KEYNOTE (Tuesday)

The Authority of the Written Word, the Sacred Object, and the Spoken Word
Prof. Albrecht Classen, University of Arizona

In the Middle Ages, authority was established through many different channels and strategies. Of course, kings enjoyed royal authority, and clerics enjoyed ecclesiastical authority, vested in them through the Bible and the teachings of the Church. Authority was also granted via the laws, and military power. Nevertheless, true, perhaps even mythical, authority, expressed through an individual's aura, came from quite different sources, as this presentation will illustrate. First, numerous poets developed most powerful mythical concepts of the Grail, of sacred tablets, of secret words and riddles (Apollonius of Tyre), which all carried tremendous authority. Second, mystical writers gained far-reaching authority through their visions and revelations, and represented this new-found authority through their writings and their music. Hildegard of Bingen's composition of hymns, the drawings of her visions, and also her scientific writings exerted tremendous influence both within the Church and outside. Third, artists such as Giotto, but countless others involved in the creation of altar pieces, stained glasses, sculptures, paintings, corbels, gargoyles, etc. contributed in their own way to the establishment of authority of the Church. Fourth, philosophers, especially university professors, such as Peter Abelard, exuded considerable charisma and gained wide following. In other words, authority was enjoyed on many sides and was not simply established by way of social and political positions; even the most powerful representatives of medieval society had to submit under it.

My keynote address will survey a wide range of literary, historical, religious, and artistic sources and demonstrate the far-reaching authority exerted by spiritual forces. This examination will allow us to gain a deeper understanding of authority at large in the Middle Ages, which will certainly have considerable impact on the concept of authority even today.

Session 1A:
VARIETIES OF FEMALE AUTHORITY

Woman in Power: Princess Olga in the early Rurikid dynasty
Dr Aleksandr Koptev, University of Tampere.

After her husband had been murdered in 945, Princess Olga became a regent of her son. Also she continued to be the Kievan ruler, while he achieved his maturity tried to find a new state for himself somewhere else. I suppose her regentship belonged to the constructing of a new order for the succession to the throne in Kiev. Some early Scandinavian sagas refer to the archaic rule, according to which marriages with a woman of ruling house legitimized her *konung*-husband power. It means the former ruler's daughter, not son, was lawful owner of the throne. Folk tradition of Princess Olga as daughter of a "ferryman" discloses a priestly status of her family, because "ferryman" is a euphemism for sacred ruler in Indo-European tradition. The baptism of Princess Olga and her visit to the Byzantine emperor seem to be her searching for the Christian status of "ruling widow" which was impossible in paganism. The new legitimization of her authority allowed her to hand down the Kievan throne to her grandson, and not to a prince/king coming from abroad as it had been before her ruling time.

Concord and Reconciliation in the 'Life of Queen Helen' by Archbishop Daniel II
MA, MPhil Alexandra Vukovic, University of Cambridge, England

The hagiographic corpus bearing the title *Vitae regum et arhiepiscoporum Serbiae* was composed between 1280 and 1340 by Archbishop Daniel II and his anonymous student(s). As an administrator of the medieval Nemanjid state, Archbishop Daniel II was provided with a tribune to express and reinvigorate the ideology of kingship. In the 'Life of Queen Helen', Daniel II presents the queen as a figure of moral authority in the dynastic struggle between her sons. Rather than a literary device or *topos*, the rhetoric of concord (usually presented as brotherly love) and reconciliation (between warring brother-kings) is a multi-layered structure and functions on a narrative, historical and visual level. In the dynastic literature of the Nemanjids, concord and reconciliation are a constituent element of royal panegyric and serve a proleptic purpose: to legitimate the ascendance of a Nemanjid king.

      Despite the conventional framework of the 'Life of Queen Helen' imposed by the formal, rhetorical elements of hagiographic literature, I propose an evaluation of this unique text (the only one dedicated to a female ruler in the medieval Balkans) as a multi-dimensional work with ideological implications, fundamental to the understanding of the political organisation of the medieval Nemanjid kingdom.

Title: Body Language: The Semiotics of Saintly Bodies in Medieval Women's Hagiography
Dr Jessica Barr, Eureka College, Illinois, USA

Medieval women's hagiographic and visionary texts frequently employ the image of the woman as a "text" whose visions or experiences must be transcribed into the hagiographic or visionary account. When these works are written by someone other than the holy woman herself, it is frequently the task of the hagiographer to translate and make legible her experiences for a broader audience. This paper will argue that the image of the woman as a text helps to authorize the hagiography, which becomes the sole locus of comprehensible meaning and renders the woman's otherwise chaotic physical "symptoms" of holiness into a coherent whole. Comparing texts that employ this network of images in significantly different ways—for example, Gertrude of Helfta's autobiographical *Legatus* and the *Vita* of Beatrice of Nazareth (written by a male cleric)—I will propose that the image of the woman as an incomprehensible text, which seems to appear most often in male-authored women's vitae, legitimates the hagiographic project.

Perplexity and Divine Grace in Teresa de Cartagena's *Admiraçión Operum Dey*
Dr Dámaris M. Otero-Torres, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, USA

Teresa de Cartagena's use of rhetorical skills consolidates her literary stature within a genealogy of medieval women writers that seek to revoke the male intellectual prerogatives that force women into silence. Scholarship devoted to Teresa de Cartagena's writing has positively identified the convergence of biographical and spiritual factors as being instrumental in producing a bold critique of fifteenth century Castilian gender ideologies. My paper argues, however, that Teresa de Cartagena's apology of her writing as a special blessing of divine grace help camouflage a deeper displacement than that experienced by her gendered anguish: her desire to practice a more authentic and personal spirituality anchored in her Hebraic roots. The physical and emotional hardships associated with her affliction as a deaf nun document her individual isolation, yet they also act as creative outlets for an intellectual and devotional dialogue fueled by the tension between concealment and revelation as it relates to the Jewish concept of divine providence. Her ardent worship of God's boundless generosity, largueza, sets off a chain of arguments that voice her Jewish spiritual affiliations, momentously coded under the cloak of Christian reverence. While dismantling the male protocols of seeing, hearing and believing that inhibit the knowledge and understanding of the divine, her gendered writing not only exalts the role of the perplexed believer as a legitimate agent to re-interpret spiritual laws. It also secures her commitment to intimately safeguard her vibrant spiritual heritage in the midst of the Christ-centered gender and religious ideology of her time.

Session 1B:
EPISCOPAL AUTHORITY BETWEEN THE EMPIRE AND THE PAPACY

A Defense of Papal Authority – Pope Gregory VII's Second Letter to Bishop Hermann of Metz
Dr Ken A. Grant, University of Texas Pan American, USA

Far moreso than the problematic and cursory Dictatus papae, Gregory's second letter to Bishop Hermann of Metz, 15 March 1081, represents the clearest distillation of Gregory's understanding and explication of authority. The letter, which eschews Gregory's typical brevity for letters included in the Register, provides the most detailed and comprehensive expression of Gregory's understanding of papal and ecclesial authority. Using the central theme of theoretical and expressed papal authority, Gregory offers a defense for and rationalization of the second deposition and excommunication of Henry IV at the Lenten Synod of 1080. This paper will explore Gregory's theory of papal and ecclesial authority as articulated in the Second Letter to Hermann of Metz, noting the development of his argument, his use of patristic and biblical sources to reinforce the legitimacy of his claims, the limitations and mischaracterizations of the argument, and the implications of Gregory's conceptualization and attempted actualization of his theory. The paper will also address the problematic nature of the Dictatus papae, as well as the rationale for regarding the Second Letter to Hermann as a more reliable source in discerning Gregory's notion of authority.

Secular sanctity, The bishop in the East Frankish realms in the 10th -11th centuries,
Archbishop Bruno of Cologne- an exemplar?
Dr Sigga Engsbro, University of Southern Denmark

Frequently the importance of archbishop Bruno of Cologne has been underlined as the new type of bishop emerging in the mid 10th century- a role model for the bishops in the Ottonian Salian Empire. He is held to have deeply influenced both the political structure of the Ottonian Salian Empire as well as the standards of learning in the cathedral schools.

It has rarely been discussed whether the authority of the bishop within the clergy rested upon different measures in the 10th-11th centuries than was the case earlier. However, a gradual change in the depiction of the bishop in bishop's vitae from the 9th through the 11th centuries can be discerned where governmental abilities, high levels of erudition and manners are emphasized to a greater extent. The zealousness of the bishop as well as his missionary successes and miracles are also typically downplayed in comparison.

Further, in the 10th-11th centuries there is the question of homo novus as high levels of erudition might now serve as a means of social mobility and thus be a way to procure a bishopric.

'Make right what is wrong,' *Auctoritas* in Adam of Bremen
MA Britt Forde, University College of Cork, Ireland

Adam of Bremen's *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen* (c. 1075) was written at a time when the papacy was asserting its power after several centuries of chaotic and weak leadership. Papal reform was both a spiritual renewal and a reassertion of primacy over the secular empire. The church claimed sole right to appoint bishops, a task which in recent centuries had been carried out by kings. The bishops of Hamburg-Bremen sided with the empire against primacy of the pope. Adam's superior, archbishop Adalbert, was counsellor to the German kings Henry III and to his son Henry IV. Adam portrays him as a deeply flawed man with a multitude of wasted talents. He dedicates his *History* to Adalbert's successor Leimar, urging him to 'make right what was wrong among us and keep it righted forever,' thus indicating that he is not content with the present state of affairs in Bremen. By examining the subtext in Adam's narrative this paper will argue that Adam, although acknowledging the authority of both empire and papacy, looks beyond these models to advocate the ideals of the apostolic church as the ultimate *auctoritas.*

Empire and Sanctity in the Hagiography of Peter Damian
Christopher Petitt, Graduate Center of the City University of New York

My research argues that Peter Damian's *Life of Romuald of Ravenna* was one element of the contest for power between empire and papacy in the eleventh century. In this work, Peter Damian critiques imperial attempts to exploit saints' cults for political objectives and argues that the authority to define sanctity is reserved to religious leaders. The argument of the paper examines the literary technique deployed by the author within the historical context in which it was composed. My argument will demonstrate how Peter Damian's views on sanctity influenced the development of the papal canonization of saints, an exercise of authority developed during his lifetime.

In writing this work, Peter Damian joined the debate about the nature of sanctity and its relation to the exercise of temporal power. His allusion to the rival lives of Adalbertus of Prague, whose cult was sponsored by the emperor Otto III, was more sophisticated than the appropriation of *topoi* common to the hagiographic genre. In Peter's narrative, the ineffective rule of Otto is tied directly to his misguided patronage of this cult. Recognition by Henry II, Otto's successor, of the sanctity of Romuald demonstrates the superiority of the notion of sanctity developed by religious authorities.

Session 2A:
LEADERSHIP AND SECULAR AUTHORITY

Shifting authorities and political negotiation in the sixteenth century Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
MA Miia Ijäs, University of Tampere, Finland

Much of the previous study on medieval and early modern political history has concentrated on the dual authority of the Crown and Church. However, if the focus of the study is turned towards political negotiation, it can be seen that besides hierarchy there also existed dynamism within the political and social system. Thus, authorities were changing according to different situations. Political negotiation could take place through speeches, correspondence and other types of writings in which authorities were both constructed and questioned.

The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth offers an extremely interesting case-study on the late medieval or early modern political history, as negotiation was ever present in the Commonwealth's fairly parliamentarian state system. Also the changes or challenges that came across especially by the mid-sixteenth century – changes in the economic system, the extinction of the Royal dynasty and the Reformation – made negotiation more important than ever.

This presentation will introduce the use and understanding of different authorities in the sixteenth century political agency and negotiation. As documentary sources I am using Polish and Lithuanian speeches, letters and other political writings of the time, as well as the nunciature reports by papal nuncios concerning political life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

The problem of authority: Ælfric of Eynsham, lay aristocracy, and the ideals of society
MA Inka Moilanen, University of Bergen, Norway

As expressed in several instances in late tenth century and beyond, the ultimate source of power was regarded to be God. The prerequisites for one to possess righteous authority on earth were in theory bound to Christian conceptions of justice and piety. In reality the power structures of society were more complex, and the question of authority presented a problem in integrating the sacred ideals and secular realities. In this paper I examine this disagreement in the works of Ælfric of Eynsham at the turn of the first millennium. In general his writings reflect an orthodox and organized view of the order of the world, and insist on God's mercy as a constituting factor in the success of any society. At the same time, in pursuing his literary activities as well as regarding his appointment as the abbot of Eynsham, Ælfric was dependant of his lay patrons. How did this dependency influence the treatment of the nature of authority in Ælfric's texts? This paper will engage with this question, and thus takes part in the discussion on how the religious and lay authorities were negotiated in late Anglo-Saxon England.

The Black Prince in Command: Sources of Military Authority in the Duchy of Gascony during the Hundred Years War

MA Mollie Madden, University of Minnesota, USA

In 1355, Edward of Woodstock, better known as the Black Prince (1330-1376), was given his first command at the age of twenty-five. The next year, his army of English and Gascon soldiers won at Poitiers and captured the French king. His expedition was successful in that and in terms of disrupting the ability of the French to respond effectively to the raid. The Black Prince, of course, was not untested in battle, as he had served in the 1346 Crécy campaign.

However, the earls who served with him in Gascony in 1355-6 had greater experience, had commanded troops in Scotland and in France. Furthermore, Gascon nobles served in the Black Prince's army although he was not the Duke of Gascony; his father Edward III of England had not invested him with the title before the Black Prince departed for Gascony.

What then, was the source of the Black Prince's authority? Was it his in his own right, or was it temporarily granted to him? This paper will consider this question, addressing not only the source of his authority but also how it was constituted. It will further address how the Black Prince used the authority given him to further the aims of his expedition, both in military and diplomatic matters.

Session 2B:
AUTHORATITVE TEXTS AND TEXTUAL AUTHORITIES I

Fabricating philosophical authority the twelfth century: the case of the *De septem septenis*.
MA Csaba Nemeth, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

The usage of *auctoritas* --an authoritative saying consisting of the name of the author and the sentence itself-- is a common feature of the philosophical and theological works written in the twelfth century. The function of *auctoritas* is nearly identical in both cases, but the very nature of the *auctoritas* used differs significantly. *Auctoritates* used in theological works are usually transparent. In contrary, works of philosophy often present a variety of obscure *auctoritates*. Once perhaps convincing to medieval readers, such *auctoritates* sometimes can be reduced by philological means to misunderstanding of difficult (especially Greek) words, to contamination, or even to deliberate forgery.

The paper interprets in this context the philosophical-theological treatise called *De septem septenis*. Its unknown author uses an unusually great variety of *auctoritates* presenting his own philosophy, including such then-exotic authors as Heraclitus and Parmenides. Many of these passages proves to be forged or invented, but the inquiry into their sources suggests a possible interpretation for the entire treatise. It can be read as a serious reconstruction or an imitation of a philosophical book sometimes attributed to Plato and called "The Book of Awakening". The book never existed in the real world – its phantom existence rose from an old, careless misreading of an obscure passage.

Working With The Authorities In The *Devotio Moderna*
Dr Mathilde van Dijk, University of Groningen, Netherlands

The adherents of the *Devotio Moderna* put themselves forward as paragons of orthodoxy. When their founding father, the Deventer canon Geert Grote (1340-1384), had to face accusations of heresy, he countered by a document, in which he argued that he relied entirely on the authorities for his religious practice, i.e. Scripture and the Church Fathers. My purpose is to investigate how the adherents of the *Devotio Moderna* worked with authorative texts, how they interpreted these in such a way that they helped in their spiritual growth. Starting by the end of the fourteenth century, Grote's followers were well aware that they stood in a long line of failed experiments. Much as they admired founding fathers of the Poverty Movement such as Saint Francis, they were appalled at the decadence of their contemporary followers. The problem was always humankind's tendency to sin: how were the they to counter this fatal flaw? Their answer was to study the authorities in order to find the essence of piety, and to recreate it in such a way that they could imitate it in their context.

A text as an author: Anselm's friendship and Cassian's *Conferences* once again
Dr Samu Niskanen, Jesus College, University of Oxford

St Anselm's (d. 1109) theory of friendship derives from the *Conferences* of John Cassian. The dependence was first noted by Richard Southern in his seminal 1966 monograph *Saint Anselm and his Biographer*, and several scholars have thereafter discussed the topic. An exciting detail has nevertheless avoided observation. In two letters, written at the same time and delivered together to their addressees both living in the same community, Anselm discusses friendship by drawing on a passage of the *Conferences*. The letters do not use or even allude to Cassian's vocabulary, which probably explains why the dependence has gone undetected. They do, however, preserve Cassian's line of thought carefully, so that even the arrangement of the concepts matches that of the *Conferences*. Whether Anselm consciously followed Cassian's steps remains unclear. Yet the letters provide an unusually vivid example of a text's authority over an author.

Session 3A:
MODELS OF PILGRIMAGE AND SAINTLY AUTHORITY

Pater noster or *gogum gogum*? *Auctoritas* and healing power in an Occitan remedy collection

Dr Susanna Niiranen, University of Jyväskylä, Finland

This paper focuses on a collection of thirteenth-century medical recipes in Occitan. While this anonymous collection is characterized by many elements of learned medicine, e.g. besides the vernacular, its language in various terms and passages is Latin, it also reflects a rich culture of popular beliefs and practices. These recipes, which can be categorized as folk remedies, involve potions, decoctions, oils, ointments, rules for picking and using herbs, dietary advice, incantations, examples of contemporary beliefs, such as the theory of signatures, often combining more than one of these ingredients.

It is therefore essential to question the epistemological asymmetry and the traditional borderline which lies between « learned » knowledge and « popular » belief, as well as their languages, Latin and the vernacular, and other markers of various ethnicities, religions, and cultures. It is discussed how they intersect with the larger field of "healing" text and was there any hierarchy between them.

Vision and Blindness in Matthew Paris's *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*

Dr Nicole Leapley, St Anselm College, Manchester, NH, USA

Matthew Paris's Anglo-Norman Life of St. Edward the Confessor is recognized as one of the most skillfully illustrated manuscripts of the thirteenth century. In it, Matthew proves King Edward to be a saint and ideal ruler through a sustained attention to vision. Edward's holy visions are contrasted with his enemies' blindness. While Edward has divine visions, understands the significance of events, and envisions the future of his country, his enemies see only the literal and short-term. While the king's special gift is curing the blind, his foes are responsible for literal blindings. They even die symbolically appropriate deaths —with their own eyes poked out. Ultimately, the structure of the text, organized by divinely inspired visions, looks constantly forward to the restoration of Edward's peace. Edward's final revelation foretells not only a political revival for England but also a spiritual renewal for the country and provides divine sanction for Henry III's rule. Matthew Paris's interpretation of this vision, indeed all of his images and words, show us that it is his king that at last unites the lineage of England and Normandy and shines like the sun, illuminating all of England.

Patrick and the Power of Words in Medieval Ireland

Dr Jen Reid, University of Amsterdam

This paper queries the development of the figure of Patrick, the fifth-century British missionary, as an authority marking a new era for the power of words in medieval Ireland. Celebrated in legend from *circa* 600 CE, Patrick becomes Ireland's prototypical icon. Through the lens of hagiographers, Patrick is transformed into a figure of *Romanitas* and *Latinitas* — *personae* somewhat at a variance with the perspective of his own writings (reconstructive histories of early Ireland by modern scholars notwithstanding). In the earliest Hiberno-Latin accounts, the conversion of the Irish to Christianity and the subsequent development of their spirituality and literary culture is inextricably linked to Ireland's entry into the world of Latin letters via the image of Patrick as a grammarian. The emphasis on Patrick as a figure of *grammatica* reflects the dominant mode of Insular learning in the period. As the early seventh-century abecedarial hymn on Patrick, *Audite omnes amantes*, witnesses, the Irish seem to have taken seriously the idea that Patrick was the prototypical *magister scotorum*, sent like Paul, bearing the stigmata of Christ on his flesh, a master of the *lex catholica*, to recreate the Irish communicative environment. This treatment of the Patrician persona gestures towards prevailing attitudes among medieval Irish intellectuals on the relationship between authority and language, particularly as it relates to the shaping of reality through words.

Session 3B:
THE AUTHORITY OF IMAGES AND OBJECTS

The Harrowing of Hell and Romanesque Baptismal Fonts
Dr Jill Bradley, Radboud University Nijmegen and Dr Tuula Hockman, University of Tampere

The harrowing of Hell, as found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, spread from the Eastern Church north and westward. Vernacular versions and pictorial representations attest to the importance that was given to this subject, which in many ways encapsulates the salvic message of Christianity. In north-western Europe it is found relatively frequently in manuscript illumination, but its more public visual manifestations are somewhat sporadic. One area in which it became popular was Scandinavia, and particularly Gotland. This joint paper will consider the subject in relation to perhaps the most fundamental Christian rite, baptism, and the 12th century context of the baptismal fonts on which the subject appears. While a number of these fonts have been the subjects of study they have usually been approached individually, and often with emphasis on the sculptor or school of sculpture. Our paper will compare the Gotland fonts with those relatively few contemporary fonts in England, France and Germany to try to discover what particular message the Church wished to broadcast in those areas and what made this powerful symbol of redemption so relevant in Gotland.

"*That You Yourselves are God's Temple*": Shifting Identities and the Foundation of Faith in the *Hortus deliciarum* Tabernacles
MA Sarah Parker, The University of Texas at Austin, USA

The *Hortus deliciarum* (created btwn. ca. 1170 and ca. 1194; destroyed 1870), an encyclopedic salvation history designed for the canonesses at the Augustinian convent of Hohenburg by the abbess Herrad, is often admired for its highly learned and sophisticated theological writings. An analysis of two images depicting the desert Tabernacle at the manuscript's beginning raises questions concerning both religious authority and identity. The Tabernacles depicted debate as part of Christian history, and they affirmed the Hohenbourg canonesses' God-given authority to join that debate. Yet, they also encouraged a mode of viewing that revealed shifting identities and "difficult middles." Debate was shown as originating with Christianity's Jewish desert predecessors, and the canonesses were encouraged to consider themselves heirs to this intellectual tradition. To emphasize this, Herrad relied on Jewish Tabernacle imagery rather than on Christian models. The resulting physical engagement with the page created a wormhole that enabled the canonesses to inhabit simultaneously a multiplicity of identities, Christian and Jewish. The Tabernacles encouraged them to exert authority over their own spiritual lives and set into motion the central tenet of Herrad's intricate plan to present debate as part of Christianity's inheritance and to exhort her canonesses to raise their own voices.

Session 4A:
LAW AND AUTHORITY IN LATE MEDIEVAL CITIES

By 10 Mark Brokes − **Late medieval craft and guild statutes**
MA Maija Ojala, University of Tampere, Finland

In late medieval towns artisans were usually organized in diverse crafts and guilds. These organizations had their own rules, statutes, which included articles related to economical, social and religious life of the guild and craft members. In principle these statutes controlled the everyday life of artisans. This paper explores the power relationships within crafts in the Baltic Sea region. Who had authority, how it was contested and what were penalties, if rules were broken? What was the relationship between individuals and the collective? Does the written norm reflect the reality? Artisan crafts and guilds formed an important social network. Their craft statutes mirror the social structures of urban inhabitants.

The Medieval Wife and the Law - a study in guardianship, prohibitions and possibilities in Sweden 1350-1442
MA Charlotte Vainio, University of Helsinki, Finland

The paper examines the meaning of the word *malsman* ('guardian') in relation to married women in the Swedish medieval country and town laws of Magnus Eriksson (in force 1350-1442). The laws stated that once a couple had been wed, the husband was the *malsman* of his wife, but the conception's legal implications are unclear. Thus, I have through court records studied how the institution of the *malsman* functioned in practice.

Though the husband was '*malsman*' for his wife, this did not mean that she was considered a minor, as has been previously assumed. A wife had extensive legal rights stipulated in the laws, and upheld by society. The husband's right to '*söka och svara*' ('seek and answer') for his wife allowed him to comparatively freely represent her in court, but was not an obligation to do so.

Most previous interpretations of the married woman's legal status find her incapacitated, and the many examples of women acting on their own have been considered as mere exceptions. My research indicates that women were both capable of and willing to represent themselves in all kinds of legal matters, suggesting that legally incompetent wives, as an idea, did neither originate in the customs nor in the legislation of the 14th -15th centuries.

Charters in the fourteenth-century Hungarian Kingdom
MA Krisztina Rábai, University of Szeged, Hungary

The fourteenth century – when after four hundered years reign of the house of Árpád a member of the Angevin family ascended the throne of the Kingdom – was an eventful and warlike period of Hungary. We can see from the written sources of this century, how did the new dynasty legitimize its rule and how build its power.

Medieval written sources can be divided into three main groups. There are archival, narrative and decretal sources. In the course of this presentation, we are focusing to the first group, especially to the charters. Charters or diploms are a type of spontaneous historical records, which were brought into being by everyday necessity, and were issued to comply with defined internal and external forms, that ascertain and prove a legal facts.

During this discourse, we are investigating the authority and authenticity of diploms in two aspects. On the one hand, we are observing the external form and characteristics of diploms (such as sigillum, chirographum, signum recognitionis, etc.), on the other, we are concetrating to the internal structure of these letters. What was the function of these documents? How did an authentic charter look like? How can we identify a falsified charter?

Session 4B:
AUTHORITATIVE TEXTS AND TEXTUAL AUTHORITIES II

Sed antiquiora nostra sunt – The Authority of the Past in Late Antique Debates
Dr Maijastina Kahlos, University of Helsinki

In the Greco-Roman world, the past played a fundamental role in creating the symbolics of power and the authority of antiquity was rarely questioned. Consequently, religious inclinations were thought to be sanctioned by their antiquity. Christians as newcomers had to face this challenge of the venerable past.

I will discuss with examples from Christian apologetic literature how this challenge was countered. In the authorization of their religious inclination, Christian authors could either question the prestige of antiquity or make use of it. In the latter case, they overturned the argument of antiquity, by labelling Greco-Roman religions as recent and arguing Christianity as primeval. Both methods were often used by the same author.

My examples come from Christian fourth and fifth century writers such as Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius of Caesarea, Ambrose of Milan, Augustine of Hippo and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The writers and arguments will be set in the wider context of the Christian – pagan dispute over the past.

Legitimizing Apocrypha: The Importance of Marian Apocryphal Texts in Matters of Orthodoxy during the Carolingian Age
Dr James B. Williams, University of Indianapolis, USA

In the Carolingian Age, Marian apocryphal texts gained increased circulation, but the interest in these texts was not just for entertainment or the preservation of an older Christian culture. Carolingian luminaries appropriated information from Marian apocrypha in order to construct "orthodox" arguments against Felix of Urgel and Elipandus of Toledo. One of the primary arguments of the Carolingian court against the "Felician heresy" was that Mary's seed fulfilled the Biblical statements that Jesus was descended from King David. While the New Testament attested to Jesus's connection with David through Joseph, the Bible gives no mention of Mary's association with David. Only the Marian apocrypha created the tradition of Mary's link to the house of David. In order to construct Carolingian "orthodoxy," Alcuin of York, Paulinus of Aquileia, and others employed strategies to legitimize Marian apocryphal material through the re-writing of apocryphal manuscripts and the submersion of apocryphal information into a pool of accepted ecclesiastical authorities.

Eugippius' use of Augustine's authority in the *Excerpta ex operibus Sancti Augustini.*
MA Symke Haverkamp, University of St Andrew's, Scotland.

At the end of his life, Eugippius (+ after 533) compiled a vast florilegium from the works of Augustine at his monastery at Castellum Lucullanum which proved to be influential for the transmission of Augustine's works into the middle ages. In this florilegium Eugippius contained excerpts which deal with salvation history and with the functioning of Christianity in daily life. A florilegium on such topics could be compiled from many authors, yet Eugippius chose to confine himself to Augustine. Apparently Augustine had a special status for Eugippius. But what are the reasons that Eugippius gives us for this choice? What did the authority of Augustine consist of for Eugippius? Although a florilegium per se gives little explicit evidence of Eugippius' perception of the authority of Augustine -or for the way in which he constructed his relationship with this authority of Augustine-, in the letter commending the florilegium to the virgin Proba Eugippius gives some clues. And how did Eugippius apply this authority of Augustine in his selection of excerpts? How did he use his selection of excerpts of Augustine flexibly to convey his own message? Eugippius' selection of excerpts concerning the soul will provide an example for this use and for the filter through which Eugippius' had his readers perceive Augustine.

Session 5A:
CONSTRUCTING AUTHORITY IN CHAUCER

Chaucer and a New Auctoritas by Indirection
Dr John Martti Hill, U.S. Naval Academy

Unlike Dante, Chaucer even at court prefers to efface himself. Nevertheless he aspires to high standing, while remaining low key through one persona or another. Great poets greet Dante in the *The Inferno*, welcoming him as an equal. Yet Chaucer seemingly bows to the likes of "Virgile, Ovide, Omer, Lucan and Stace," to whom he would have *Troilus and Criseyde* subject, so as to kiss the steps where they pass. However, that humble gesture belies his ambition, which is, perhaps, to help uphold the iron pillar of Troy, as supported in *The Hous of Fame* by "the gret Omer' / and with him Dares and Tytus / Before, and eke he Lollius, / And Guydo eke de Columpnis, / And Englyssh Gaufride eke, ywis."

For that Chaucer needs a profound subject, which he fashions through his story of love abetted by friendship, as well as a powerful methodology, drawn in his case from the *Consolation of Philosophy*'s Neoplatonism. Furthermore, he assumes the trappings of literary authority for vernacular poetry: invoking a fictitious Latin auctor, composing prologues, creating divisions into books, and occasionally commenting on action as well as addressing presumed lovers and readers. And of course he draws upon classical and medieval rhetoric for his poetics of translation, while integrating proverbs into vernacular speech for his characters. But rather than provide authority on love, friendship and the Good especially, Chaucer's Boethius gives him a way of meditatively approaching any topic, of assembling variations, each of which reflects something of the truth underlying whatever class the richly characterized variation belongs to. In this way, having provisionally settled that there is truth in fiction, his indirect *method* but not his judgment becomes authoritative. My presentation will elucidate that indirection using Chaucer's Petrarch and Dante, as well as the Boethian meters and prose he transforms for Troilus. Often read as reflecting insufficiencies of understanding, I will show instead, or else also, that for Chaucer those lyrics are worthy deviations in their own right. There and elsewhere he becomes an oblique auctor of modern love, well before Shakespeare, as he yanks implicit literary authority around to underscore something of love's worthiness and pain.

Seeing, Hearing, Reading and Writing: Constructing Authority through Structure in Chaucer's House of Fame
Dr Christina M. Carlson, Iona College, USA

When scholarship on Chaucer's dream vision The House of Fame addresses the issue of its structure, the first of its three books, which recounts the story of Dido and Aeneas, is often regarded as an extraneous narrative, unconnected to the rest of the poem, or there simply to fulfill a structural requirement. However, there is little in Chaucer's work that isn't deliberate, especially when it concerns the establishment of his own authorial identity. Thus, in contrast I would argue that, far from being incidental to the poem, Book I shares close similarities in language and structure with Book III, and that they should both be read as part of a coherent whole. This consideration is not only aesthetic, but also thematic; Dido's romantic relationship

with Aeneas serves as a model for the way fame operates, as well as a lesson in deceptive appearances. Her story both provides a means of understanding the narrator's position and serves as a point of departure from it. In particular, the acts of seeing and hearing provide Chaucer with a means of establishing the auctorite of his narrator, and ultimately his own. In this paper, I argue that not only should Book I should be read as an integral part of The House of Fame and seen as essential to its structural integrity and its construction of meaning, but that when read as such it connects this enigmatic, unfinished poem thematically to Chaucer's other works in its ultimate concern with the establishment of his poetic authority despite the fundamental instability of the language in which he writes.

Authority and Insults in Troilus and Criseyde
BA Jacek Kozlowski, University of Helsinki, Finland

This paper will examine authority and responses to authority in a scene in Book V of Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*. In this scene, Troilus asks his sister Cassandra to interpret the dream he has had because he fears that it means that Criseyde will be unfaithful to him. Instead of addressing the dream directly, Cassandra responds by relating the history of *The Thebiad* in a show of historical authority before finally confirming Troilus' worries. The scene is different in Chaucer's source, Boccaccio's *Il Filostrato*, in which Troilus interprets the dream on his own, and Cassandra merely teases him. In both poems, Troilus becomes very angry after Cassandra's words, but, in Chaucer, this anger is harder to explain. In this paper, I will suggest that Cassandra's interpretation functions to insult Troilus. I will use insult categories suggested by Jucker (2000) to show that Troilus' counter-abuse can be seen as a response to Cassandra's authority, and to the authority of fortune more generally in the poem. Taking a pragmatic approach to Cassandra's interpretation and Troilus' reaction can help explain some of the ways in which Chaucer departed from his source.

Session 5B:
THE IDEAL AND THE REAL: AUTHORITY IN ENGLISH LEGAL DOCUMENTS, 1150-1500

"Legal Uses of the Medieval English Cartulary"
MA Robin Sutherland-Harris, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, Canada

Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, English monasteries produced cartularies in significant numbers. These codices were compilations and reproductions of the charters considered by the community to be most relevant to its needs, and thus often reflected pressing contemporary concerns. The cartulary could be commissioned to reinforce the authority of a particular abbot, for example, or it could speak to the community's need as a whole to defend itself from the demands of an encroaching bishop or lay lord. The production of a cartulary was a means of guarding legal documents from potential harm or loss. It was also a tool for building and defining institutional identity, itself a struggle which often took place in a legal setting, through the arbitration of texts and third parties. But what happened to the original charters once they had been recopied into the cartulary, and how effective were these conglomerations of documents at protecting the legal interests of their makers? This paper examines the effectiveness of cartularies as repositories of legal documents between 1150 and 1300, and considers their use by contemporaries, not only in the years immediately following their production, but also in subsequent decades, as the concerns of the monastery changed. Was a cartulary effective beyond the walls of the abbey when it sought to bolster institutional identity or power? How did monasteries use these codices to access the legal authority of the documents copied within them? Did the cartulary copy replace the original, or did the loose charter retain its primary legal authority while it still existed? The status of text and textual objects was changing throughout this period, and the transfer from loose charter to bound codex was a transfer from one type of textual authority to another. The ways in which the cartulary replaced the charter are not only revealing of changing preoccupations and ambitions of monasteries, but can also inform us about shifts in the authoritative form of legal texts in medieval England.

"… *suum condidit testamentum in hec verba*": Negotiating Authority in the London Husting and Commissary Court Wills, 1350-1485
MA Eileen Kim, Centre for Medieval Studies, University of Toronto, Canada

In what ways did courts exercise authority? Did they actively enforce mandates expressed in legal documents, or did they function largely as third-party witnesses whose primary role was to simply record what actually took place? This paper will present a case study of forty-two testators with wills enrolled in each of two London courts, namely the Husting and Commissary Courts, between 1374 and 1485. In this comparative analysis, two particular features of the wills shall be discussed: the textual parallels between the two wills enrolled by the testator, and the disparity between executors named and those whose actual appearance to fulfill their duties was recorded. It will be suggested here that these records negotiate two distinct concepts of authority: the integrity, and hence the validity, of a text, versus its actual force or ability to compel people to action. In the great majority of the cases, the wills enrolled in both courts share a virtual word-for-

word resemblance, even beyond the formula generally adapted for wills. This may be all the more surprising given the two courts' different roles in handling wills. The Husting Court was designated to oversee administration primarily of real estate such as land and buildings, while the Commissary Court supervised testators' moveable possessions such as furniture and clothing. Analysis, on the other hand, of the extent to which named executors appeared in court to confirm their appointment, reveals a much lower rate of correlation. In the Husting Court's record of tailor Roger Lunt's 1387 will, only wife Sara and William Balle, two of the four originally named, are noted as having come to court. In John Benyngton's 1377 Commissary Court will, administration is granted only to three of the seven named executors; two of those absent, John Caddesby and Robert Lepere, are explicitly noted as such. This paper will discuss the intersections between these different notions of authority and will argue that the courts of London, in their role as administrators of London inhabitants' wills, were viewed less as a voice of injunction than as a voice of endorsement, functioning primarily to verify and confirm rather than to police and enforce.

Saints, Suffragans and Templars? Authority of Irish Bishops in English Episcopal Indulgences issued to New Temple, London, in the 12th and 13th centuries: A Case Study.
Dr Nicole Hamonic, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, USA

The theory of medieval indulgences developed and evolved alongside the twelfth-century scholastic discussion concerning sin, confession, penance, and ecclesiastical authority. New legislation introduced by the post-Gregorian Church to regulate the level of authority required to issue indulgences, as well as to limit their geographic and temporal scope, reflects just how copious the indulgence had become, and signals attempts by the Church to respond to criticisms concerning its existence. Changes in the vocabulary and formulae of twelfth- and thirteenth-century English episcopal indulgences demonstrate how bishops could get around these geographic and temporal limits, particularly with the introduction of ratification clauses. Yet, in the early thirteenth century, two Irish suffragan bishops in London broke with legislation outright and extended the terms of their indulgences for the Templar Church at New Temple to their diocesan subjects in Ireland, raising questions concerning the ideology, reality, and application of episcopal authority. Using a collection of indulgences issued to the Templar church in London, this paper explores the changing representations of authority in the diplomatic of charters – particularly those that were issued by Irish suffragans – and examines the evolution of the divine invocations used by the bishops to validate their own authority. This paper also sheds light on the role of the Templars in London society as a religious order, and New Temple as a sacred site – an aspect of Templar history in England that is often overshadowed by their political and economic activities.

Session 6A:
CONSTRUCTING AUTHORITY IN VERNACULAR TEXTS

Teaching Authority and the Pastoralia in the Sermons of John Wyclif

BA, MTS Sean Otto, University of Toronto, Canada

Church law in later-medieval England required curates to preach on the pastoralia: the Decalogue, the seven deadly sins, the *Pater Noster*, and so on. John Wyclif in his extant sermons covers these topics, but they give him the opportunity to take aim at his favourite polemical targets. For instance, in his discussion of the first commandment, Thou shalt not have strange gods before me ... Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, Wyclif argues that those who adore the host at mass are idolaters, and argues further in this same discussion that images are safer destroyed, but still useful for the unlettered. At the same time, there are hints that Wyclif might have intended these sermons to be used by other preachers. He also shows concern for popular preaching to an unlearned audience, but at other points, brings in topics which most likely would have gone over the heads of his parishioners at Lutterworth. Thus, in these sermons, there is a meeting of the traditional, and approved, with the radical, and disapproved. Questions about teaching and authority are ripe within these discussions of the pastoralia, and will form the focus of this paper.

Mastering Misrule: Robin Hood and the Ethics of Hospitality.

MA Laurie Mckee, Northumbria University, England

In *A Gest of Robyn Hode* (c.1450) Robin Hood invites a dispossessed Knight to feast with him in the greenwood; this is a common plot element in medieval outlaw literature, and an expression of authority that unsettles our expectations –and the period's uses – of the concept. For critics such as A.J.Pollard, such a ceremony represents 'true conviviality and hospitality, the celebration of inclusive brotherly love and charity.'[1] Yet how can we define 'true' hospitality? Jacques Derrida argued that whilst the traditional performance of hospitality begins with one person extending an invitation to another, 'true' hospitality must not entail an invitation; the host must be *permanently* ready to receive any stranger, even if they may be harmful to him. In a parody of such ethics, Robin Hood refuses to dine until his merry men have actively procured him a 'guest' who 'may pay for the best'. Furthermore, whilst the poem depicts the greenwood as a symbolically 'free' space, Robin appropriates it in order to stage the hospitable ceremonies through which he asserts his authority over the space and those invited into it. In other words, Robin must invest himself with the authority to play 'host' in order to be hospitable. In this paper, I will explore this tension between power and hospitality in the *Gest* with reference to the theories of Levinas, Blanchot and Derrida.

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[1] Pollard, A.J. *Imagining Robin Hood: The Late Medieval Stories in Historical Context*. (Routledge, 2004) pp 214-215.

From Complaint to Confession: Confessional Authority in Thomas Hoccleve's *Compleynt and Dialogue*

MA Jenny Lee, Northwestern University, USA

Late Middle English literature is rife with scenes of authors confessing to fictional confessors. In these narratives, the fictional confessors ordain the writers to compose works that will be both aesthetically and morally fruitful for an increasingly literate, socially mobile, and critical class of readers. Such anxious attention to one's readers is typical of the literature of this milieu—as the editors of *The Idea of the Vernacular* have pointed out, vernacular writers trying to establish a new kind of authority not based in Latinity "routinely submit their works to their readers for improvement…envisaging the search for truth as a collaborative project that does not end with the completion of a text but simply moves into a new phase." Based on this view of the late Middle English vernacular text as characteristically fluid, porous, and open to negotiation, this paper takes as its starting point the works of the 15th-century writer Thomas Hoccleve, which painstakingly document their narrators' perpetual search for authority. Most of Hoccleve's works begin with a single voice speaking in the void, but it quickly becomes clear that the speakers are seeking out an audience, recognizing that the socializing force of confessional expression is necessary to achieve reconciliation and affirmation. In particular, Hoccleve's *Compleynt and Dialogue* makes explicit the structures and imperatives of confession underwriting Hoccleve's self-authorizing agenda. Through an analysis of Hoccleve's work, this paper argues for Hoccleve's creative use of confession—the transformation of the public into the figure of the confessor, the confessing narrator's claims to speak the truth—as a paradigmatic example of the wider phenomenon of Middle English writers' struggle to establish authority for writing in the vernacular.

Session 6B:
RELIGIOUS AND LEGAL AUTHORITY IN MEDIEVAL NORTHERN EUROPE

"*What Jesus means' is…*" - The Dominican Order as theological authority for kings, clerks and peasants in medieval Northern Europe.
Dr Johnny Jakobsen, University of Copenhagen, Denmark

In the thirteenth century, most Europeans were - or were soon to by - considered Christians. As it seems, many of all these good Christians sincerely wanted to live in accordance with God's will and the Holy Scriptures. For most lay people, and even many clerical ones too, God's will is, however, not all that easy to comprehend. The monastic order of Friars Preachers or Dominicans offered themselves to the rest of medieval Christian society as an established and well-educated authority on all theological matters, eager and ready to explain the true meaning of Christianity for everyone, be they kings or peasants, bishops or parish priests, woman or man. In this paper, I will present a series of examples from Northern Europe on the role of Dominicans as theological authority for the rest of medieval society. How did the friars see themselves as a theological authority, how did they act in this role, how were they seen and used by others as such - and how was the Dominican authority at times tried and challenged?

Frozen in Time: Perpetuating the authority of oral testimonies of court (*tingsvidner*) in fourteenth-century Denmark
Dr Michael H. Gelting, senior research archivist, professor, Danish National Archives (Rigsarkivet) / University of Aberdeen.

In the 1240s it became a condition for the validity of real estate transactions in Denmark that the formal act of transferring the property had been performed and made public in court. According to the Law of Jylland (1241), the reason for this was that "testimony of court is so strong that no proof may be given against it". Charter evidence from the latter half of the thirteenth century shows that this testimony of court was understood in a strict literal sense: it was the oral testimony of the men who had been present in court and witnessed the transaction, and it was not recorded in writing. During the fourteenth century, a charter form was developed by which this oral testimony was enshrined in writing, so to speak freezing it in time. In this paper I intend to discuss the way in which the paramount authority of the oral testimony was carried over into writing, as well as the chronology and circumstances of this transformation.

Authority of archbishop Nicolaus Catilli of Uppsala in a 14th century Swedish heresy trial.
BA Reima Välimäki, University of Turku, Finland

Archbishop Nicolaus Catilli of Uppsala condemned in 1311 a man called Botulf as relapsed heretic and ordered him to be handed over to secular authorities. In this sentence, preserved in a charter by archbishop Nicolaus, it is possible to examine *auctoritas* of Catholic Church over those suspected of heresy. In the time of Botulf's trial, the Nordic legislation had only vague sanctions of blasphemy, and the judicial as well as textual models for the sentence apparently rested on procedures defined by inquisitors during the previous century. In the case of Boulf's trial the practice of condemning heretics had to be adapted in local conditions of early 14th century Sweden, still a periphery of medieval Latin Christendom.

The application of universal *auctoritas,* wielded by individual actors in local incident is the theme of my paper. Where rested the authority to condemn a heretic and how this authority was presented and confirmed in the sentence? How was the church's authority limited? Central figure for the case seems to be archbishop Nicolaus with his strong contacts to papal curia. I will discuss how he utilized his authority, both as a condemner of heretical dissidence, and as author of the charter that justified the sentence.

Session 7A:
TWELFTH-CENTURY SCHOLARS AND AUTHORITY

"King Ptolemy and the sages of India" - Abraham Ibn Ezra's scientific sources and their roles in his ideology.
MA Nadja Johansson, Department of Comparative Religion, University of Helsinki.

The 12th century Jewish polymath Abraham Ibn Ezra referred to and named a remarkable number and variety of authorities in his scientific works, both Greek, Arabic and Jewish.

It was typical of medieval scientific texts that the religious affiliations of their authors played but a minor role in their reception and in the authority that they enjoyed. But what was the role of such mythical scientific authors as Hermes-Enoch, or such mystical writings as Sefer Yetsira in this scientific context? What was the role in Ibn Ezra's thought, of the misguided assumption, common in his circles, that the astronomer Claudius Ptolemy was the same man as king Ptolemy II, responsible for the Greek translation of the Bible?

While Ibn Ezra did not discriminate between sources on the basis of the religion of its author, he was far from treating all his sources equally. I will argue that he favoured authorities that supported, or that he believed to support, his own ideological notion of a unity of science and religion. Focussing on Ibn Ezra's astrological works, this paper attempts to trace the varying roles that such diverse sources played in the construction of Ibn Ezra's scientific or astrological arguments.

Scito te ipsum: **The Anthropology of Authority in Twelfth-Century Thought**
Dr Sigbjørn Sønnesyn, University of Bergen, Norway

For a culture as steeped in Christianity as the medieval West was, it goes without saying that God and his Word would carry the ultimate authority. It may easily be imagined that human authority, to the extent that such existed, was derivative from that of God on condition of absolute obedience to a fixed body of doctrine. Such deference to authoritative figures, not to mention authoritative religious doctrine, has been seen as creating a conflict between authority and invention, exemplified for instance through the conflicts between conservative theologians like Bernard of Clairvaux and progressive thinkers like Peter Abaelard and Gilbert de la Poiree. However, important voices from this same period, for instance Abaelard himself, betray no difficulty or embarrassment in bowing to authority and praising invention in equal measure. Human invention had some authority of its own, even in quarters of perceived conservatism. In this paper I will suggest that this seeming paradox can be solved through attending to the injunction ´scito te ipsum´, found in a comprehensive range of medieval texts across the conservative/progressive divide. The moral and epistemological anthropology behind this injunction provides an important glimpse of a notion of humanity where rootedness and growth are mutually dependent rather than oppositions.

Authority and Reason: Lanfranc, Berengar, Anselm
Dr Toivo J. Holopainen, University of Helsinki, Finland

The relation of authority and reason is a traditional theme in the historiography of medieval philosophy and theology. My paper will consider two classical episodes related to it: the exchange between Lanfranc and Berengar about the interpretation of the Eucharistic doctrine (early 1060s), and the exchange between Lanfranc and Anselm about the latter's first treatise, the *Monologion* (around 1076). The role of the authoritative writings in theological discussion is an important issue in both the exchanges but other modes of authority are also involved. Berengar of Tours supports his dissenting ideas about the Eucharist by appealing to the authoritative writings of the Church, and he views himself as a champion of the intelligent interpretation of the sacred writings. Lanfranc, for his part, appeals to the authority of the Church and depicts himself as a spokesman for that authority. Developing an image of a monolithic Church with a monolithic teaching, Lanfranc seeks to preclude the possibility of any legitimate theological disagreement. In the *Monologion*, Anselm introduces an approach to theological issues that does not appeal to the authoritative writings but instead builds on rational arguments alone (*sola ratione*). At the same time, Anselm resorts to authority argument to legitimize his approach. For example, he sought Lanfranc's authorization for the publication of the treatise, and, contrary to what is often said, it seems he succeeded in gaining it.

SESSION 7B:
MIRACULOUS AUTHORITY IN MEDIEVAL ICELAND

Authority of the Deceased. The Restless Dead and Their Influence on the Living in Medieval Iceland.

MA Kirsi Kanerva, University of Turku, Finland

In my paper I will discuss the authority of the dead and their influence on the still living people in medieval Scandinavia. The sources of my study consist of the *Íslendingasögur*, sagas of the Icelanders that were written in the thirteenth and fourteenth century Iceland. In Icelandic saga literature, the restless dead, the *draugar* (sg. *draugr*) have physical bodies, and they go around causing trouble and fear as well as madness and disease to people. The living dead do not disappear until a hero manages to destroy them, usually by decapitating the ghost with a sword or by burning its body that is dug out of its grave, or, in some cases with the help of both pagan and Christian law.

My point of departure is the analysis presented by Russell Poole[2] on Grettir's encounter with the *draugr* called Glámr in *Grettis saga*, where he emphasizes that meeting the *draugr* symbolizes Grettir's encounter with his own father. Though slightly criticizing Poole's psychoanalytical work, I will show that this father/son -relationship is essential in *draugr*-stories. In addition to this, I will suggest that the *draugr* symbolizes the mental pressure or encouragement, i.e. negative or positive influence of the dead (and everything it symbolizes) on the hero of the saga. I will study the meanings of the *draugr* and its aspects of power and authority in *Eyrbyggja saga* and *Brennu-Njáls saga* through an intertextual analysis in the context of other *Íslendingasögur*. I will also pay attention to the context of the saga itself, so that "the saga is to be read as a whole, every part of it contributing to its general meaning" as Torfi H. Tulinius have pointed out.[3]

Snorri Sturluson qua Fulcrum in the Evolution of Mythology and Poetics in Medieval Iceland

Frog, University of Helsinki, Finland

In the year 1220 or shortly after, Snorri Sturluson composed (in whole or in part) a vernacular (Old Icelandic) treatise on traditional oral poetry and poetics. This is the work called *Edda* (now the *Prose Edda* or *Poetic Edda*). In the modern era, *Edda* is arguably our most important source for Old Norse mythology, the vernacular poetic system, and important poetic texts scattered through the work as quotations. This paper will review the impact of Snorri and his work on their audiences across the next three centuries. For the most part, these impacts can only be assessed and interpreted as probabilities. A central point of this paper is to present an overview of the range and scope of probable impacts and show that they are complementary. These include the use and

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[2] Poole, Russell (2004): "Myth, Psychology, and Society in Grettis saga". *Alvíssmál* 2004, 11:3-16.

[3] Tulinius, Torfi H. (2001): "The prosimetrum form 2: Verses as an influence in saga composition and interpretation". In *Skaldsagas. Text, Vocation, and Desire in the Icelandic Sagas of Poets.* Edited by Russell Poole, 214.

interpretation of 'pagan' mythological referents in poetic circumlocutions, the documentation of poetry and generation of treatises on poetics, and the knowledge and manipulation of 'pagan' mythology in prose narratives. Showing the complementary nature of these probabilities reinforces the argument that Snorri and his work provided a significant authority both in the oral tradition and in scriptoria. Situating Snorri in the historical context of post-conversion poetry and the emergence of Old Norse vernacular literature will reveal that Snorri was not the 'first' but rather the fulcrum in a system of cultural changes.

Saga of the Jómsvikings as an Example of Heroic Storytelling

MA Sirpa Aalto, University of Eastern Finland, Joensuu, Finland

The purpose of my paper is to discuss some aspects of authorship of the *Jómsvíkingasaga*. The saga was presumably written down *ca*. AD 1200 but the oldest manuscripts date from the end of the 13th century. The author of the saga is anonymous and there are several versions and manuscripts of the saga. This saga is often taken as an example of heroic storytelling in saga tradition. The Jómsvikings were a brotherhood, they lived in a fortress and followed their own laws and codes. I argue that the content of the saga does not represent only Old Norse tradition but it is affected, at least to some extent, by medieval chivalric ideas. Did the author/s deviate from the oral tradition concerning the Jómsvikings? Can we detect this in the saga?