminated manuscripts. The process of manuscript creation was laborious and hierarchical; scribes would apprentice under more masterful artists who often learned the foundation of their trade in other media, usually masonry or metalwork. Transitioning to vellum required patience and years of training before a scribe could produce the delicate carpetpages that adorn such masterpieces as the *Book of Kells*. My paper seeks to explain the visual evolution of manuscript illumination in medieval Irish monastic scriptoria as it progressed from the rudimentary to the profound, acknowledging the stylistic choices made by the monks on each page.

Vellum represented a new medium which allowed for greater initial imprecision due to the layers of outlining and ink in every image, yet potentially many more man hours of skill because of the length of biblical passages. Focusing specifically on the Irish Celtic metalwork tradition, I will link

archaeological finds with regional manuscripts to show a stylistic chronology that underscores the unique contributions of the Irish to manuscript illumination in the medieval period. This analysis adds to the corpus of Celtic historiographic thought and presents a novel elaboration on the transition from Celtic to Christian motif in Ireland. Through analysis of the more well-known and complex *Book of Kells* to the less-precise *Book of Durrow* as well as the earlier *Cathach of St. Columba* and *Book of Armagh*, I hope to demonstrate the parallels between metalwork from pre-Christian and contemporary periods throughout medieval Irish book arts. This visual transition provides a gateway to understanding the stylistic and visual metamorphosis of image and interlace from metalwork to manuscript.

**Sabine Ines Rauch, University College Dublin**

***Title: Byrhtferth's Diagrams of the Enchiridion as Mnemonic Device for Patristic Number Symbolic Concepts***

I would like to suggest in this paper that Byrhtferth's diagrams in the main witness of his *Enchiridion*, i.e. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 328, are a mnemonic device for patristic number symbolic concepts.

Byrhtferth was an Anglo-Saxon monk in Ramsey in the late tenth and early eleventh century, about whose life "very little is known." What makes him so significant is his manual of the *computus*, i.e. the *Enchiridion*, which also contains both explanations of the symbolism of numbers and visualisations of these in the form of diagrams.

In the first part of my paper, I will outline briefly the development of patristic number symbolic ideas and show that these integrate influences from different sources. I will then touch very briefly on the availability of such sources in Anglo-Saxon England. Like the Pythagoreans, patristic authors understood the world to be modelled on numbers, not least because the bible offered itself a reason in the book of Wisdom 11, 21: “[...] sed omnia mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti.”

The main part of my paper will then deal in detail with some of Byrhtferth’s diagrams in the Bodleian MS and the patristic number symbolic ideas these represent. While I will show one of the more widely known diagrams on p. 85 of the MS, illustrating the complex significations of the number 4, my focus will be on some of the lesser known diagrams, i.e. the representations of the numbers 5 and 9 on pp. 215 and 225 of the MS respectively.

**Rosemary Keep, University of Birmingham**

***Title: ‘Ribbons and Righteousness: Memory and multiple identity in the portrait of a Preston haberdasher and his family.’***

Early Modern portraits were mnemonic devices. They were designed to memorialise virtue and remind future generations of their ancestors’ power, piety and prestige. This paper is part of an AHRC funded doctoral research project which uses the under-studied group portraits of English provincial families in order to explore the complex ways in which multiple, sometimes conflicting identities were constructed. In particular, the research casts new light on changing notions of gentility, aspects of familial piety,

attitudes to death, representations of the ‘ideal’ family and the place of portraiture in the material culture of the English provincial gentry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This is an interdisciplinary project which integrates the methodologies of art and archival historians to create a dynamic dialogue between the two approaches. For this conference this will be illustrated through the close reading of a single portrait, *The Family of Henry Chorley, Haberdasher of Preston*, of c. 1665–1670 by an artist known only as ‘JH’. It will be argued that the Chorleys used this portrait to conflate their multiple identities as pious Presbyterians, civic leaders and successful and commercially astute haberdashers in the town of Preston, Lancashire. It will be argued that it also had an explicitly moralizing role in promoting the Chorleys’ particular style of austere Calvinist faith, their reliance on the Bible and their perceived duty to educate the young.

## Parallel Panel I: Criminal Identities

**Zosia Edwards, Royal Holloway University of London**

***Title: Fraud and the City: Pretenders and Identity Thieves in Later Medieval London***

This paper will consider ‘pretenders’ in the later middle ages: individuals who misappropriated the identity of another, or misrepresented aspects of their own identities, usually for material or financial gain. The term pretender is traditionally reserved for individuals who fraudulently claimed to be of a certain rank, such as the fifteenth-century royal pretender Perkin Warbeck. This will draw on incidents of identity theft and imposture recorded in the City of London letter books in

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to broaden the scope of such a definition. It will show that the currently 'hot' topic of identity theft has a longer history than usually recognized, and take the scholarship on identity in the Middle Ages in a new direction, away from preoccupations with selfhood or subjectivity.

In a city as large as London, there were few ways to verify someone's identity. Assertion alone was often enough. Some exploited this situation: among other examples, several pretended to be royal purveyors, one posed as a messenger for the king, and another assumed the identity of the son of the Earl of Ormond. The city authorities were able to prosecute these, and other, individuals. Seeking to make use of the collective memory of the city in preventing them from striking again, offenders were paraded through the city on market days, to deprive them of their anonymity in future. These incidents demonstrate the vulnerability of identity in the middle ages, and the importance of memory in protecting its integrity.

**Jenny Cryar, Queen Mary University of London**

***Title: Identifying the rogue: categorization in the Bridewell Court Books and rogue literature***

The 'rogue' was a figure that loomed large in late sixteenth century literature and legal texts. The ill-defined word became a catch-all term for the unruly poor in statutes and court books alike: a 'rogue' could be a vagrant, beggar, cutpurse, drunkard, disobedient servant or prostitute. In contrast to the legal definition, rogues in Elizabeth and Jacobean pamphlets had a very fixed identity. Rogue literature presents a highly categorised, and hierarchized

picture of a criminal underworld of vagrants and thieves. The texts describe various criminal types in immense detail: their names, dress, lifestyle, means of deceit, and place in the hierarchy of vagrants are set out at great length.

This fixed identity was something that the court books of Bridewell, a London prison that was established to reform the idle poor, strived for. Clear criminal categories were difficult to apply to vagrants and beggars, who were quite often simply seeking work, food or shelter. I will explore how the identity of the rogue, which was clearly an unequivocally criminal, was used by the court books and royal proclamations to overwrite the identities of the actual poor; rogue literature, royal proclamations and Bridewell's court books took part in a conscious misremembering of the true identities of London's poor, refiguring need as gluttony and poverty as rebellion.

## Panel VI: Religion & Identity in the Medieval and Early Modern World

**Gregory Hulsman, Trinity College Dublin**

***Title: 'Men of þes newe ordris': Lollard Self-Identity and the Antifraternal Tradition***

In his introduction to *Jack Upland*, the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century antifraternal poem, James Dean notes the influence it had on the Lollard sermon known as *Vae Octuplex*. The latter is a commentary on Matthew 23 which draws comparisons between the 'scribes and Pharisees' opposed by Christ, and the mendicant orders in late medieval England. These are only two examples of the persistent

theme of Lollards criticising friars. Indeed, Lollard writings, be they poems, sermons or tracts, were so heavily infused with antifraternal sentiment that it went beyond simple criticism, and cast its shadow over arguably every principle they adhered to.

This paper will explore the topic of Lollard self-identity in relation to the fraternal orders. It will focus on a range of texts, both poetry (*Piers the Plowman's Crede*, *The Upland Cycle*, *The Plowman's Tale*, etc.) and prose (*Vae Octuplex*, *Tractatus de Pseudo Freris*, *Seven Heresies*, etc.) and discuss the myriad ways in which Lollards defined themselves as contrary to friars.

**Catherine Evans, University of Sheffield**

***Title: Metanoia: Remembrance as Penance in Early Modern Psalm Translations***

The Psalter remained at the heart of devotion following the Reformation, despite the Catholic doctrine of repentance being overthrown by the Protestant ideal of penance. Psalm 51 has been termed the “most influential and beloved” of Psalms by Hannibal Hamlin. Foxe’s *Book of Martyrs* tells of many martyrs reciting it before their executions. This paper examines how Anne Lok and Mary Sidney Herbert transformed Psalm 51, enacting the temporal conditions of penance through their use of poetic form. The choice of highly restrictive verse forms seems to enact the self-flagellation involved in remembering past sins.

The rhetorical figure of *metanoia* features prominently in both renderings of the Psalm. George Puttenham referred to this figure as “the penitent” or the “repentant”, as it

represents a turning away from an initial statement. Lok and Sidney's interpretations of the *miserere mei seem* steeped in a deeply depressing Calvinist awareness of the futility of "works". However, they both use metanoia as a means of transforming guilty memories in to a cautiously optimistic plan for the future. *Metanoia* and her rhetorical sister *Kairos* are elided, fitting the words of a Biblical king for the present moment.

**Marta Quatrale, Freie Universität Berlin**

***Title: Luther as Persona. The emergence of his Theological Identity through a Criticising Memorial Process***

In spite of the countless criticisms against the concept of Secularisation so far, each attempt in this direction remains parasitical to the Secularisation itself, in as much as it presents itself as a negation of it (Olivetti, 1992). Although the autonomy of the Modern Age is not being questioned, to what extent the History of Early Modern Philosophy is as much as philosophically as theologically characterised should be remarked. To underline this perspective, as developing in my PhD research hypothesis, my aim here is to sketch some elements pertaining the co-implication between Historiography as memorial (Eucharistical) practice and personal (Confessional) identity, in such a theologically-oriented context as the Lutheran Wittenberg in 1520-21 was. My purpose is to undertake an analysis of Luther's historical over-interpretation in *Ad librum eximii Magistri Nostri, Magistri Ambrosii Catharini [...] responsio* (1521, WA7,705,ff.). In this short pamphlet, Luther, identifying the papacy as Antichrist (see WABr1,270 too) and opposing his

own concept of *veritas* to the antichristical concept of *auctoritas*, legitimates *de jure* a condition existing *de facto*, and, mutually, moving back to a memorial re-activation of some apocalyptic figures through the tread of *Dn 8*, legitimates his own identity as *persona*, whose emergence is rooted in such criticising memorial process. Through this *leitmotiv* I hope to mirror and clarify to what extent some underlying (hyper-)theological parameters, far from being a neutral element in analysing the Modern Age and its peculiar representation models, characterise the reception of some broader concepts.

## Parallel panel II: From Fear to Joy: Emotion and Memory

**Jennifer Brown. Queen's University Belfast**

### ***Weighed and Found Wanting: Fear and God's Judgement in the Anglo-Saxon poem Daniel***

Following Alice Jorgensen's categorisation in *Anglo-Saxon Emotions* (2015), fear is one of the seven emotions and, as such, plays a vital role in shaping memory and identity. Through an analysis of language, somatic expressions and the extensive employment of 'fear' cognates, this paper will assess how fear is represented in the Anglo-Saxon poem *Daniel* and how it rehearses anxieties surrounding God's judgement. In *Daniel*, the employment of the cognates 'fær' (calamity), 'ege' (awe), 'gryre' (terror) and 'anda' (resentment), as well as physical reactions, for example, 'acol' (trembling) and 'scrican' (to wither), shape appropriate 'fearful' responses. Fear-language is associated with Nebuchadnezzar's portentous dreams, highlighting his sinful

pride. The king's discomfort, combined with Israel's displacement, emphasises that fear is linked to 'Godes yrre' (God's wrath), a phrase repeated in Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*, which also considers God's retributive acts in response to mankind's sin. 'Gryre', 'broga' and 'egsa' frequently appear in connection with 'Godes yrre' in texts such as *Ælfric's Sermo de Die Iudicii*, with fear connected to sin in *Ælfric's Catholic Homily 2*. Both *Daniel* and *Sermo Lupi*, texts from the later Anglo-Saxon period, reiterate Alcuin, who responded to early Viking invasions. Thus, memory is employed in these texts, indicating that fear of God's wrath, following sinfulness, was a pertinent topic following the resurgent Viking invasions in the tenth-century. I shall demonstrate how *Daniel's* discussion of fear acts in tandem with the wider cultural contexts/anxieties of eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England.

**Lucie Kaempfer, Oxford University**

***Title: Happy Memory: the Temporal Grammar of Joy in Troilus and Criseyde***

In the Middle Ages, memory is thought inseparable from emotions. Mary Carruthers explains that “memories themselves are affects in the soul and mind.” Interestingly, it also seems to be linked with pleasant feelings rather than negative ones: “The little cell that remembers is a little cell of delights”, says Geoffrey of Vinsauf. The act of remembering is thus one linked to the emotion of joy. These aspects of memory are well represented in Chaucer’s poem *Troilus and Criseyde*. The joy of the lovers is but a fleeting moment and is very quickly turned into a memory, a *remembrance*, with the departing of Criseyde. This remembrance, however, creates a new *plesaunce*, a new desire and therefore a new

joy – an anticipatory joy. Looking at joy through the lens of memory thus sheds much light on the temporality as well as the general concept of joy in the poem.

In this paper, I hence want to look at the temporality of joy in *Troilus and Criseyde* and see how this shapes the identity of both Troilus and the text as a whole. I will explore the way the representation of joy as a future event grounds Troilus in a textual tradition – stemming from the Troubadours – where desire is the joy and *raison-d'être* of the lover, whereas the consequent fulfilment and loss of that joy changes both the character's and the text's identity. The memory of joy indeed seems to be what, paradoxically, makes Troilus an intrinsically and fatally sorrowful character, thus also turning the affective tone of the text into a tragic one.

## Panel VII: Female Authority in the Middle Ages

**Karen Moloney, University College, Cork**

***Title: "Insomuche all that he dud was at a ladyes requeste I blame hym the lesse": Authority and Feminine Identity in Sir Thomas Malory's Morte Darthur***

With popular medieval English romance largely motivated by a male-oriented focus, my research explores feminine identity in the hyper-masculine society of Sir Thomas Malory's fifteenth-century *Morte Darthur*. Taking King Arthur and his Round Table knights as the definitive symbol of chivalric society, the Round Table court is essentially a vehicle for the portrayal of the fundamental embodiment of masculinity in the world of the text. However, Malory's

narrative is significantly inflected by the consequences of female endeavour within this patriarchal society; this study addresses feminine identity within the primarily masculine character interest of the narrative, incorporating the paradox of the fragility of the female, which endows her with power in chivalric society where knights are sworn to serve.

This paper proposes to explore the representations of masculine authority and feminine identity in Malory's text, with particular emphasis on the characters of Guinevere, Lancelot, and Arthur, addressing the dictates of the Round Table's Pentecostal Oath and the potential for subversion within these socially prescribed roles. The development of autonomous identity is particularly significant in the respective deaths of Malory's Arthur and Guinevere; the manner in which the king and queen are portrayed in death contributes to their lasting identity in memory, while highlighting the essential "otherness" by which the female is defined in this patriarchal culture.

In essence, this study aims to present an interpretation of the dynamic between male and female identity and authority in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, through the characterisation of a "fayre queen", a "good knyght", and a "Crystyn kyng", in life and in death.

**Sarah Greer, University of St Andrews**

***Title: Reassessing the past in the Primordia of Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim***

Much of what we know about the origins of the Ottonian family comes to us from a single author – the canoness Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim. In addition to other her

remarkable literary works, Hrotsvitha composed the *Primordia de coenobiis Gandesheimensis*, a history of the foundation of her convent which also provides by far the most detailed surviving account of the early Ottonian family. Despite the importance of her history as a source for the rise of a noble family to the imperial throne, thus far the *Primordia* has not received a great deal of attention as a political text which selectively used memories of the past to try to effect change in the present. This paper will explore the context in which Hrotsvitha was writing, what the possible motivations of this religious woman were in creating a history of the family that went on to become kings and emperors, and comment on the relations between memory, politics and power in the tenth-century German Empire.

## Parallel pane III: Royal Identity: Querying Kingship

**Sumner Braund, University of Oxford**

***Title: Meditations for a King? Memory, Identity, and Private Devotion in the Old English Soliloquies***

The preface to the complex and little-studied *Old English Soliloquies* states that the text which follows is a translation of Augustine's *Soliloquia*, the inner dialogue between Reason and Augustine's doubting mind. This text has traditionally been placed within a canon of works attributed to King Alfred the Great and his educational reforms in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England; however, consideration of this text within the context of the meditative tradition in England before Anselm's famous *Orationes sive Meditationes* reveals that it is a pedagogy of prayer well suited for the private devotional

needs of a king. The *Old English Soliloquies* begin as a dialogue within Augustine's mind and end with a scribal colophon claiming that these sayings were collected by King Alfred himself. Whose mind and whose memory are being represented in this text? What significance do memory and identity have for the meditative function of this text? Scholars have long noted the significant differences between the *Old English Soliloquies* and its stated source text, the Latin *Soliloquia*. Indeed, it has been argued that the first two books are free translations of the Latin while the third and final book is an original composition. Memory and identity have been manipulated to produce a text suited for a new, specific identity situated in the context of royal private devotion. This paper will explore the ways in which memory and identity both inform the private meditations and calm the doubting mind of a king.

**Morgan Mayo, Queen's University Belfast**

***Title: "King, Stop, Stop Chasing Shadows": Identity and Kingship in The Nightmares of Henry***

From King Saul to Constantine, interpretation of royal dreams is a long-standing literary tradition. Although many scholars interpret medieval royal dreams as a call for divine intervention, *The Nightmares of Henry I*, added posthumously to the *Chronicle* (CCC MS 157) by John of Worcester in 1140, are unique not only because they include the earliest surviving example of chronicle illuminations but because they encapsulate royal identity in crisis. These nightmares are preserved in seven different manuscripts and depict Henry I being attacked by a group of peasants, knights and clerics for failures in kingship. A king dreaming of the three orders of

society (lay, military and clerical) reflects a widely used medieval trope. However, the illumination of peasants attacking Henry is the first known Western image of peasants in revolt. Its presence in a chronicle designed to preserve England's history raises questions about the complicated relationship between the role of kingship and the feudal identity of 12th century England. Did these nightmares portray apprehension regarding the changing nature of kingship during the reign of Henry I? To what extent do the dreams rehearse anxieties about sovereignty and royal prerogative? This paper will explore whether it is possible to read the representation of Henry's dreams as a meditation on the "nightmarish" rule of an Anglo-Norman king haunted by a subjugated English cultural identity.

## Panel VIII: Personal and Professional: Forging Identity

**Truan Evans, University of Bristol**

***Title: A Land Apart- Dissent and Difference in the Late Medieval Cornish Periphery***

Although not receiving as much scholarly attention as medieval lays, ballads and chronicles, and certainly less than the developing theatre of the Early Modern cities, the distinctly regionalised, locally performed, Celtic mystery plays can be extremely informative to an understanding of the political, spiritual and cultural preoccupations of local life in Medieval and Early Modern Celtic communities like Cornwall.

My paper would focus on the peculiarities of Cornish mystery plays and the manner in which they assert a distinctive Celtic

identity in opposition to historic efforts by English government to garner an increasingly homogenous English identity throughout the late medieval and Early Modern period. I would centre my research on the Cornish miracle plays of *The Cornish Ordinalia* (c.1400), *Beunans Meriasek* (c. 1504) and *Bewnans Ke* (c.1500). These plays were popularly performed at Plain-an Gwarry in St Just until the time of the English Reformation and reveal fascinating aspects of the common Cornish conception of Catholicism and the medieval Cornish cult of Saints. I feel these plays represent an important chapter in a small nation's shifting understanding of its own Celtic regional identity and memory.

Considering the context of popular unrest at the time of the English reformation and the Cornish popular revolts of 1497 and 1549, I intend to investigate how the Cornish miracle plays exhibit, first in *The Ordinalia*: a subtle drive to stress regional uniqueness and independence; and then in the later plays: a more directly emphasised attempt to resist growing Central Monarchic authority and Anglicisation.

**Seamus Dwyer, St Anne's College, Oxford**

***Title: Scraping, Scribing and Shriving: The Language of Writing, Judgment, and Penitence in Chaucer's 'Adam Scriveyn'***

Geoffrey Chaucer's shortest poem is perhaps also his most famous, outside of the *Canterbury Tales*. This is 'Adam Scriveyn,' a poem which describes Chaucer's frustrations with a scribe called Adam, who has apparently been copying Chaucer's works in a hasty and negligent fashion. This poem has been much discussed as a priceless moment of Chaucerian ephemera, and recently, with Linne Mooney's

discovery of whom she calls ‘Chaucer’s scribe,’ Adam Pinkhurst, the poem has received even more literary attention. One thing that is often assumed when discussing ‘Adam Sciveyn’ is a lighthearted tone; scholars seem to enjoy envisioning an intimacy between Chaucer and Adam, and readings of the poem often include this affection. Yet there is nothing which explicitly suggests a positive relationship between author and scribe. In fact, Chaucer’s language is quite reminiscent of judgement and penitence rather than paternal love and jocular threats. This paper will explore the use of judgmental and penitential language in ‘Adam Sciveyn,’ in order to suggest a more serious reading of the poem. It will also examine the use of similar language in contemporary or near-contemporary documents and literature in order to further explore ideas of professional integrity in the late Middle Ages, what sort of behaviour might endanger this integrity, and what sort of language might be employed in order to rectify a professional ‘fall from grace.’ This paper ultimately seeks to situate the Adam of Chaucer’s poem not necessarily as Linne Mooney’s historical figure, but as an example of a medieval craftsman functioning, imperfectly, in a rich professional world.

**Conor Leahy, St John’s College, Cambridge**

***Title: Barclay Contra Skeltonum: An Episode in Early Tudor Poetics***

The works of Alexander Barclay (fl.1509-?1522) represent a clear break with previous English poetry. Instead of turning to Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, or John Lydgate for inspiration, Barclay’s source materials were all drawn from the recent past. He translated works by Sebastian Brandt,

Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Dominicus Mancinus, and Battista Spagnoli 'Mantuanus'. He also used Josse Bade's edition of Sallust to translate the *Bellum Jugurthinum* into English prose. Barclay's output was thus highly diverse, encompassing satire, eclogues, saints' lives, ancient history, and even a primer for speaking French.

My paper will explore the significance of this unjustly neglected figure by focusing on a quarrel that he had with his more famous contemporary John Skelton. In nearly all of Barclay's works, he includes veiled and not-so-veiled attacks on Skelton's poetry. He ridicules those 'rascolde poetes' who 'Thinke in their mindes for to haue wit diuine', and reportedly composes a direct attack on his contemporary entitled *Contra Skeltonum*. The mutual hostility of these poets was facilitated and intensified by the technology of print, which allowed them to enter more directly into conversation with one another and with their audience. The disagreement between Barclay and Skelton was born of a fundamental uncertainty as to what poetry was and what it was for. My paper will argue that this episode represents a key instance in how early Tudor writers forged their poetic identities.

## Parallel panel IV: Undying Memory: Identity and the Grave

**Melanie Dunne, University College Dublin**

***Title: A Case for the Irish Ferta***

The forthcoming Borderlines conference is based around the role of memory and identity in the middle ages and I believe that the case of the Irish *ferta* addresses both themes. My

main area of study is burial in the early medieval period. My proposed paper asks how important these *Ferta* were for establishing memory and identity in the Irish landscape.

*Ferta* are often described as unconsecrated penannular enclosures used by both pagans and Christians to bury their dead. These ring barrows were also used as territory markers and have been mentioned in legal documents, such as the *Hibernensis*. They have attracted attention from a number of disciplines. In my research I examine *ferta* from both an archaeological and historical perspective. My proposed paper will demonstrate the importance of the *ferta* to both the memory and identity of the people in Ireland in what was a time of conversion and change.

This specific type of burial is very relevant to the area of identity and memory in early medieval Ireland and I will be using written sources and material evidence, such as *Tírechán* and the *Hibernensis*, excavation reports and modern scholarship.

**Yvonne McDermott, Galway Mayo Institute of Technology**

***Title: 'Stately sepulchres': Funerary sculpture in mendicant friaries in Connacht***

Funerary monuments form a conspicuous and significant part of the corpus of sculpture of medieval ecclesiastical buildings in Ireland. As orders dependent on popular support for their existence, for the mendicant friaries, permitting patrons to be buried in their precincts could be a valuable transaction. It could also serve as a reward for the friars' patrons for their dedication and could be used to incentivise patronage of the

mendicant houses. This paper will consider the evidence for the nature and variety of funerary monuments in mendicant friaries in Connacht in the medieval period, focusing particularly on canopy tombs and ledger slabs. The use of these monuments to memorialise the dead and assert their piety and status in life will be addressed. The location of these monuments was frequently selected to ensure visibility and assert status. The north wall of the chancel was a favoured location for patrons' canopy tombs, although at Kilconnell there is an impressive example in the nave, ensuring it was visible to the lay congregation. Documentary evidence linking patronage and burial rights will be explored. In addition, the style and iconography of the tombs will be considered in light of the broader decorative scheme of the friaries in which they occur. A number of case studies will be selected for further discussion, including examples of canopy tombs at Strade and Kilconnell plus ledgers at Kilcorban and Kilboght.

### **Amy Louise Harris, Sussex University**

#### ***Title: The contribution of Thomas Dingley's (Dineley's) Observations (1680-1) to the study of early modern Irish Funerary monuments***

Thomas Dingley's Irish journal is housed in the Genealogical Office of the National Library of Ireland and is bound with his tour of France (1675). The Irish tour consists of 328 pages and is an extremely important source of descriptions and illustrations of monuments, buildings and customs he encountered during a trip to Ireland 1680-1. The manuscript is an important source for historians, literary scholars, architects, archaeologists, art historians and topographers.

Ireland did not have the abundance of seventeenth century antiquarians that England had, therefore Dingley's Irish manuscript is in many ways the sole source for what he drew, thus making his sketches a unique record.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the manuscripts contribution to the study of Irish funerary sculpture in late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Dingley's observations not only enable the recreation of now much ruined funerary monuments but also act as a record for those which no longer exist. His sketches are also an important source for recording the names of monumental sculptors.

## Panel IX: Perceptions of Irish Identity

**Stephen Hewer, Trinity College Dublin**

***Title: Remembering the Ostmen: a different type of Irish identity***

The political relations and landholding (after the advent of the English) of the Ostmen have been analysed, and so has the status of the Waterford Ostmen, but the status of the rest of the Ostmen has been, mostly, assumed to have been equal to the English settlers. Edmund Curtis's theory that the Ostmen left Ireland *en masse* after 1171 has been disproven, but the rest of his work on the status of the Ostmen who remained has not been challenged or analysed. There are two aspects of the Ostmen this paper will explore: how to correctly identify Ostmen in English Ireland and what was their status in the English courts.

The English court records show that the English settlers and courts did not have a uniform programme for processing the

Ostmen. Some were completely accepted as members of the new society in Ireland, others were killed, conquered, or chased out of their former lands, and a third group was liminal: trying to acculturate to two competing cultures simultaneously and paying heavily for it (monetarily and risking their legal status).

The first group is difficult to analyse because the majority probably changed their naming practices to fit in with the settlers. The second group left no records in the English courts because they were never in court. The final group shows us the variance, regional differences, and fluidity of medieval English law in Ireland.

**Daryl Hendley Rooney, University College Dublin**

***Title: The Literary Construction of 'Irishness' in the Writings of Bede and Giraldus Cambrensis***

“What makes me who I am?” When one addresses such a question we usually tend to focus upon the societies and cultures in which we live or have lived for answers. This is in an attempt to understand the factors which define our self-concept. Ethnicity is often regarded as one of the central components of our *self-concept*. How do we actually act with reference to our ethnicity? And how conscious are we of our ethnicity? In this paper I shall discuss my current MA thesis research which explores how the Irish were literarily constructed in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* and *Giraldus Cambrensis's Expugnatio Hibernica* and *Topographia Hiberniae*. These sources are used to gain an insight into external depictions of the Irish and subsequently explore the effects of such depictions on perceptions of the Irish both in Ireland and England. My approach is both

empirical and theoretical. It takes the form of a close reading of these medieval works, but in the light of theories and concepts relating to psychology, literary theory and social theory such as: the self-concept; illusory correlations; the out-group homogeneity effect; and ethnogenesis. By drawing upon modern psychological theory I am hoping to provide a framework which can help us to understand the nature of ethnicity in medieval Ireland despite lacunae in literary and material evidence. The purpose of my research is to gain an insight into not only ethnicity in medieval Ireland but also to consolidate such findings by relating their relevance to the concerns and thoughts of modern man and woman. My research is ongoing and I hope that the inter-disciplinary nature of *Borderlines XX* will support, challenge and catalyse my discourse.

**Brendan Meighan, Trinity College Dublin**

***Title: Connacht in Cogadh Gaedhel Re Gallaib***

The *Cogadh Gaedhel Re Gallaibh*, an early twelfth century encomiastic biography of Brian Bórainmhe, the famed king of Munster, has justly received much attention from scholars. Although many parts of the account of Brian's life are clearly fabricated or exaggerated, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh has shown that much of it is also drawn from reliable annalistic sources. Moreover, both of these elements, the sober accounts of the annalists and the extravagant and inflated accounts of Brian's deeds – especially at the Battle of Clontarf – tell us much about how the Uí Briain remembered and indeed, distorted the memory of their ancestors. However, little has been said on Connacht's important role in *Cogadh*. It is this lack of study that this essay seeks to redress. It will explore how the

province was perceived by its Dál Cais neighbours and endeavour to explain why the Munstermen identified Connacht, despite its initial intransigence and reluctance to submit, as Brian's closest ally in his later years.

## Parallel Panel V: Group Identities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe

**Aleksandar Z. Savić, University of Belgrade**

***Title: "The Most Glorious Path to Jerusalem": Remembering the Holy Land and Shaping a Christian Identity in Medieval Serbian Hagiography (13<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> C.)***

Just as one's notion of self is mostly based on the things they remember, so is the collective identity of a group constructed in accordance with cultural memory, a concept frequently discussed in works of modern scholarship. For the Christian faithful, this notion has always been essentially intertwined with a mental image of the Holy Land – on the one hand, as an actual centre of pilgrimage, devotion and religious observance, and on the other, as a timeless symbol of providential design behind the *historia sacra*. In medieval Serbia, as far as available source material is concerned, these two aspects were first brought together in hagiographic narratives concerning the peregrinations of St. Sava (c. 1175–1236), a prince of the Nemanjić house and the first archbishop of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Since the spiritual dimension of Sava's cult was imbued with conspicuous ideological and political implications, we believe that behind the texts of his *vitae* (especially the older one), relating the visits to Palestine, there is a subtext which

promoted two genuine concepts intended for the contemporary Serbian audience:

1) A “new” memory of the Holy Land, which enriched the universal narrative of the Scriptures with Sava’s own exploits – being “personalized” and somewhat more intimate, this memory set the example for future Serbian pilgrimage, in the footsteps of Christ, but also of Sava.

2) The Christian identity of his flock, to whom he had opened “the most glorious path to Jerusalem” – Sava’s discovery of the Holy places was interpreted as bringing the Serbs one step closer to being the new “Chosen people” and the rightful protagonists of sacred history.

**Giulia Zornetta, University of Padova, University of Verona and University Ca’ Foscari of Venice**

***Title: The Golden Age of Arechi II. The historiography of Lombard Southern Italy from ethnic identity to urban awareness***

After the Carolingian conquest of the Lombard kingdom in 774, the Duchy of Benevento became an independent principality and prince Arechi II resisted to Charlemagne’s attempts to submit. Being the last autonomous part of the reign, Benevento collected Lombard heritage and built a new cultural and political Lombard identity in opposition to Frankish invaders. Chronicles were a fundamental part of this process. The most important historiographical narrations of Lombard Southern Italy are Erchemperto’s *Ystoriola* (Abbey of Montecassino, 890 ca.) and the anonymous *Chronicon Salernitanum* (Salerno, 980-990 ca.). Both of them answered to the same necessity: to give shape to a meaningful

historical memory which constructs and represents a particular group's identity. As the beginning for a new political experience, Arechi's age was conceived by these authors as the most important period in the history of the principality. I analyse how these chronicles created and developed the long-lasting myth of Arechi, modelling his reign as a Golden Age and discarding about all the VIIIth-century political ambiguities. Erchemperto used Arechi's reign to focus on Lombard ethnic identity, which was an important issue during the IXth century and particularly after Emperor Louis II's military campaign against the Muslims. On the contrary, the *Chronicon Salernitanum* connects Arechi deeply to Salerno: he was the founder of this city and he gave it the political role of a capital. The Xth-century anonymous author used the same historical material as Erchemperto but he shaped a different memory, leaving Lombard ethnicity aside and revealing a strong urban awareness.

**Richard Smith, Freie Universität Berlin and University of Kent**

***Title: 1 Av 5290: the 1530 Diet of Augsburg and Jewish Identity in the Holy Roman Empire***

1 Av 5290, or 25th July 1530, was a momentous day for the Jews of the Holy Roman Empire. Their leader, Josel of Rosheim, had been summoned by Emperor Charles V to the Augsburg *Reichstag* (Diet of Augsburg) to defend his Jewish faith against Antonius Margaritha, a Jew who had converted to Christianity and had published polemical tracts accusing his old faith of blaspheming Jesus and the Gentiles under which they lived. Josel's successful refutation of the charges was a great success for the Jewries of the Empire, whose

rights were secured, whilst the convert Margaritha was arrested and expelled in shame from Augsburg.

This paper will use the events of 1 Av 5290 to explore the identity of the Jewish community within the Holy Roman Empire. It will shed light on the confused relationship they had with their Emperor, who on the one hand protected them and on the other would sign decrees of expulsion from Imperial cities. The paper will also similarly expose how Jews who converted to Christianity were stuck in an in-between state, ostracized by their old community as apostates, yet not fully accepted by members of their new faith.

## Panel X: Medieval Through a Modern Lens

### **Mary Way, The Shakespeare Institute**

#### ***Title: Shakespeare's Dramatic Biography***

Biographical readings of Shakespeare's plays have been realized through a multitude of fictional works, books, comics, movies, comedy sketches and especially through dramatic renderings such as the award-winning film *Shakespeare in Love* or '70s TV programme *William Shakespeare: His Life & Times*. From time to time this work comes back to the stage. Bill Cain's 2009 play *Equivocation* constructs a compelling fictional narrative of William Shagspear's [sic] life intertwined with his writing *Macbeth*. Using *Equivocation* as a focus I plan to explore how Shakespeare, both the man and play, functions in these works as a metatheatric frame in order to construct Shakespeare's identity for the modern day.

Shakespeare's play creates a known base from which the author and director construct a fictional biography explaining the play's creation and using it to inform Shakespeare's own life.

The fictional aspect of this biography is vital, it appeals to the modern day desperation to know an artist through his work. It relies on the belief that audience want to believe Shakespeare's plays are created out of a single mind through and strive to discover the man who lies beneath. The truth of Shakespeare's life is secondary to the dramatic fellowship created during the play-going experience, not only between actor and audience but also between actor, audience, and playwright. *Equivocation* thrives on these feelings and feeds it's audience a biographical fantasy, constructing his identity out of a cultural intimacy with his plays.

**Rachel Reid, Queen's University Belfast**

***Title: Conjurer, Collector, Celebrity? The Afterlives of John Dee***

English polymath John Dee (1527-1609) was a man keenly aware of his changing reputation. He despised being named a 'conjuror of devils' by his contemporaries, whom he believed did not understand his intellect and should thus 'be silent and learn'. Despite his many protestations and petitions to clear his name, his occult dealings have long tarnished his alternative reputation as a respected mathematician, geographer, and philosopher. This paper will trace some of Dee's 'afterlives', from the antiquarian movement to gather his dispersed library to modern-day appropriations in popular culture, and question how Dee's identity has been remembered. The perception of Dee as 'the great Conjuror'

was observed by Elias Ashmole in the C17th as a disgrace to his memory, stating he 'deserves much better esteeme of our Nation than yet he hath obtain'd'. Ashmole and his successors examined Dee in depth, but ultimately commodified him, his books, and belongings, as antiquarian objects. There has been a resurgence of interest in Dee in recent years with his role as a mysterious and influential Tudor personality making him the perfect occult stock figure in period films and novels. I will conclude by asking if Dee's 'magical' reputation is still perpetuated with negative connotations, or if there is a move to re-situate him within a more scholarly context, and determine how early modern and more recent re-constructions compare with what is known of the historical Dee.