

# *EVIL/LE MAL*

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## Keynote speakers / Conférenciers principaux

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**Gerald Guest**

*Confronting Evil in Some Late Medieval Prayer Books*

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**Mirielle Vincent-Cassy**

*Humilité versus Mal*

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### PAPER ABSTRACTS / RÉSUMÉS DE COMMUNICATION

(in alphabetical order by author's last name / par ordre alphabétique du nom d'auteur)

#### **Michael Barbezat**

Like Rejoices in Like: Interpreting the Similarity Between Good and Evil  
in the Context of Reform and Heresy

In medieval sources, confrontations with the evil of heresy often involve the discernment of an inner truth disguised by a misleading outer appearance. This paper explores two such negotiations between outward seeming and inner reality in the context of Christian heresy. The first is a little-known treatise from the twelfth-century Rhineland, the *Libellus adversus errores Alberonis sacerdotis Merkensis*. This text is a denunciation of a would-be reformer, named Albero, who broke with the institutional Church in response to what he saw as its inveterate corruption. Outside the Church, Albero became a companion to demons while claiming to remain pure. The second example is an episode from the well-known *Dialogus miraculorum* of Caesarius of Heisterbach, in which a group of heretics from Besançon appear to work miracles as if they were saints.

This paper will argue that in both of these sources, the likeness between heretic and good Catholic is a central obstacle, and both sources explore this obstacle through their heretics' apparent immunity to fire. The heretics in these texts appear as wonder-workers in stark opposition to the mundane corruption of the institutional clergy they oppose. In these sources, the discernment between good and evil must rely on something beyond outer appearances and apparent supernatural wonders. The recognition of the heretic must be read from the inside out through a kind of super-human knowledge of what they are that guides the task of interpretation. In this fashion, the recognition of the heretic runs parallel to the process of reading an allegorical text in which a true meaning is hidden by a deceptive outer covering or integument. Finally, these two examples illuminate medieval understandings of the uncomfortable proximity of good and evil and the frequent resemblances between the two, especially in the context of ecclesiastical reform.

#### **Florian Besson**

« Les chevaliers du Christ détruisirent les satellites du diable » : vaincre le mal pendant la première croisade

Les nombreuses chroniques qui célèbrent le succès de la première croisade, lancée en 1096 par le pape Urbain II, sont unanimes : le long de la route qui mènent à Jérusalem, les croisés n'ont pas affronté que des armées hostiles. Ennemis monstrueux, à la peau de fer, à la taille gigantesque, armés de griffes ou de cornes, dont les noms agressent l'oreille de sonorités barbares ; animaux féroces, inconnus de l'Occident, culminant jusqu'au dragon de la *Chanson d'Antioche* ; même les redoutables vents du sud, soufflés par le diable, viennent contrecarrer la route des chevaliers du Christ. Le mal est partout : le diable s'insinue dans les rêves des chevaliers pour leur proposer gloire et fortune, s'incarne dans des prostituées pour corrompre les héros chrétiens ou dans un ours pour mieux agresser Godefroy

de Bouillon. Mais le bien triomphe toujours, grâce au courage des chevaliers, aux miracles divins et à la bonne guidance offerte par les clercs.

Cette redoutable tétalogie fait sens. Voulu par Dieu, ayant pour but de venger le Christ et de délivrer son patrimoine, la croisade se présente moins comme une expédition militaire que comme une aventure mystique, inscrite dans de profondes tensions eschatologiques qui lient la prise de la Jérusalem terrestre à l'avènement de la Jérusalem céleste. Pour les chroniqueurs qui racontent l'expédition, il s'agit évidemment d'insister sur la victoire du bien, et, ce faisant, de forger une éthique du chevalier du Christ qui contribue en réalité à christianiser en profondeur l'idéologie chevaleresque naissante, tout en inventant un mythe de la croisade.

## **Laura Chuhan Campbell**

### Ecological Evil and Original Sin: The Moralization of Nature in French Vernacular Versions of Genesis 2-3

Vernacular French versions of Genesis 2-3 are part Bible translation, part commentary. As a result, they combine the text of the Bible with apocryphal readings, and impose a teleological pattern that establishes the eventual redemption of Adam and Eve by Christ. This constitutes what Mieke Bal has described as a “retrospective fallacy”—that is, reading dualisms and patterns into a text that were not established until after its composition. This paper will explore one such retrospective reading of Genesis—that is, the moralized representation of the relationship between humanity and nature. In three vernacular translations of Genesis, *La Bible historique*, *La Création du monde*, and *Le Jeu d'Adam*, Adam is posited as the ‘seigneur’ of the natural world, where animals and vegetation exist in harmony under his control and at his disposition. After Adam and Eve are ejected from paradise, however, nature becomes hostile and serves as a semiotic reminder of their sin. Drawing on ecocritical Biblical scholarship, the paper will demonstrate that this narrative of alienation from nature in these vernacular translations inscribes humanity’s sinfulness into the natural world, establishing new hierarchies and dichotomies that represent its fallen state. As a result, the medieval vernacular translations create a tension between the Latin scripture and the nature/humanity, male/female, good/evil oppositions that are read into it retroactively. I will argue that the cumulative nature of this mode of vernacular translation, in which commentary and didactic material overlay the Biblical text, justifies reading the order of the natural world as symbolic of humanity’s sin, while the retrospective interpretation of the serpent as Satan instrumentalizes nature as a tool for evil, while at the same time depriving it of moral agency.

## **Greti Dinkova-Bruun**

### *Libera nos a malo: Discussion of Evil in the Preaching Manual Qui bene present*

Written in the beginning of the thirteenth century by Richard of Wetheringsett, a student of William de Montibus in Lincoln and the earliest identifiable chancellor of Cambridge University, the treatise *Qui bene presunt (Qbp)* became one of the most popular preaching manuals on the British Isles during the later Middle Ages. The work is still found in 63 medieval manuscripts, but despite its popularity and importance it remains unedited.

The *Qbp* is the first pastoral manual that identifies in a programmatic manner twelve topics, which the preacher himself has to learn about before in turn preaching them to the people. It is a skillful composition, in which prose and poetry alternate in order to provide the reader with a synthesis of the pertinent discussion on the one hand and a mnemonic verse summary of the same topic on the other.

In my paper for the conference of the International Medieval Society (IMS-Paris) I propose to examine two of the twelve distinctions of the *Qbp* which have direct bearing on the discussion of “evil”: *Distinctio 2 (De oratione dominica)* and *Distinctio 5 (De uiciis)*. In the context of the Lord’s Prayer Richard first defines “evil” (*malum*) and then discusses the *Pater Noster moraliter*, by connecting each of its seven petitions to the seven deadly sins, against which the prayer can be used as a powerful remedy. In *Distinctio 5* of the treatise Richard provides a detailed discussion on the origin of evil and offers a noteworthy description of the *remedia specialia* which Christ, the greatest of all physicians, administers to the sinner in order to cure him from his deadly transgressions. Linked to the events of Christ’s nativity and passion, these remedies are applied to both the body and the soul of the suffering patient or sinner, thus securing his salvation and acceptance in the kingdom of Heaven.

This paper investigates the remarkable intersection between the theological discussion of evil and the special medical cures offered by Christ for its eradication.

## **Linda Dohmen**

### The Devil in Disguise: Making Sense of Evil in Early Medieval Frankish Historiography

Ubique diabolus, the devil is everywhere. For medieval historiographers who tried to make sense of human actions, both past and present, Jerome's warning about the devil's ubiquity most certainly appeared as a reality. The devil frequently figures in medieval narratives, yet these references are too selective to be dismissed as habitual.

Concentrating on early medieval Frankish historiography (such as Gregory of Tours's Ten Books of Histories, the Astronomer's Life of Louis the Pious, Hincmar's Annals or Notker's Deeds of Charlemagne) I shall analyse the devil's different narrative functions, both as an evil whisperer in the narrative's background as well as an actor himself. Concrete historical figures, women and men, can appear as personifications of the devil (or antichrist), whereas the devil figures as the personification of evil, sometimes posing a threat to an individual's salvation, sometimes to the Christian community, or in an apocalyptic perspective, the world as a whole. The devil can serve to illustrate the antihero's villainy as well as to enhance the hero's virtues, thereby clarifying the author's, i.e. the historiographer's, own moral and political attitude. In this way, historiographical representations of the devil do not only form part of a discourse on morality, but also address questions of historical arguing and contemporary concepts of causality, thus trying to make sense of evil in a world created by God.

## **Gioia Filocamo**

### The Devil in the poetical "contrast" for those condemned to death in fifteenth-century Bologna

From the earliest known examples in the field of Romance languages, and thanks to its liveliness in form of dialogue, the genre of "contrasto poetico" ('poetical dispute') is well suited to create ethically negative situations and concepts to great effect in order to intensify the opposite meaning. Four anonymous *contrast* in octaves (ABABABCC), two of which are still unpublished, are present in the "laudario" (a collection of *laude*, that is devotional poems for singing) of the Confraternity of S. Maria della Morte in Bologna, founded in 1336 and the first institution to devote itself systematically to the comfort of those sentenced to death and close to their execution. In the four texts, the Devil is often shown as the incarnation of rationality, which is the chief danger for those who should, on the contrary, calmly and uncomplainingly accept their own death 'as justice', in order to obtain divine absolution for their sins. The colourful language, the equal rebound of accusations between the contrastive characters and the reasoning in the *contrast* serve to give a direct and logical repartee that aims to resolve the ethical doubts of the reader/listener permanently and without excessive waste of energy. The characters concerned are stereotyped and are not subjected to any psychological development. By means of the pragmatic logic of his reasoning, the Devil bickers with his counterparts or hides behind concepts defined as 'diabolical', including that of compensatory justice typical of the law of retaliation, which expects from the sinners a return in proportion to the sins committed. This is set against what is not rational: the merciful attitude of God, promised by the comforters to the condemned man in his last hours of life on the condition that he, sincerely repentant, should accept the scaffold awaiting him as a form of supreme atonement on earth.

## **Agata Gomólka**

### The morphology of evil in stone sculpture, a practical note

From a medieval sculptor's point of view, the aesthetic of the evil body was a relative matter. It was defined by a dialogue and contrast with the bodies of the good and the good-looking. The bodies of demons and sinners were spaces for abnormality, excess and disorder, realised in form and surface details. The sculpted demonic faces often rely for their effect on chiaroscuro, their over-prominent pointy cheekbones and large lips producing distorting shadows. Features are exaggerated; eyes, noses and mouths carved so large as to deform the entire head. If bones and tendons are shown, they do not provide structure but protrude and disturb; muscles are withered or non-existent; and the skin over-stretched or sagging. The ill-defined features often resemble the inside of the body rather than its exterior, as if the corrupt soul had somehow seeped through to the surface – the morphological inversion echoing the moral inversion of the fallen angels. The morphology of evil is thus displayed as visibly and tangibly real.

However, close attention to the methods of medieval sculptors allows us to complicate such a supposedly straightforward attribution of evil identities to physical types. The variety of approaches

taken by carvers show that the categories of ugliness and morality shifted between medieval compositions and across time. Not all sinners are always as ugly as sin, not all agents of evil show their corruption in a similar way. In the mosaic of approaches of the sculptors, attention to the methods of carving physiognomic details remains crucial for an understanding of the workings of sculpted bodily performance. This paper will analyse some of these practical aspects of the creation and construction of morphologies of evil beings.

## **Mathilde Grodet**

### « Moie coupe, je m'en repent » : La conscience du mal dans les scènes de confession

La fin du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle voit apparaître la pénitence sacramentelle qui tend bientôt à supplanter la pénitence publique et la pénitence tarifée en vigueur jusqu'alors. L'aveu du péché cesse d'être un moyen et devient l'acte pénitentiel par excellence. L'humiliation inhérente à toute confession lorsqu'elle s'accompagne d'un repentir sincère constitue alors l'expiation proprement dite. En 1215, le quatrième concile œcuménique de Latran impose le recours à cette confession auriculaire au moins une fois par an.

Du roman à la farce, la littérature de l'époque porte la trace de cette évolution de la pratique religieuse : les scènes de confession à un homme d'église y sont nombreuses. Notre attention se porte en particulier sur la présence de ces scènes dans les récits des XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles. Sur le plan narratif, ce sont des épisodes importants, des dialogues forts, mais dans lesquels paradoxalement la réponse de Dieu importe finalement assez peu : la pénitence imposée et l'absolution sont à peine évoquées. Ce qui intéresse les auteurs, ce sont bien l'aveu et la repentance du héros, la confession apparaissant comme une étape de son cheminement intérieur et de sa quête, qui peut être profane et notamment amoureuse.

Nous souhaitons, à travers un corpus de récits empruntés à des genres et des registres variés (romans courtois, romans du graal, lais et fabliaux), interroger ce moment où le pénitent parvient à mettre des mots sur son mal, mais aussi des mots sur ses maux. La lecture de ses aveux montre notamment que souvent, dans les textes, la conscience de la faute ne coïncide pas avec la conscience du mal. Si le mal peut être compris comme un principe extérieur qui s'oppose au dessein divin du salut de l'homme, la faute est un mouvement intérieur, une adhésion consciente au mal qui se réalise dans la mauvaise action. Nous pourrions nous attendre à ce que le pénitent ait une pleine conscience des deux notions pour formuler son repentir. Il n'en est rien, soit qu'il reconnaisse le mal, mais minimise la faute, soit qu'il reconnaisse la faute, mais ignore le mal. Dans plusieurs récits, c'est même la confession qui constitue en elle-même une faute. Cet écart s'inscrit, nous semble-t-il, dans une série de questionnements liés au développement de la morale de l'intention et pose, en définitive, la question de la subjectivité du mal.

## **Raphaël Guérin**

### Des saints exorcistes : démons et paganisme dans les légendes apostoliques aquitaines du XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles

La mission des apôtres est double : l'évangélisation des populations mais aussi la lutte contre le paganisme et le culte des idoles jugés démoniaques. Le saint évangéliste apparaît donc toujours dans les *Vitae* comme un libérateur, un exorciste, qui purge l'espace de ses démons avant de le consacrer au christianisme. Dans le cas spécifique des légendes apostoliques, qui célèbrent l'apostolicité de saints supposément arrivés en Gaule au I<sup>er</sup> siècle pour répandre la foi chrétienne et fonder évêchés et monastères, le mal est largement mis en scène et remplit une fonction apologétique précise au sein du récit. Les esprits diaboliques servent en effet à identifier le saint et montrent sa capacité à contrôler les forces maléfiques au moyen de sa *virtus*. En l'interrogeant, le saint oblige le démon à se révéler tel qu'il est, trompeur et ignoble, et son exclusion par l'exorcisme fonde ainsi la nouvelle communauté chrétienne. En tant qu'évêque, le saint protège l'Église naissante dont l'acte de fondation peut prendre la forme d'une sauroctonie (serpents monstrueux ou dragons). La représentation du mal, largement stéréotypée, et son rôle dans la construction d'une figure de saint fondateur seront étudiés à travers le cas spécifique des légendes apostoliques aquitaines, et plus précisément celles composées aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles dans les Provinces ecclésiastiques de Bordeaux et de Bourges. Le corpus d'étude réunira cinq *Vitae* de saints évêques fondateurs de diocèse : Ausone d'Angoulême, Ursin de Bourges, Austremonne de Clermont, Martial de Limoges et Front de Périgueux.

## **Lisbeth Imer**

### “I conjure you sufferings, elves, and all demons ...”: Aspects of the textual amulet tradition in Denmark and Europe

The paper will shed light on a little known tradition of textual amulets that is best attested on lead amulets. A lead amulet is a lead sheet on which a text is carved with runes or Roman letters in either the Latin language or the vernacular. The sheet is folded a number of times and squeezed tightly so that none or very little of the text is visible, and it was probably worn in a pocket or sewn into the clothes. As a consequence of a liberal legislation concerning the use of metal detectors in Denmark, the number of finds has increased immensely during the last couple of decades, so that we now know of around 100 finds. This has resulted in a series of apotropaic texts that unfolds a world of evil beings; demons, elves (male as well as female), trolls, giants, and creatures that are hitherto unknown to us. Some of these are presumably representatives of specific illnesses of which we know very little, and some are interpreted as powers of evil that should be kept away from the owner of the amulet. The texts often begin with a Christian religious phrase and continue to invoke or conjure the malevolent beings by means of various religious prayers or phrases in order to prevent evil from doing harm. The texts on the lead amulets probably represent only a minor part of an extensive tradition of textual amulets on organic materials of which little is preserved. In that sense the lead amulets are important contributors to our understanding of medieval popular religion of which we know little from other types of amulets or written sources. The paper will present an overview of the Danish finds in particular and focus on their position in a European context.

## **Cheryl Kaufman**

### The Role of Evil in the Textual and Visual *Vitae* of St. Ursus

The *vitae* of St. Ursus in Aosta, an Alpine town in medieval Savoy, vividly portray the evil deeds of a local bishop and his demonic demise. Two extant manuscripts (one from the sixth century and the other from the twelfth) and a twelfth-century sculpted *vita* of the saint, focus on the death of the bishop as demons drag him from his bed into hell. In addition, a twelfth-century poem is engraved around the sculpted *vita* that remains *in situ* in the cloister of the church of Saints Peter and Ursus. The poem serves as a warning to anyone who might be tempted to follow the evil ways of the bishop. In both texts and material images, the bishop's evil, immoral exemplar stands in contrast to the godly, moral exemplar of the saint.

In this paper I will explore the role of evil in the *vitae* of St. Ursus in the twelfth-century. The dramatic story of evil, demons, and death not only demonstrates the power of the saint and the just punishment for evil, but also serves to shape the identity of the newly reformed community of Augustinian canons in stark contrast to the secular canons of the cathedral in Aosta. The regular canons invoke the sacred past embodied in the deeds of their patron saint to demonstrate the power of good over evil in the midst of local conflict at the time of reform.

## **Frances Courtney Kneupper**

### Recognizing Antichrist: Detecting the Evil One in Late Medieval Thought

In my presentation, I will focus on one of the most striking concerns in late medieval literature on Antichrist: the issue of detection. By this I mean the question of how to recognize Antichrist when he arrives. The obverse of this question was the fear that Antichrist would go undetected, that he would infiltrate pious Christian communities and deceive them. Late medieval treatments of Antichrist warned that evil, in the form of Antichrist, was very difficult to detect. One of Antichrist's main characteristics would be his ability to dissemble, allowing him to come among contemporaries, unrecognized. In fact, he might already be at work, leading the unsuspecting astray. Thus warned, for example, a fifteenth century illustrated *Life of Antichrist*, compelling readers to ask themselves, “Am I being led astray?”

My assertion is that the concern over the detection of Antichrist was an articulation of more fundamental anxieties at the core of late medieval thought. How do we know what is right? How do we know whom to trust? How do we know whether we can follow those who claim to lead us in spiritual matters? In particular, I will make this argument using evidence from the anonymous “Master of Rhodes Letter,” Heinrich von Langenstein's *Liber adversus Telesphori Eremitae vaticinia de ultimis temporibus* (1392), an anonymous treatise on Antichrist titled *Speculum de ultimo antichristo magno et manifesto iam diu in mundo nato*, (c. 1453), and the fifteenth-century illustrated *Life of*

*Antichrist*. I will analyze these sources and their relative contexts in order to observe the connections between the issue of the detection of Antichrist and late medieval crises over authority, especially within the Church.

## **Christine Kralik**

### Facing Spiritual Corruption in the Three Living and the Three Dead in Late Medieval Strasbourg

The Three Living and the Three Dead, a late medieval moralizing tale, tells of three dead who instruct the living to improve their ways and to focus on the fate of their immortal souls. The tale, which became popular in France at the end of the thirteenth century and was disseminated elsewhere over subsequent centuries, could be illustrated in a variety of ways. In a compendium produced in Strasbourg in the early fifteenth century (now Wolfenbüttel, HAB Cod. 16.17 Aug. quarto), the poem of the Three Living and the Three Dead is illustrated with six individual figures appearing next to the verses that they are understood to speak. Curiously, toads and snakes have been added to the bodies of the dead, although they are not mentioned in the poem and rarely appear in other renditions of the tale. I suggest that they can best be understood within the context of the production of the manuscript in the city of Strasbourg. The details added to the illustrations of the dead were likely informed by the sculpture of the Prince of the World, who offers an apple to one of the Foolish Virgins as part of the sculptural program of the main portal at Strasbourg Cathedral. At first glance an elegant figure, the back of the Prince is soon revealed to be crawling with toads and snakes, representative of his sinfulness. The use of the same details on the bodies of the dead in the Strasbourg compendium reflected the moral as well as physical corruption of the dead, reminding the viewer of the importance of prayer and the possibility of salvation through the church and private devotional practice. Documentary evidence suggests that the manuscript was intended primarily for a female reader. I argue that she linked the illustrated dead in her manuscript with the Prince at the Cathedral, but identified more with the Foolish Virgin who was tempted to succumb to his charms.

## **Jasmin Mersmann**

### Evil Writing, or: The Devil as Book-keeper

In his *Livre pour l'enseignement de ses filles* from 1371/73, Geoffroi de La Tour Landry relates the story of the devil noting down every profane word spoken during mass. In one case, the devil's parchment is too small to fit the women's chatter. This exemplum, also known from the vita of Saint Martin de Tours, has been conveyed in several variations. Often the devil, when trying to expand the parchment, bangs his head and makes the mass-goers laugh, thereby committing yet another sin. Representations of the devil writing can be found on choir stalls, cornices and walls of numerous Romanesque churches. But it is not only during mass that the devil functions as a book-keeper: he also registers every sin committed during an individual's life in order to present them at the death bed or before the divine judge.

The devil is a liar, a cheater, a trickster, but he is also a scrupulous registrar and a reliable contractual partner. Pacts with the devil might be dishonourable, but in most legends the devil fulfils his duties diligently, whereas the human contractors try to cheat him. Already in the story of Theophilus, the contract takes a written form. The plot is structured around the legal document that is restituted by the Virgin Mary. Later versions dwell on the materiality of the pacts: they are not only written, signed and sealed, but also stolen, ripped, scrunched up and – till this day – conserved in archives.

On the basis of historical literary and pictorial sources, the paper analyses (1) the special relationship of the Evil incarnate to writing and scripturality, and (2) the materiality of pacts with the devil. Written in blood, the signs lose their conventional character. Contracts with the devil are speech or writing acts, they are immediately effective.

## **Mihnea Mihail**

### Bound to the Column. A Satan/Antichrist Hybrid in the Context of three Last Judgment Scenes in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary

My presentation will focus on the iconographic motif of a demon bound to a column in three Last Judgment scenes from mural paintings in the Kingdom of Hungary. This motif has been considered as one of the numerous demons that are usually represented in images of Hell, being identified at times as

Satan. But analysing this crowned demon tied vertically to a column inside Leviathan's mouth, I demonstrate that although the image might be understood as an exercise of imagination usual to *diablerie* visual patterns, the pillar to which the devil is bound is difficult to link to Satan-related medieval literature. My paper will show that the visual motif of the column can be traced to the context of the Legend of the Antichrist. Especially relevant for the images in question is the Velislav Bible, dated in mid-14<sup>th</sup> Century. This Bible, which includes the most extensive cycle of the Legend of the Antichrist, was created at the court of Prague in a moment of particular interest in eschatological warnings and apocalyptic forerunners. The Velislav Bible is also regarded as one of the most explicit references to the binary model of Christ-Antichrist, which is reflected in the semblance of Antichrist's physiognomy to that of Christ's. The crowned embodiments of Evil that I analyse are visually disturbing, considering the resemblance between the column-bound demons and the iconographic motif of the Flagellation. The use of this rare iconographic motif might also be related to the Hussite movement and its apocalyptic overtones. Taking into consideration that the miracles of Antichrist were a reversed evil version of Christ's public ministry, and that the column was used in the representation of Antichrist's miracle of making statues speak, I argue that the demon tied to a column is a hybridizations of Satan and the Antichrist, and a visual motif created without any exact literary equivalent.

## **František Novotný**

### Wolves, Poisons, Cloven Hoof: Cultural Exchanges and the Origins of the Witches' Sabbath Imaginations

During the first half of the 15th century, imagery about bizarre diabolical rites, usually included by modern historians under the term *Witches' Sabbath*, emerged rapidly in the western Alpine and Subalpine regions. Since this imagery combined the 13th- and 14th-century beliefs about antinomian heretic sects with fears of harmful magic and with folklore motives, they became a frequently discussed topic in the historiography of late medieval culture, especially in the field of historical anthropology.

This paper attempts to view the synthesis of motives, from which the Sabbath imagery emerged, as result of cultural exchanges projected on two levels: the social level (communication between specific social groups and institutions, for example preachers and their auditoria, or investigators and deponents) and the level of interfaces between different discourses and literary genres (inquisitional trials, heresiological treatises, *exempla* etc.).

Particularly, the paper will discuss two essential and probably closely interrelated sources written in the region of western Alps between 1430 and 1440: The report on the witch trials in Valais by the chronicler Hans Fründ, and the anonymous treatise *Errores Gazariorum*. It will attempt to identify the cultural resources, or types of resources, which authors of both texts employed for their descriptions of the alleged diabolical rites. It will proceed with the question, how the meaning of the motives, which can be found in older sources and seen as cultural *topoi*, change, once their context is shifting. Finally, some assumptions will be made about whether or to which extend specific types of cultural exchanges can be perceived as patterns determining the emergence of the Witches' Sabbath imagery in general.

## **Valeria Russo and Marco Robecchi**

### « Rome, tu t'es chargée d'un grave fardeau de mal » : Une innovation rhétorique occitane dans la tradition anticléricale

Entre 1227 et 1229 Guillaume Figueira, dans une bruyante apostrophe – D'un sirventes far (BdT 217.2) –, fait de la capitale du catholicisme une bête féroce (« tan tenetz / estreg la vostra grapa » 2), une prostituée fausse, menteuse et déloyale (« enganairitz », « falsa e tafura » 3).

La plupart des traditions littéraires de l'Europe latine et romane avaient, tout au long du Moyen Âge, exploité le genre du débat et de l'invective contre la corruption du clergé. C'est le cas des célèbres *Carmina Burana* médio-latins, dont on perçoit des échos dans l'attaque de Hélinant de Froidmont dans ses *Vers de la Mort*. Cette résonance pénètre profondément le champ lyrique, insinuant la rumeur de l'accusation dans le *Roman de la Rose*, qui présente l'emblème de l'hypocrisie dans l'allégorie du Faus Semblant, et dans le sirventès de Peire Cardenal – *Tartarassa ni voutor* –, qui déplace sa cible des hommes politiques contre les clercs et les dominicains.

Cette conscience collective, si impétueuse et contrariée face à la déchéance ecclésiastique, s'exacerbe avec les délits commis contre les Albigeois. Présentée comme un monstre légendaire (« tendetz vostra tezura / e man mal morsel » 4), chez Guillaume de Figueira Rome est désignée comme



l'origine de toute calamité : elle a trahi le roi d'Angleterre lors de la révolte des prélats du 1214, elle a causé la damnation de la noblesse française souscrivant la croisade contre les Albigeois, elle fait un carnage parmi ses fils mais « pauc de dampnatge »<sup>5</sup> aux Sarrasins. Ainsi personnifiée, elle se voit proclamer 'assassine'. Pour la première fois, Rome est transformée en interlocutrice directe du réquisitoire, triomphant dans la représentation expressive du Mal qu'elle incarne.

Un examen comparatif avec les œuvres polémiques contemporaines mettra en évidence les traits novateurs du sirventès de Guillaume Figueira. Face aux excommunications et aux accusations de propensions diaboliques, le supposé hérétique répond attribuant à Rome ce même masque. Le porte-voix des martyres cathares – suprêmes ennemis de Rome – fait de Rome l'incarnation suprême du Mal.

## **Jeremy Thompson**

### Melancholy and Evil in High Medieval Mystics and Spiritual Writers

Repeatedly throughout *Causes and Cures*, the Benedictine abbess Hildegard of Bingen (d. 1179) attributes the origin of human evil to the ascendancy of black bile (melancholia) in the body after the fall of Adam. Complexional or humoral exegesis of the fall of Adam and Eve gained ground throughout the thirteenth century and integrated, as it developed, more and more anatomical knowledge derived from Aristotelian sources. According to received wisdom, the melancholic person was at once capable of the most lubricious perpetrations and—as the Aristotelian assimilation unfolded in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—of the most intense intellectual or spiritual experiences. The ambivalence of the melancholic humor, combining pathological, moral and psychological conditions, was acute around the year 1300 in the writings of Ramon Llull. This paper asks how evil was accounted for in light of changes in humoral and mystical thought. In particular, it focuses on the tradition of medieval mystics running from Bernard of Clairvaux and Richard of Saint-Victor to Henry Suso. From the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, the implications of Dionysian negative theology opened up an area of “dark mysticism” and transformed the soul’s spiritual dryness into a dark night, which was a source both of suffering and of spiritual creation. After sketching the twelfth- and thirteenth- century history of these themes, this paper focuses on the case of the mystic Henry Suso (d. 1366), in whose writings melancholy surfaces, for the first time to my knowledge, as a potentially essential component in mystical contemplation. The unleashing of melancholy as a creative force transpires, according to this paper’s thesis, not through the recovery of the Aristotelian notion of poetic genius, but through new evaluations of biblical and ascetic sources.

## **Francois Wallerich**

### Le « pain des anges » entre les griffes de Satan. Quelles limites au pouvoir d'exorcisme de l'eucharistie ? (ca. 1100 – ca. 1320)

Au XIIe siècle, plusieurs saints utilisent l'hostie consacrée pour libérer les possédés du démon. On peut comprendre ces « exorcismes eucharistiques » (F. Chave-Mahir) comme une conséquence de l'insistance croissante sur les propriétés miraculeuses du sacrement, consécutive à la querelle bérengarienne (seconde moitié du XIe siècle). Mais l'importance nouvelle accordée à la présence substantielle du Christ sous les espèces a conduit aussi, paradoxalement, à un sentiment accru de fragilité du sacrement : si le Christ y est présent, ne risque-t-il pas d'être profané ? Les démons, contre lesquels il est si efficace, ne pourraient-ils pas lui nuire ? Entre le début du XIIe siècle et les années 1320, on voit ainsi monter peu à peu la peur de ce que le « pain des anges », lorsqu'il est manipulé avec trop de négligence par les fidèles ou les clercs, ne tombe entre les griffes de Satan. C'est ce que montrent trois thèmes dont la circulation est croissante parmi les textes de l'époque : celui du mauvais communiant dont le corps est livré à Satan ; celui du sacrifice de la messe perturbé et profané par les démons ; celui, enfin, des hosties utilisées par des sorciers ayant pactisé avec le diable.

## **Arina Zaytseva**

### The Complexities of the Description of Evil in *Processus satanae contra genus humanum*

A small medieval treatise “*Processus satanae contra genus humanum*”, allegedly ascribed to famous jurist and professor of law Bartolo da Sassoferrato, tells a story of the heavenly trial where Satan defends his right to possess humanity in front of Jesus Christ the Judge and Holy Mary the advocate of the humankind. Bound to his dark realm Satan cannot ascend to Heaven and decides to send one of his demonic servants to represent him in court. At first, the demon-representative acts on

the account of his master in a completely autonomous fashion. However, during the trial the demon becomes a vessel for the Devil himself. This way Satan seizes the opportunity to be present at the trial and argue face to face with Christ and St. Mary. Moreover, the demon is described as a representative of a more general evil entity – *nequitia infernalis* (infernal malice), which is equated to Satan as well as the whole body of maleficent powers.

This paper will explore the boundaries between Satan, singular demons and the ambiguous and elusive notion of *nequitia infernalis*. The analysis will be conducted on theological, literary, and visual levels. On the theological level Satan's opposition to Jesus Christ and St. Mary is characterized through the opposition of the *iustitia* (earthly justice) and *aequitas* (divine justice). Literary analysis will show which different titles and set expressions are used to describe Satan himself, his servant and the evil on the whole. Finally, the paper will focus on the visual characteristics of Satan's and demon's images as their descriptions have strong correlations with the medieval theatrical depiction of the evil.

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