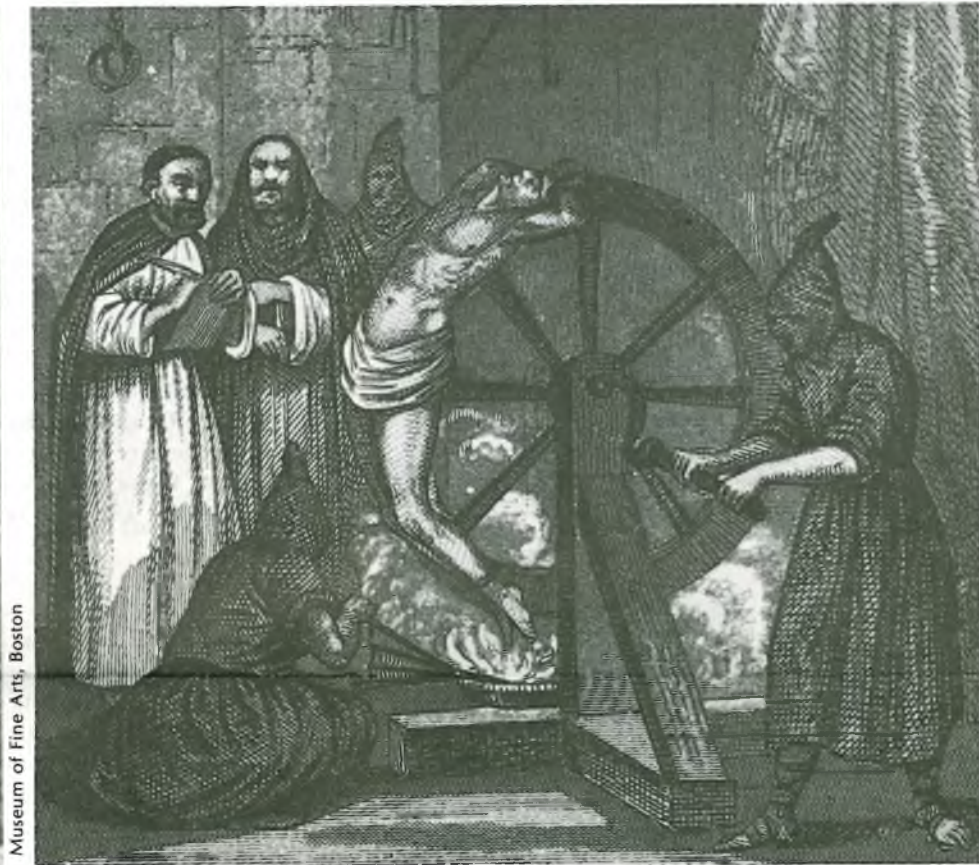


Humanities

Why Study the Middle Ages?

BY NORMAN F. CANTOR



Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

"The medieval era is typified as an age of piety, mysticism, and moral commitment, a time of cohesive and creative communities... Yet the most medieval ruler in the world today is the Ayatollah Khomeini, whose fanatical militancy against dissenters and minorities was advocated by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine as the right policy for Christian rulers devoted to justice and piety...." Monet's Cathedral at Rouen is contrasted with fire torture on the wheel during the Inquisition.



ince Edward Gibbon sat contemplating the lessons of the ruins of pagan Rome and inaugurated the research and writing that resulted in the first great book about the Middle Ages, whose first volume appeared as the American Republic was born amid the travails of the first war of colonial liberation, many generations of scholars, poets, artists, philosophers, theologians, and composers have pursued their quest for the Middle Ages. Such a quest was a compulsive preoccupation of nineteenth-century Romantic thinkers and writers such as Jules Michelet, John Ruskin, and Richard Wagner. The rise of an emotional and aggressive form of nationalism, encouraging governments to subsidize scholarly investigation into national "origins," gave medieval studies a new and bright currency. The professionalization of humanistic scholarship in the late nineteenth and earlier twentieth centuries, a revival of interest on the part of the Vatican in scholarly research on church history, and an outpouring of support all worked propitiously to foster medieval scholarship; the majority of the seminal works on the Middle Ages

were written between 1910 and 1965.

But medieval studies continue to flourish and may be on the verge of another golden age. The cadre of investigators into and commentators upon the European and Mediterranean Middle Ages has grown somewhat larger and ever more resourceful. Now the study of the Middle Ages is armed with prodigious tools of learning that would have inspired Gibbon to caustic comment about academic overkill, and the Belgian and French monks whose pioneering researches he skillfully exploited to grateful reverence and awe.

Our motives for studying the Middle Ages are more complicated and ambiguous than Gibbon's. The Middle Ages strike the contemporary consciousness in a variety of contradictory ways—they inspire, instruct, delight, terrify, exhilarate and frustrate. As in all important historical inquiry, when we demand answers of the remote past, we also raise questions about ourselves. The result is a symbiotic and actively dialectical relationship between the Middle Ages and the later twentieth century, one that reveals intellectual issues and creates moral tensions that are not easily resolved.

It was a well-worn Victorian platitude that the peoples of Western Europe, the Americas and Australasia enjoyed—in the languages, concepts and institutions of the Western European Middle Ages—a common heritage that gave their societies

a distinctive cultural identity separating them from the rest of the world, and, it went without saying, placing them on a somewhat loftier moral plane. Today, such a claim seems an outrageously radical statement in the face of the ideology of extreme universalism and relativism that dominates the universities of the Western world and is advocated in its schools and popular media as well.

In recent years we have been strongly discouraged by our own moral consciousness and, on occasion, the strictures of various authorities, from affirming our distinctive Western identity. We are told to envision a universal humanity, and to join with the peoples of Africa, Asia, and the Arabic Middle East in condemning as immorally imperialist and racist much of the worldview and the political and economic institutions of the Western European peoples at the end of the Middle Ages.

To reassert the medieval heritage in full-bodied form and to cultivate passionately its dominant values now could be counterrevolutionary. Certainly it might appear to be supportive of neoconservatism, if not radical-right ideology. Indeed, the emotional neomedievalism expressed in the 1920s, mainly in Germany (as in the circle of the poet Stefan George) but to some extent in other European countries as well, was in some instances stimulated or at least embraced by movements that we now associate with the Fascism of that time.

In this issue...

- 1 Why Study the Middle Ages?
by Norman F. Cantor
- 3 Medieval Studies at Barnard
- 5 Mothers, Virgins and Wanderers
by Erika J. Laquer
- 7 The Letters of Catherine of Siena
- 8 The Origins of Representative
Institutions by Thomas N. Bisson
- 10 Grant Application Deadlines
- 11 Medieval Roots of Modern Hospitals
- 12 Medieval Universities
by Astrik Gabriel
- 14 Illuminating the Dark Ages
- 15 Castles on the Air
- 18 DUSTJACKETS: Medieval Studies
- 21 Propaganda, Medieval Style
- 22 Recent NEH Grant Awards
- 26 Letters to the Editor
- 28 About the Authors

Editor's Notes



In the next issue...
JURISPRUDENCE
with Paul Freund on
*The Humanities and
the Constitution*

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The neomedievalism of the interwar period usually justified and endorsed what we would call the more authoritarian, militant, and hierarchical aspects of the European Middle Ages. In recent years the trend has gone in the opposite direction. In order to find in the Middle Ages liberal, egalitarian, and humanistic values and a highly refined, pacifist, and contemplative Christianity devoted to "the love of learning and the desire for God" (to cite the title of a widely esteemed book on medieval religion) as well as to foster an ideal of universal brotherhood and anthropological relativism that will not offend the sensibility of Third World people as paradoxically, they cultivate their own national traditions, medieval Europe has been made to appear devoid of its essential characteristics: fanatical belief in its moral superiority over other societies; an aggressive and dominant aristocracy; a militant and hierarchical Church; the suppression of individual freedom by strong familial and communal discipline, corporate institutions, and inquisitorial authorities.

The Middle Ages commonly portrayed today are characterized by the development of common law and the jury system, parliamentary and representative institutions, an androgynous theology and a greatly enhanced regard for the dignity of women and (intermittently) gays, the organization of higher education and learning into the university approximately as we know it, a high market value for the skills of artists and scholars, an intensely personal piety, and the proliferation of voluntary communities devoted not only to a durable and loving cultivation of the soil but to the arts and letters and the care of the poor, the sick, and the old as well. That these are genuine facets of medieval heritage can be claimed with a high degree of plausibility.

But only some facets. The most medieval rulers or leaders in the world today are the Ayatollah Khomeini, whose fanatical militancy against dissenters and minorities was advocated by St. Ambrose and St. Augustine as the right policy for Christian rulers devoted to justice and piety, and Indira Gandhi, whose unembarrassed ruthless pursuit of her family's interest above all other goals, would have received the enthusiastic plaudits of nearly every medieval king and lord.

Go to Acre, the last stronghold of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (ca. A.D. 1200) and inspect the massive French crusading fortress that Israeli archaeologists have recently rescued from the coastal sands and centuries of neglect, and the large shops and storehouses that the Italian merchants, the allies of the French Crusaders, established in the port there. Here indeed is another face of the Middle Ages and one that medieval people proudly turned to the world—the fact of masculine aristocratic dominance and capitalist enterprise—the love of power and the desire for gold. This is not to say that these fierce lords and greedy businessmen would not have respectfully joined a procession celebrating the Marian cult. They certainly would have, and, in terms of their own perceptions and behavior patterns, quite sincerely. But they would have also expected the Mother of God to intervene in support of their self-aggrandizing ventures. "I give that You may give." As much as martyrdom, learning, and pious contemplation, probably indeed more commonly, this exchange relationship between God and man was the idea of medieval religion.

The medieval heritage is thus a highly ambivalent and ambiguous one. But since all cultural analysis hinges on ambivalence and ambiguities this enhances the attractiveness and significance of medieval studies for us. On the one hand, the Middle Ages can be made the vehicle for transcendent alternatives to the burdens and dangers of our postindustrial society. The Middle Ages can be perceived as approximating the utopia of the New Left of the 1960s, of the post-Vatican II liberationist

Catholic theology, and the environmental and antinuclear movements of the 1970s and 1980s. The medieval era is typified as an age of piety, mysticism, and moral commitment, a time of cohesive and creative communities, a moment of regard for the dignity of labor and genius of skillful artisans, close and respectful communion with nature, a culture whose value system and behavior patterns are in many ways the reverse mirror image of our allegedly unpalatable one.

On the other hand, it can be argued that the medieval heritage is precisely the immoral burden of the past from which we need to find a therapeutic release. The dead hand of bureaucratic oppression, the arrogant and monopolistic claims and behavior of the learned professions, the rigid scale of social hierarchy devoted to ruthless exploitation and repression of the working masses, imperialist greed stoked by religious legitimization of racism, the suicidal theology of just war, violence against peaceful minorities, the fatal temptation to combine advancing technological skill with the idea of experimental science in order to master nature and ravage the environment: all these are aspects of the medieval legacy, it can be said, that must be jettisoned if the world is to become peaceful and secure or even to endure. We would then need not institutes of medieval studies, but institutes of antimedieval studies.

But how can we—even if we should choose to do so—divest ourselves of our cultural ballast and soar anew? This is always a problem for the apocalyptic dreamers—as it was in the millenary movements of medieval Europe—who preached a terrible simplification and a fresh start for human history. We have examples in the twentieth century in which modern states have employed the instruments of technological terror to obliterate, with considerable success, their medieval heritages—Leninist and Stalinist Russia, Maoist China. The consequences are not encouraging; these examples ought to give us pause before we exorcise our full memory of the Middle Ages.

Like medieval men and women themselves, who were much better at the small and concrete things than the big and vague, we turn from cosmic speculations on the significance of the medieval experience to stand in awe before the innumerable specific remains of medieval literature and art. Like Tolkien and C.S. Lewis and their Oxbridge friends in the 1930s and 1940s; like Panofsky, Weitzmann and the other great German art historians in the 1950s; like the current Toronto school of medieval hagiography; like the various institutes, such as the one at Berkeley, that penetrate the dream-world of medieval canon law, we can create our own sustaining subculture in the course of mining these medieval aesthetic lodes. Even those who have some reservations about complete withdrawal into medieval monastic cultural seclusion increasingly acknowledge, as research goes on, that the complexity, the variety, the subtlety, the learning, the imagery, and very language of medieval Latin, Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and European vernacular literature is unsurpassed by any other corpus of world literature.

The Middle Ages, then, are not one thing, not ten things, not ten thousand things, but an infinite variety of ideas, images, values, texts, objects, languages, sources, traditions, and happenings, a protean cultural nexus pushing in upon us from every direction, an ambivalent heritage with which we will slowly come to terms as the people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—not only the scholarly but also the thinkers and artists, and to some degree the statesmen—felt compelled to encounter, understand, and act upon the Classical heritage.





arnard College faculty from nine departments stepped across disciplinary boundaries in 1978 to build a program of medieval and Renaissance studies. In the three years that the faculty worked with an NEH grant to develop new courses, refine the

program's pilot courses and practice their methods of team teaching, the number of majors in medieval and Renaissance studies doubled. Moreover, dozens of students who would have shied away from a course in patristic philosophy or even a semester's study of Dante were introduced to the history, the art and the ideas of two cultures heavily responsible for Western civilization as we know it today.

"Combining unpopular disciplines with one that currently has drawing power exposes more students to areas of knowledge and points of view which otherwise they would not encounter," commented project director Suzanne Wemple, a historian who has recently published a study of women in Frankish society. "Expanding Barnard's interdisciplinary offerings helped solve the problem of the underutilization of faculty in less popular fields."

Hard economic facts of college life, such as underutilized faculty; reverence for the tradition of liberal arts education; the realization that medieval studies demands broad, cross-disciplinary study are all reasons cited in a recent *Humanities Report* for a national explosion of interdisciplinary programs in medieval studies.

The programs address "the crisis in the humanities," Wemple believes. "By focusing on periods when knowledge was less compartmentalized and an educated man was one who could reason well on a remarkably broad range of subjects, the courses bring again into clear view the traditional aims of a liberal arts education."

The nine courses developed through the project at Barnard are intended to make students aware of the interdependence of history and culture while maintaining the rigor of training in a single discipline. Every course draws on the methods of at least two disciplines and on the expertise of at least two professors to analyze and assimilate the varied and often conflicting records left by medieval and Renaissance civilizations.

The course "Women in the Middle Ages: Image and Reality," for instance, resulted from nearly a year's planning by three professors: Wemple, from the history department; Lois Ebin, a literature scholar; and Jane Rosenthal, an art historian.

"Our first decision," recalled Lois Ebin, "was not to attempt a survey course." Instead, the course is organized by the investigation of four themes: Eve and Mary, the courtly ideal of women, women in monasticism, and working women—each explored from the perspectives of history and literary and artistic ideals.

"Suzanne Wemple's lectures furnished the necessary framework for observations made by Professor Ebin and myself on the representation and the activities of women in the literature and art of the period," Jane Rosenthal said. All instructors were present at every class meeting. While one lectured, the others would often interrupt to qualify or to add her own perceptions.

Alternating with lectures, class discussions centered on research problems, devised by the scholars, that challenged students to uncover the realities of medieval life by examining primary sources and artifacts. One of these problems posed several conflicting interpretations of the queen's role in the court of Louis IX, the sainted Capetian monarch who ruled France from 1226 to 1270.

Rosenthal showed students slides of artist's representations of St. Louis; among them, a

wooden likeness which stands in finely carved knight's regalia in the Berlin-Dalham Museum. His posture expresses courage and unstained virtue; the Holy Sepulchre cradled in his right hand attests to religious zeal. The entire carving is a representation in oak of the medieval ideal of the pilgrim knight.

Clinging to his arm, a slighter, softer figure, his wife Margaret, gazes adoringly at him. His gaze is fixed forward.

To what extent was the sculptor's hand guided by allegiance to medieval typology? What do contemporary sources tell us about St. Louis and Margaret? What reality inspired this idealization?

To tackle these questions, students compared representations of the king and studied chronicles of his life, including the biography written by his contemporary Jean de Joinville.

Rosenthal explained the artistic conventions and iconography of the carvings. Wemple and Ebin guided the class in reading Joinville's chronicle. Ebin, approaching the work from the point of view of literature, explained the development of characters and the uses of narrative technique and pointed out that some incidents may have been emphasized, others neglected, for artistic purposes.

"After viewing the slides of the carvings, where Margaret is shown to be very submissive, the students were shocked to learn that she accompanied Louis on the Sixth Crusade," Ebin said.

Just as in the case-study method that the course loosely imitates, the class and the instructors found many problems to be open-ended. Though not as ready to accept the conventional view of Louis IX ("Never was a king more dearly and deservedly loved," *The Shorter Cambridge Medieval History* reads), they questioned the extent to which the cult of St. Louis was encouraged or how much it has distorted history's judgment. Many shadows in historical accounts suggest the need for further research: the possibility that Margaret, who was close to Joinville, commissioned and therefore influenced the biography; uncertainty about the relationship between Margaret and Louis's mother, Blanche of Castille. Indeed, some interpreters see Margaret's involvement in the Crusade as evidence not so much of her power in the court as of Louis's suspicion that Margaret would be safer riding against the murderous infidel than remaining behind at the mercy of a jealous and powerful mother-in-law. The three scholars are planning to pursue the topic of Margaret's influence in Louis's court as a joint research project.

The intermingling of history and myth is the basis for several other courses in the program. Rosenthal collaborated with Maristella Lorch of the Italian department and Ann Prescott of the English department on "Myth and History: a cross-disciplinary study of the Courts of Charlemagne, the Este and Elizabeth I." Here the students studied the transformation of historical fact into political and cultural myth.

Rosenthal observed, for example, that "Charlemagne was celebrated by his contemporaries not only as the great Germanic warrior king that he was, but also as a type of Old Testament monarch, the new David ruling over the *populus dei*, and, in addition, as the new Constantine, the direct heir of the first Christian emperor of Rome." Rosenthal showed the class how this imperial heritage was expressed in the architecture of Charlemagne's capital. His palace at Aachen was based on Roman imperial structures even to the extent of having an ancient equestrian statue, imported from Italy, set up in the courtyard.

Another course in the program, the introductory seminar "Drama and Liturgy," is the only course of its kind presently offered in the United States, according to Lois Ebin, whose membership on the Committee on Centers and Regional Associations of the Medieval Academy of America has



Walters Art Gallery

Medieval Studies at Barnard



Berlin-Dalham Museum

Top: Medieval walled garden occupied by Charlemagne (far left) and seven French kings grouped around the central fleur-de-lis, symbol of French monarchy. Bottom: The fabled St. Louis, a symbol of courage and spotless virtue, with his wife, Margaret. Louis cradles the Holy Sepulchre in his right hand, attesting to religious zeal.

given her the opportunity to examine interdisciplinary medieval studies programs in colleges across the country.

Created by Howard Schless, professor of English from Columbia, and Kenneth Janes, professor of drama from Barnard, the course combines assiduous examination of the texts of several medieval mystery cycles with a student performance of portions of one of the cycles, the *Ludus Coventriae*.

"The approach demonstrated to the students that medieval drama is not just 'closet drama,' but drama written to be performed," Schless said.

During the first half of the semester the students met with Schless for two of the three hours scheduled a week to read and analyze the plays.

"Once the students overcame the very small hurdle of reading Middle English," Schless said, "they felt as if they'd stumbled onto a treasure trove."

Schless taught the students medieval techniques of dramatization by comparing similar dramas from different cycles.

"Some are more heavily didactic than others," Schless explained. "Some emphasize melodrama; others attempt to make the story less miraculous and more human so that the audience can become engaged."

For example, in one scene from the passion cycle of the *Ludus Coventriae*, Schless pointed out, the soldiers scourging Christ taunt Him and speak to one another using vocabulary from children's games of the period. The words identify the unfeeling behavior of the soldiers as a kind of mindless, unknowing brutality—the recognizable sadism of children. In this way the audience is drawn to the soldiers. "The people in the audience say to themselves," Schless said, "'If I had been there, I might have done the same thing.'"

The students also became familiar with the dramatists' source, the Bible. They compared the scenes with the Biblical events as they are related in the Old and New Testaments and analyzed their transformation from the narrative genre to the dramatic.

During the last half of the semester, as the performance date drew near, students spent only one of the three weekly class meetings studying the texts with Schless; the remaining two hours were spent in practical work on the production with Kenneth Janes.

While Schless taught his own new translation of sections of the *Ludus Coventriae*, Janes staged the same material. The students designed and built sets and costumes and performed plays which, according to Janes, had not been presented on any sort of stage for several hundred years.

"Professor Schless and I did not always agree on the styles of presentation," Janes commented. He preferred the very stylized approach while I believe the local English dialects govern the language of the plays and give the performers greater freedom than is generally realized.

"The course was a 'voyage of discovery' for the students—a new language, Middle English; a new medium, medieval theater—all the time involved in an intellectual debate."

An environment of intellectual debate and exchange is salutary for the instructors and the institution as well as the students, according to French professor Patricia Terry, who taught "Myth and History: The Courts of the Capetians and the Hohenstaufen" with members of the history and German departments. Team teaching results in a "better educated and more supple" faculty. "Breaking down the rigid barriers between departments has surely a civilizing effect which can outlast the transient luxury of such programs," Terry commented.

Although the medieval and Renaissance studies program at Barnard is still being refined, it has been a national model for educators hoping to foster intellectual cooperation among departments at other colleges and universities. For the past three years, the project has sponsored a conference on pedagogy in medieval and Renaissance studies, based on the idea that interdisciplinary scholarship is not automatically translated into good teaching.

The focus on pedagogy, unique in scholarly conferences on medieval and Renaissance studies, has attracted national participation; the most recent conference had an audience of 175 scholars and students.

Many educators still worry that interdisciplinary teaching "waters down" a curriculum and demands less from the students than study in a single field. The key to interdisciplinary study at Barnard, according to Charles Olton, Dean of the Faculty, is that an interdisciplinary program is not allowed to have "a life of its own." Majors in either medieval or Renaissance studies choose a tradi-

tional field of concentration, such as philosophy or music. They are required to have five courses from this field and three interdisciplinary courses in addition to history and language requirements.

"Some institutions 'unhook' interdisciplinary programs from the main disciplines," said Olton. "They obliterate the contrasts between disciplinary approaches. The courses at Barnard maintain the identities of separate disciplines: the students are conscious of the differing approaches."

Yet, according to Lois Ebin, the interdisciplinary approach often presents pedagogical problems. "We were afraid when we started planning 'Women in the Middle Ages' that we couldn't do justice to three disciplines." But Ebin was not as concerned in this course, as she is in traditional courses, that the students master a particular work, such as the *Canterbury Tales*, or that they gain a thorough knowledge of a particular author.

"I wanted the students to understand how a piece of literature operates in a specific historical and cultural context," she said. It became less urgent for them to study the Wife of Bath's Tale for its own significance than to understand how Chaucer used the Tale to qualify patristic attitudes about women by placing these early arguments about the importance of chastity in the Wife's speeches.

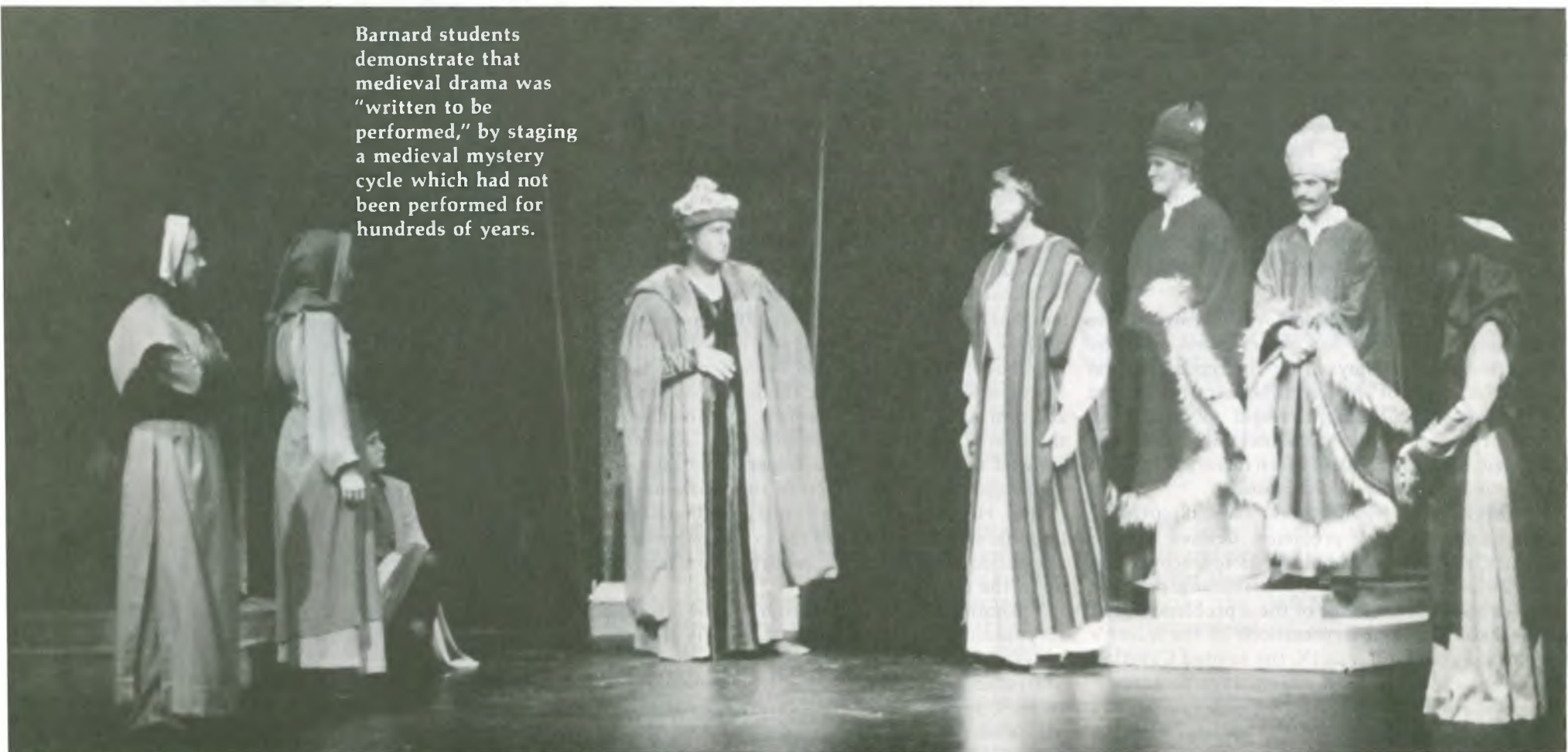
The teachers who see in medieval studies programs the opportunities for cultivating in their students the generalist's wisdom and power of thought have predecessors in the Middle Ages. Restoring the broad curriculum of his parent civilization was part of the educational philosophy of John of Salisbury, a leader of the premature humanism that appeared in the School of Chartres in the last half of the twelfth century. John felt that his Classical ancestors' command of the liberal arts "enabled them to comprehend everything they read, elevated their understanding to all things, and empowered them to cut through the knots of all problems possible of solution."

—Linda Blanken

Ms. Blanken is the managing editor of *Humanities*.

"Medieval and Renaissance Studies Program"/Suzanne F. Wemple/
Barnard College, NYC/\$152,659/1978-81/Higher Education
Grants, Individual Institutions

Barnard students demonstrate that medieval drama was "written to be performed," by staging a medieval mystery cycle which had not been performed for hundreds of years.



Office of Public Relations, Barnard College

MOTHERS, VIRGINS & WANDERERS

BY ERIKA J. LAQUER

Two problems that are more properly in the purview of the sociology of knowledge are nonetheless crucial to a serious consideration of women in the Middle Ages: the uneven transmission of new approaches to a field by its own practitioners and popularizers, and the reluctance on the part of both professionals and laypeople to abandon familiar conceptualizations of the past. Some people once called this period the Dark Ages until those generalists caught up with the research of specialists. Most cursory students of the Middle Ages know all the usual examples of women: Eleanor of Aquitaine and Courtly Love, the doomed lovers Heloise and Abelard, the cult of the Virgin, and Witchcraft. Many see these examples, however, as less serious, and do not feel the need to reevaluate the roles and stereotypes of women in this period.

Women's history is hardly new, having grown naturally from the liberation movements of the late 1960s and their attempts to discover the roots of gender, class and racial inequality. Since then, many people involved in women's studies have been engaged in a three-fold process: discovering women's lives and voices, constructing new models of past societies, and analyzing the reasons for the exclusion of such material in the past.

Judy Chicago's massive ceramic and needlework composition *The Dinner Party*, completed in 1979, best exemplifies the interdisciplinary nature of this three-fold process. An artist, not a historian, Chicago has succeeded where many historians have failed in transmitting specific examples and images of the importance of the history of women. She reveals the value that she and her coworkers found in the discovery of women's lives from the past. Thirteen places on one side of the triangular dinner party table are set for women of the Middle

Ages. The well-known Eleanor of Aquitaine (d.1204) and Christine de Pisan (d.1431) appear, as well as more obscure women: Abbess Hroswitha (d.1002), the only person to imitate Terence successfully in the Middle Ages; Trotula (d.1097), credited as the author of a popular obstetrical and gynecological text; and Petronilla de Marth (d.1324), an Irish peasant who was burned to death as a witch.

Perhaps the reluctance of many medievalists to engage in this three-fold process of the history of women derives from the silence or ambivalence towards women found in many medieval sources. King Alfred the Great's division of ninth-century English society—those who fight (*bellatores*), those who pray (*oratores*), and those who work (*laboratores*)—remains standard for the early Middle Ages. Although Alfred isolated the definitely male warrior class, he never specifically gave credit to the existence of women in the other two groups.

Ambivalence about women permeates the work of theologians and other scholars trained in the church. Two of the most important figures in the Judeo-Christian heritage, the arch-temptress Eve and the long-suffering mother/virgin Mary, represent opposite poles of experiences and images of women. Each pole had adherents. Some twelfth-century monastic authors identified Jesus and the Abbot as mother to emphasize the importance of nurturance and guidance for the soul, a development presented in a recent book by Caroline Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo*. The Dominicans responsible for *The Hammer of Witches* in 1487 filled their handbook for inquisitors with misogynistic condemnations of the evil, gullible nature of women, who were more prone to the temptations of the Devil.

The Burgundian Code, written about 500, is a significant source for the history of the migration period and the general condition of women. At least thirty of the Code's 105 edicts directly concern women. The sources here are far from silent and reveal the lawmaker's consideration of women's class and place within the family. Cultural anthropologists have sensitized medieval historians to the importance of kin structure, notions of honor in traditional and nonliterate societies, and the roles of ceremony and ritual. Burgundian daughters could make certain claims on their mother's estates, indicating the remnants of matrilineal succession. A freeborn wife was highly compensated if someone cut off her hair, but only if this offense to her honor took place within her husband's courtyard. Early death and frequent remarriage created large complex Burgundian households that were very different from the nuclear family. In these households, conflicts of natal and marital family allegiance often disrupted the fragile peace of the Burgundian kingdom. Without an understanding of the significance of the family with all its members our picture of the reasons for the *Burgundian Code* lacks accuracy. Discovering the existence of women in *The Burgundian Code* virtually demands the second phase of the three-fold process: constructing more realistic models of medieval society.

I would propose an alternate tripartite model of women in medieval society: Mothers, Virgins and Wanderers. This model encompasses the variety of experiences of individuals such as Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine, Abbess Hroswitha, and the peasant witch Petronilla, as well as women as a group. It also takes into account the ambivalence and hatred towards females found in medieval



Walters Art Gallery

Left: "By the late Middle Ages paintings reveal that Joseph had lost all his hair and aged at least one generation to become a father-like figure for Mary and more of a grandfather to the infant Jesus."

Middle: A ca.1250 statue of the Virgin from the demolished choir screen of the Strasbourg Cathedral. Right: Female members of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (Hospitallers).



Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection





Louis VII and Eleanor of Aquitaine on their way to the Crusade in 1147. St. Bernard is shown helping Eleanor into the boat. Below: From the Cathedral at Chartres: a stained glass window showing the Virgin Mary and the infant Jesus.

theological writings.

Although a controversy rages among feminists today about the biological imperative of motherhood, in medieval society as in any underdeveloped society, reproduction had enormous importance which placed a unique value on motherhood. Poor nutrition for all classes, a significantly shortened span of fertility, lower fecundity, inadequate obstetrical care, and high infant and maternal mortality all contributed to slow and erratic demographic growth. Women may have been placed on a pedestal as mothers, especially of male children, because they were valued for continuing their husband's family. Emotional bonds in the family seem to have been closer between mother and children than between wife and husband. Eleanor of Aquitaine provides an excellent example of the life of a mother. She produced only female children in her first marriage to King Louis VII of France, and it was partly for this reason that he divorced her. She then married Henry II of England, at least ten years her junior. With him she had five sons and three daughters, and then plotted with her son Richard for control of her own land of Aquitaine against her husband and king, who eventually placed her under house arrest.

Pregnancy provided a visible sign of motherhood, but it offered no such guarantees of paternity, and so every effort was made to restrict the activities of women of aristocracy so that they would not be sexually promiscuous. The adulterous wife/mother risked divorce without a settlement of her dowry. Whether courtly love represented social realities or literary conventions, its rituals served to isolate *la belle dame* as a passive receiver of the poetry and adoration of her admirer. Theologians and others thought that women needed to be controlled because of their passionate natures, and thus married women lived in the same dependent relationships with their husbands as they had with their fathers as young girls. They had no legal identities, and could not make contracts or wills without the approval of their husbands/guardians, except in the case of very wealthy heiresses.

Even the Virgin Mary needed a husband to protect and control her. The steady growth of the cult of the Virgin Mary from the relic forgeries in the ninth century to the window and statue of Our Lady of Chartres in the twelfth century paralleled an augmentation of the legends of Joseph. Although the earliest portrayals of Joseph in the eighth century show him as a relatively young man, by the late Middle Ages paintings reveal that

he had lost all his hair and aged at least one generation to become a father-like figure for Mary and more of a grandfather to the infant Jesus. Devotional interest in the Holy Family comes later.

Mary's importance as a mother increased in the twelfth century in relation to the theological emphasis on the humanity of Jesus, and his suffering. Mary became a symbol of most women: a mother who fulfilled her role as a nurturer humbly, in spite of the burden of carrying Eve's sins. In the thirteenth century, however, at the same time that the number of altar dedications and devotions to the Virgin Mary proliferated, some theologians argued the theory of the Immaculate Conception of the mother of God. Although the official doctrine of the Immaculate Conception gained papal approval only in the nineteenth century, it reveals the confusion of theologians towards women. The mother of God must also be an undefiled virgin free of any association with procreation.

The second group I identified in the process of constructing the history of medieval women comprises the women who chose to live as celibates in the Church: the true Virgins. Here were the women even more perfect for the theologians: women who removed themselves from worldly involvements, abandoned their families of origin, and joined religious orders which followed explicit rules of conduct. The insistence of the papal reform movement of the late eleventh century on the distinctions between clergy and laypeople effectively diminished the earlier power of women over other women in the Church. Because women never had the right to administer sacraments they had a second-class status in the Church. Most medieval intellectuals lived in convents under the Rule of St. Benedict, protected but isolated from the rest of the world.

Abbess Hildegard of Bingen (d.1179) wrote unique theological speculations on the origins of the cosmos and also collected medicinal herbs, in addition to administering a large convent. If her ideas had gotten beyond the convent, she could have been accused of heresy. Many nuns appear to have been placed in convents against their wishes, and they saw no value in following the strictures of the Benedictine Rule. To judge by the frequent admonitions of the thirteenth-century Archbishop Odo Rigaud against the nuns of Normandy, some nuns hoarded squirrel furs to replace their drab clothes, left the convents without permission to visit their families, and concocted herbal abortives for their friends.

The professed life of virginity occupied the

lives of many women and most closely approximated the Church's ideal for women. In spite of theological interest in procreation, virginity and celibacy were highly praised. Like the mothers, virgins followed a rule and were supposed to act in obedient and passive ways in Christian society.

For me the most interesting women are called the Wanderers. In this group are women who resisted the other models for women which defined them in terms of reproduction: heretics, single women, witches. Women seem to have been very numerous in the ranks of medieval heretical movements, such as the Cathars, although not in the leadership positions, as they were in early Christianity.

Although historians have trouble deciding whether witchcraft ever existed as a secret sect, members of medieval society firmly believed in the reality of the destructive powers of witches. The biggest fear about witches was that they could not be immediately distinguished from other members of society; they were the enemy within, and the vast majority of people persecuted for witchcraft were female.

The mass persecutions belong to the so-called Renaissance period. After the publication of the *Hammer of Witches* in 1487, witch confessions on the continent tended to focus on acts of sexual and social terrorism. Midwives were accused of witchcraft for dedicating infants to the Devil or murdering them. Others were alleged to concoct potions to ruin male potency, while some were supposed to fabricate adulterous love potions to destroy marriages. Whereas many traditional societies label certain individuals as evil-doers or witches, only in Christian Europe did women predominate, and with so many sexual crimes. Witches were sometimes accused of withholding sexuality and at other times they were seen as promiscuous with men and women. That is, those women labeled as witches were accused of exaggerated behavior appropriate to the other two groups, virgins and mothers.

It is a long chronological and mental jump from the inheritance rights of daughters in fifth-century Burgundy to the accusations against witches in fifteenth-century Germany. Taking on the third task of women's history necessitates an analysis of why historians have excluded the experiences of women from serious consideration. Lack of sources is no excuse at all as the first example from the Burgundian code showed. It is clear that some confusion in the historical sources exists primarily because the Church, which controlled access to literacy and education, had ambivalent and contradictory attitudes towards women. Some of the later theological treatises, especially those against witches, display the full range of the misogyny of some individual writers. The kinds of questions medieval historians have asked in the past have led to the exclusion of women. If historians are interested in questions of political and economic power, they are less likely to turn their attention to people without those forms of power. It has been easy in the past to ignore the role of women and the importance of the family, but we do so now at our peril.



The letters of Catherine of Siena

"....Let humility drive out pride, and voluntary poverty drive out the wealth and pleasures and conditions of the world. Let peace drive out and conquer war in one's own soul and in the soul of one's neighbor. Let patience master impatience through love for God's honor and one's own virtue, and through hatred and contempt for oneself let one bear courageously and patiently anguish, abuse, derision and insult, physical pain, and temporal loss. This is the way one ought to act, and to be constant, firm, stable and patient...."

"O most holy father, my dearest Babbo, open your mind's eye and see with understanding! If virtue is so necessary for everyone, if each one individually needs it for the salvation of his or her own soul, how much more do you need this constancy and strength and patience—you who must feed and govern the mystic body of holy Church, your bride!"

The passage is from a letter written in 1376 or 1377 by Catherine of Siena. She is addressing Pope Gregory XI. The "anguish, abuse, derision and insult, physical pain, and temporal loss" that she is urging on him are what probably await him in Rome, if he returns from Avignon where about seventy years earlier Pope Clement V had moved the Holy See to maintain closer supervision of the French monarchy. In this letter and in others, she tells him, in so many words, that if he does not have the courage to move the seat of power back to Rome, he should resign. Catherine, who was venerated during her lifetime (1347-1380) and canonized in 1461, became one of only two women ever to be awarded the title *Doctor* in the Roman Catholic church. (Teresa of Avila is the other.)

Advising popes was just one of the roles assumed by this extraordinary medieval woman. She attracted fervent disciples who were drawn to her forceful mysticism and her theological teachings, chief among them the identification of God as truth and love.

But her influence extended far beyond her circle of disciples. At a time when the roles of women in general were rigidly prescribed and when the accepted pattern for women pursuing a religious life was to be cloistered, Catherine was intensely, actively and publicly involved in the major ecclesiastical and political issues of the day. She ardently supported the Crusades, exhorting one and all to shed blood for Christ just as Christ had shed His for mankind, and she strongly upheld the Church belief that Palestine really belonged to Rome and should be won back.

She is credited with finally convincing Gregory to move back to Rome in 1376.

She was involved in trying to resolve the conflict between the Papacy and the city-states of the Italian peninsula who were struggling for their political independence and has been accused of almost single-handedly causing the schism (1378) to which this struggle eventually led.

Throughout her life, she never hesitated to offer her advice to the major religious and civil leaders of the day. How do you explain how a simple, unlettered woman could in fourteenth-century Europe rise to such a position of influence and prominence?

"Her influence then I think came from the fact that Christianity really dominated people's lives," says Sister Suzanne Noffke, who is currently working on a translation of Catherine's letters. "A

person who was obviously holy gained a lot of attention and was listened to and also was sort of tested by a lot of people to see if she was 'real.' And Catherine was very vocal. That would account for a lot of her contemporary interest and influence.

"I think her enduring interest comes from the fact that she had an amazing intelligence. Even though she never had any formal schooling, the strength of her arguments showed that she had a remarkable mind."

Catherine's 382 letters bear witness to her personal and social development at the same time they provide a unique glimpse into late fourteenth-century Italian society. Now, for the first time, all these letters are being made accessible to the English-speaking world through a translation project undertaken by Noffke, a member of the Sisters of St. Dominic in Racine, Wisconsin, with support from U.S. Dominican congregations and the NEH.

Noffke, who holds a Ph.D. in linguistics from the University of Wisconsin, has already translated Catherine's *Dialogue* and her *Prayers* (Paulist Press). As chief translator and editor for the current project she is using the only critical edition of the *Letters* ever to be made—an edition still in progress. That edition, begun during the 1920s by Eugene Dupre-Thesider of the Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo in Rome, is being completed by Antonio Volpato of the University of Rome.

Even though there is evidence that Catherine learned to write, she dictated most of her letters to secretaries. They were collected shortly after her death by her disciples who wanted to preserve and disseminate them for spiritual edification.

Noffke's task is to make these letters, written in late fourteenth-century Siennese dialect, understandable to twentieth-century readers of English. Surprisingly, she says, dealing with this dialect has not proved difficult because she came to Catherine's

letters "through the back door."

"First I learned to decipher Catherine's language and from that I came to contemporary Italian," she explains. "The differences between Catherine's language and contemporary Italian are not that major. There are a few structural differences and the spelling and sometimes the vocabulary are closer to the Latin."

Dealing with Catherine's individualistic style has posed greater problems for the translator. As Noffke wrote in a paper: "Most of the features which mark Catherine's style in contrast to more general Tuscan patterns of her day indicate not a studied literary artistry, but rather a relentless 'pumping' of the commonest resources of the language in an apparent effort to force it to carry the full intensity and complexity of her thought. Language is totally servant to her message, and if attention to structure lags behind her thought, the thought will not wait: structure flies to the wind!"

Perhaps all this "pumping" of the language is what caused one scholar to call Catherine's letters "the most dynamic Italian prose of the fourteenth century" (Ernest Hatch Wilkins in *A History of Italian Literature*).

Undoubtedly Catherine's most vivid letter is one written to her spiritual father, Brother Raymond, in which she tells him of a special grace she had obtained for a young Perugian who was beheaded in Siena. In it, she breathlessly relates the ecstasy she felt as she caught the young man's head in her hands and sensed his soul leave his body to join God:

"Oh how boundlessly sweet it was to see God's goodness, with what tenderness and love he awaited that soul when it had left its body—the eye of his mercy turned toward it—when it came to enter into his side bathed in its own blood, which found its worth in the blood of God's Son!"



by Pietro Parigi, from G. Papini's *Storia della letteratura italiana*



Later she adds, "Now that he [the prisoner] was at rest, my soul rested in peace and quiet in such fragrance of blood that I could not bear to wash away his blood that had splashed on me."

Catherine's letters are filled with references to blood and the spilling of it, a theme that many contemporary readers may find distasteful. "People always tell me one thing they can't stand about Catherine is all that blood," Noffke acknowledges. "Yet when Catherine talks about blood it becomes a very refined, almost poetic, symbolic thing. The blood is symbolizing God's gift of life in Jesus. You have to think, too, of Catherine's own experience with life as a bloody affair. She picked up bodies. She buried people. She probably assisted in childbirth. She witnessed hand-to-hand fights in the streets of Siena...."

Central to Catherine's teaching, says Noffke, was not blood, either literally or symbolically, but her identification of God as truth and love, one of the major themes of the scholastics, whose theology drew heavily on Aristotelian philosophy. (One of the more famous of this group, Thomas Aquinas, was also a Dominican.) "Everything else flows from that—her concern about the love people have for each other, her belief that people in positions of power and wealth should administer that power and wealth for the benefit of others."

Catherine's own concern and warmth often shine through the letters even though her disciples sometimes deleted the more personal passages from the earlier collections. She chides her brother, albeit affectionately, for neglecting to write to their mother. She constantly tells Gregory XI that

he should be more forceful and accuses his successor, the harsh Urban VI, of having an "acid" personality in dire need of humility. She writes to a prostitute, not to condemn or degrade her, but to speak to her of the beauty of virtue and of living a virtuous life.

"In general, Catherine had sympathy for 'sinners,'" Noffke says. "She tends to be more impatient with the self-righteous and with people in power who abuse that power."

When Noffke speaks of Catherine she almost always uses the present tense, as though she is speaking of an intimate friend with whom she converses daily. In a sense, she is.

"At first, I took up the project out of a sense of 'Dominican politeness,'" Noffke says. But once I began translating Catherine I became totally taken up with her. Her significance as an integrated woman speaks to me strongly. She is a very whole kind of person. Part of the delight [in working on this project] is watching her grow."

Those concerned with expanding women's horizons may well find communion with Catherine, Noffke adds. "Catherine has a very refreshing kind of freedom. She does what she thinks that she has to do. Her own life, her own living, her own way of acting are so clear of any sense of 'I can't do this because I'm a woman.'"

—Harriet Jackson Scarupa

Ms. Scarupa is a Washington-area freelance writer.

"The Letters of Catherine of Siena"/Suzanne M. Noffke, Middletown, WI/\$25,000 OR; \$15,000 FM/1982-85/Translations

Origins of Representative Institutions

BY THOMAS N. BISSON

Writing toward the year 1270 on the do's and don'ts of preaching, a Dominican friar named Humbert of Romans suggested that anyone in need of subjects for sermons would do well to frequent parliaments. There he would find plenty to deplore: wicked advisers, injustice, rejection of the poor, the defense of "bad men," and corruption. A cynic might find in this list a sure sign that Parliament had "arrived." Parliaments, Humbert explained, were occasions where "great kings" convoked counselors, notable men, and clergymen to deliberate on "greater matters," to receive account from the king's agents, and to ordain for the kingdom's necessity. Power, influence, interest, money! There is a familiar reality in Humbert's terms.

Yet the reality was not quite our own, nor was it altogether new in the thirteenth century. Medieval rulers had traditionally summoned their magnates on festive occasions, such as at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. In these solemn courts counsel was given, laws promulgated, and much that could pass for political activity took place. Nevertheless, it was only around 1250, when pressures of judicial business and financial need were mounting amid growing populations and ever more costly administrative and military needs, that great courts began (in England and France) to be called "parliaments." What began to impress administrators and lawyers (as well as friars) was the talking, or "talking together" (Old French: *parlement*), that went on in assemblies. And since assembled people must always have talked, this change seems to point to some new way of talking together. We may believe that it points to a shift from a traditional mode of ceremonial consultation to a novel form of political encounter, to a forum in which rulers no longer capable of imposing consent had to learn

how to win it.

No such transformation is known to have occurred in other traditional societies. The rise of parliamentary government is a uniquely Western phenomenon, one of the great creative achievements of the Middle Ages. It was not simply a matter of institutionalizing debate, although most historians today would agree that the new political dimension was critical. It also meant the recognition of newly formed interest or estates of society and the addition, by formal procedures of summons, of representatives of these estates to the assembly. In the Spanish kingdoms the Cortes, comprising the higher clergy, the lay barons, and often the deputies of towns, were convoked with some procedural and functional regularity from the early thirteenth century. After about 1300 they achieved a constitutional role, virtually a right to be summoned on matters of administration and taxation. In France the Estates arose after 1300 (and most of them only after 1350) from earlier traditions of provincial consultation. Normally composed, like the Cortes, of men from the three orders or "estates" (*estats*) of society, they likewise served administrative and fiscal purposes, although their powers varied greatly according to the province. No regime of Estates developed at the national level: the experiments of Philip the Fair (1285-1314) with vast national assemblies to ratify his antipapal and anti-Templar policies were not repeated, and central royal assemblies for fiscal or political purposes were never more than occasional expedients in later medieval France. Assemblies of estates variously designated—*Landtagen* in Germany, *parlamenti* in Italy, diets in Poland and elsewhere—developed also in central and eastern Europe, normally in provincial configurations, as in France. Hardly less important as a scene of parlia-

mentary activity was the Christian church. The great councils of the later Middle Ages were in some cases self-proclaimed representations of the "community of the faithful" and for a time it seemed that the papacy might itself become a kind of limited monarchy.

With the passing of the Middle Ages most of these assemblies saw their powers checked or even reversed; some disappeared entirely. Only in England did the Parliament survive as a fully constitutional organ of representative authority, but even there it required the singular circumstance of Stuart autocracy to ensure that the medieval precedents for conciliar autonomy and fiscal consent would be revived. The English Parliament originated in constitutional troubles of the thirteenth century. King John had promised in the *Magna Carta* of 1215 to convoke his clerical and baronial tenants-in-chief whenever he wished to impose a tax for purposes other than the customary feudal occasions (such as knighting or marriage). During the reign of Henry III (1216-1272) great councils tended (or sometimes pretended) to represent a "community of the realm," while for administrative purposes knights of the shire were occasionally called to the king's court. When Henry lost the support of his barons and prelates on fiscal and foreign issues, a reforming council sought to impose on him the obligation to summon three parliaments each year (1258). Nobody wanted to talk that much, it turned out; the king soon recovered his initiative in the more occasional summons of parliaments; but he also recognized the wisdom of enlarging the summons to include deputies of the shires and towns. England was not the only land where the lesser aristocracy attained parliamentary representation, but only in England did the knights choose to associate with the deputy

townsmen (or burgesses). So was created the house of Commons toward the middle of the fourteenth century, when by dint of further testing in conflict with Edward II (1307-1327), the Parliament had attained constitutional powers and even some measure of procedural autonomy. The "Method of Holding Parliament," composed about 1320 for the use of lawyers, is a piece of how-to-do-it writing without parallel elsewhere. In the century after 1340 some ninety Parliaments met in England. Through their right of petitioning, the Commons gained an effective voice in legislation. One other English peculiarity: in the fourteenth century the clergy left Parliament and formed their own assembly known as Convocation.

Historians of the nineteenth century had little doubt that the Middle Ages were a golden age of parliamentary life. Bathed in liberal-democratic enthusiasms, some, like Hallan and Guizot, supposed that what chiefly needed explaining was the origin of that "representative principle" by which those classes "possessed of political power" were progressively admitted to share in the king's power. Such a view seemed to be validated by the sheer luxuriance of a phenomenon as widespread as the rise of trade and of towns. But when historians began to read the records of medieval assemblies doubts were sown. In 1885 Ludwig Riess showed that the attendance of the medieval Commons on the king of England was more in the nature of an obligation than a right. A few years later F.W. Maitland argued that the early Parliament was fundamentally a court, not a legislature, and on this foundation a series of distinguished scholars, including the American C.H. McIlwain, elaborated an influential and increasingly refined view of Parliament as a "high court." A.B. White spoke of "self government at the king's command."

Such revisionist views were profoundly disturbing. If medieval representation could not be understood as a precocious bourgeois liberalism, one of the crown jewels of medievalism seemed lost. The weakening of some parliamentary regimes in the twentieth century added to the confusion. The work of certain "corporatist" historians, led by the Belgian Emile Lousse, could even be construed by some in antidemocratic terms, although it contributed usefully to our grasp of the social and legal conditioning of medieval Estates. Yet it became clear, as the veil of anachronism fell in tatters, that one need not cling to a liberal-democratic view of parliamentary origins to believe



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that what was most distinctive or original in the Western medieval experience was its tendency to limit the exercise of power.

For the limitation of power was by no means necessarily popular or democratic. It evolved from a traditional wisdom about counsel and from revived legal ideas about consent that antedated the new assemblies in the experience of clerical and feudal elites and subsisted apart from them; and these ideas, it has been shown, could have curiously ambiguous applications in practice. For example, in what was arguably the most influential formulation of the imperative of counsel, Saint Benedict prescribed that while in important matters the abbot must convoke the monks and hear their advice, in the end he need not necessarily follow their advice in his decision. Similarly in the matter of consent, the principle of Roman private law that, where the rights of several persons were "touched" in a given case the consent of all was required for its disposition, may have been diversely interpreted when cited in practice. One finds it, for instance, in writs of summons to certain English Parliaments in which, to all appearances, the

consent of those present was thought obligatory, not discretionary. The point is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the adaptation of powers of attorney, another Roman legal concept, to secular assemblies in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. There as in courts of law the problem was to ensure that decisions approved by representatives would be binding on their principals. Mandates of procurators were inspected by the administrators of assemblies and sometimes rejected as "insufficient," a practice that suggested to Gaines Post in a remarkable study that the consent tendered in assemblies of such curialist cast must have been less sovereign than procedural.

Yet these ideas, however applied, inevitably fostered the notion of due process as an imperative of healthy decision making. They could be ignored or abused, but when routinely observed they proved incompatible with arbitrary or exploitative forms of rulership such as were everywhere in retreat after the twelfth century. They were building blocks in the rule of law. And as Brian Tierney and other historians have suggested, it is impossible to dissociate the progress of such ideas from the reorganization of the church in the high Middle Ages, with its uniform promotion of informed judicial procedures based on rational evidence and of a conciliar life in which sophisticated techniques of representation were first devised. If ideas of constitutional government first evolved uniquely in the West, they may well have been the offspring of an opportune marriage between the institutional needs of undeveloped but growing societies and the literate and reasoned procedures of a church reviving ancient precepts of public order.

Modern conceptions of limited government thus owe much to the Middle Ages. We are in little danger of misunderstanding that. But it is only yesterday, so to speak, that we learned how to read the records of medieval consultation on their own terms; learned to appreciate how unlike a modern congress were those occasions of which Humbert of Romans spoke. If we could hear one of his sermons together with the Mass of the Holy Spirit with which assemblies opened, if we could eavesdrop on a political rhetoric more celebratory than interested, if we could realize how very slowly representation in lay assemblies came to be associated with election, we could not only understand modern government better. We might also learn that parliamentary life had a history, its own history, in the Middle Ages.



"The English Parliament originated in the constitutional troubles of the thirteenth century." The familiar nineteenth-century Houses of Parliament (above) reflect the prevailing romantic view of the Middle Ages as a "golden age of parliamentary life." The three estates—the church, the nobility, and the monarchy—achieved a constitutional role in the late fourteenth century. But "no regime of Estates developed at the national level."



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Implementation— <i>Lyn Maxwell White 724-0393</i>	June 1, 1982	January 1983
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Medieval Roots of Modern Hospitals



By dissolving the monasteries in the sixteenth century, Henry VIII granted a boon to some historians. At least that's the way Ellen Ross has sometimes viewed it. Ross, who received an NEH Youthgrant in 1980 to explore the medieval roots of modern hospitals, found few records of British hospitals surviving from before 1500. By contrast, the sixteenth-century dissolution of monasteries caused everything, including the possessions of affected hospitals, to be inventoried, and thus records have survived in quantity.

Hospitals grew from the Christian commitment to *hospitalitas*, corporal assistance to the needy. From the early days of Christianity, the Church assumed responsibility for the care of the pilgrim, the sick, and the indigent as part of its mission on earth. Specialization in the care of the needy dates from the ninth and tenth centuries, when hospices most often gave permanent shelter to the poor, the insane, and the incurably ill. Hospitals came to serve the ill on a temporary basis. Functions often overlapped, however, and pilgrims sought shelter in both hospitals and hospices. Before the Reformation and the emergence of the modern state, church and local municipality shared responsibility for the sick. Hospital "professionals" were most often religious orders of men and women dedicated to the care of the sick. Lay persons, organized in confraternities, also helped in a variety of ways.

Hospitals served a local public; thus fourteenth-century England, with a population of 3.75 million, boasted 600 hospitals. By the sixteenth century, financial pressure spurred hospital consolidation: in addition, the emerging state saw the religious privileges of hospitals as some of many to be curtailed.

Medieval hospitals provide a fascinating research opportunity. Ross used her stipend to visit England during the summer after her graduation from Princeton University. She examined the records and remaining buildings of several British institutions, and visited modern hospitals in Providence, Rhode Island, as well. Ross discovered that in medieval England, as many as 750 institutions called "hospitals" served the sick, the aged, the insane, the poor, and the pilgrim.

Religion, not medicine, was the primary force

behind medieval hospitals, she feels. The needy were cared for in the expectation that such good deeds merited forgiveness of sins and salvation for founders, nurses, and the inmates themselves. Yet, she notes, much of the motivation for hospital service—responding to human needs—has changed little over the centuries. Like their medieval counterparts, modern hospitals are serving their local community through projects such as preventive medicine and drug abuse programs.

The nursing profession, Ross points out, can clearly see its roots in the medieval hospital. Indeed, Lasalle College is incorporating her research in a course on the history of nursing. "Hospitals have not always provided extensive medical treatment," she said, "but they have always been places where a major part of the service offered was to provide supportive comfort and physical care for the patients."

During her stay in England, Ross visited and photographed many medieval hospitals still providing *hospitalitas*. St. Mary's Chichester, for instance, today a home for the aged, has subdivided the medieval great hall into private apartments. But the residents still gather in the chapel at 9 a.m.

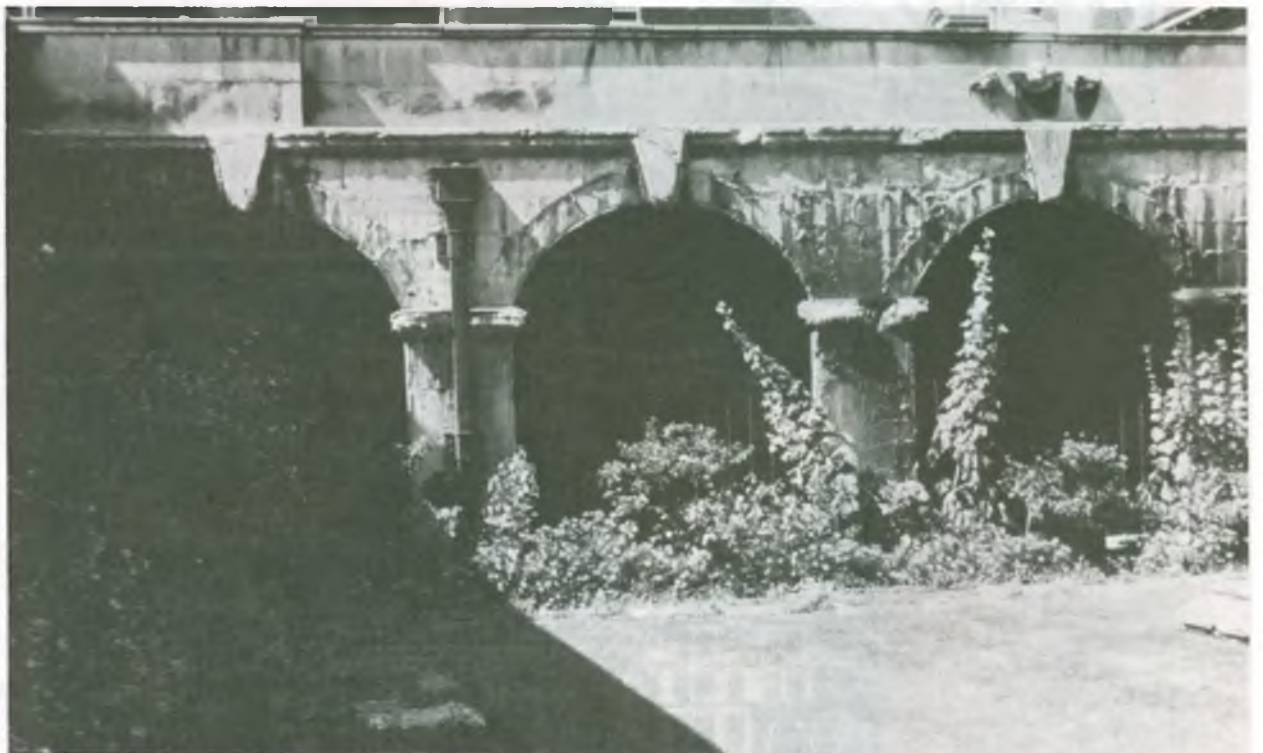
every day to pray for the twelfth-century founder of the hospital. Similarly, St. Thomas the Martyr Hospital in Canterbury, which once housed pilgrims, is now a home for the elderly, as are the hospitals of St. John the Baptist and St. Nicholas, Harbledown.

At these hospitals, Ross found medieval artifacts such as bowls and benches. But their documents had been transferred, many to Canterbury Cathedral Library, where they were destroyed in the bombings of World War II. She found, however, that the British Library, the Wellcome Medical Library, and others house some surviving records such as the writings of Archbishop Lafrance, who founded a hospital in the eleventh century, as well as substantial nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship on medieval British hospitals.

—Marcia Feldman and Marcella Grendler

Ms. Feldman is a Washington writer and Ms. Grendler is a member of the Endowment staff.

"Medieval Roots of Modern Hospitals"/Ellen Ross/Princeton U., NJ/\$2,489/1981/Youthgrants



Top left: Nuns at work on a ward at the Hotel-Dieu, Paris, in the early morning. Top right: St. Mary's Hospital, Chichester, England. Directly above: The Little Cloister of the infirmary, Westminster Abbey.



The British Tourist Authority

The Medieval University

BY ASTRIK GABRIEL



Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale



Paris, Archives Nationales



Clockwise, from top: King's College, Cambridge; In a 1499 woodcut, Brunettus, the jackass, goes to Paris to study; the college of Sorbonne, founded ca. 1257; seal of the University of Paris representing Lady Wisdom; Saint Catherine disputing with pagan doctors, from a 15th-century French manuscript.



f the institutions originating in the Middle Ages, the university is the one which has most retained its original character, adapting to changing social conditions and resisting attacks on its essential organization. The very

name, structure, officials, curriculum, and student life of the modern university would be easily understood by a fourteenth-century professor.

The earliest universities—Paris, Bologna, Oxford—date from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Several developments combined to promote their creation. Cathedral schools fostered a structured education and an intellectual tradition. The communal movement of the late twelfth and early thirteenth century favored the formation of autonomous corporations and guilds. And, perhaps most important, new disciplines emerged following the discovery and translation of previously unknown works of Greek science and Aristotle (Paris), and the revival of Roman law (Bologna). The new university joined these discoveries to the educational curriculum—the seven liberal arts of grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, mathematics, geometry, music, and astronomy—inherited from late antiquity and the early Middle Ages.

The new university quickly emerged as a third power of wisdom and learning between the piety of the Church and the secular power of the state. The popes supported Paris, famous for theological studies, "a fortunate city where the students were so many that their numbers almost exceeded that of the inhabitants." The Holy Roman Emperors provided the University of Bologna, known for legal teachings, with important privileges. Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa granted imperial protection to students in his "Authentica habita" of 1158, assuring safe passage to foreign scholars.

The modern word "university" comes ultimately from the classical Latin *universitas*. Through the early Middle Ages it denoted a collectivity, a society, body, or corporation of individuals. *Universitas* first appeared in an educational context when, in 1221, it was used by the guild of masters and students in Paris schools to refer to their own organization. The term has broadened in modern usage; in medieval times, the entire university as we understand it was called the *studium generale*.

Two types of organization characterized medieval universities: the student archetype of Bologna and the magisterial archetype of Paris. In Bologna, students organized themselves into guilds and, by mid-thirteenth century, they were grouped into two universities: *citramontani* (students from the mountains of Italy) and *ultramontani* (foreigners, from over the mountains). Students made their own contracts with professors for instruction, and generally dominated the university structure. In Paris, masters ruled; they had the decisive votes in the assembly.

Whether ruled by masters or students, medieval universities saw conflicts over curriculum, administration, and town-gown relationships. To protect their privileges, students and professors alike used new weapons. The former could cease giving lectures, the latter could refuse to attend classes—both techniques amounting to a right to strike. In Italy, the universities employed a further weapon in their struggle against domination by the local communal government. They simply moved away. Migration caused the foundation of the universities of Vicenza (1204), Arezzo (1215), and Vercelli (1228).

The master-dominated University of Paris established a structure that is still echoed by most European universities. The university was divided into the Faculty of Arts, Medicine, Canon Law, and

Theology. The medieval Faculty of Arts considered itself as "master and source," *mater et matrix*, of all faculties. This was based on the theory that other faculties derived their subjects from its curriculum. The philosophy of ethics gave origin to law schools; natural philosophy, to the college of medicine; and metaphysics, to the science of theology.

The medieval university was headed by the Rector, elected in Paris from among the masters of the Faculty of Arts. In Bologna, the two corporations of *citramontani* and *ultramontani* each had a Rector. Another office was the Proctor (*procurator*), the head of the four nations in Paris: French, Norman, Picard and Anglo-German. The Beadle (*pedellus*) was a liaison officer between the administration, masters and students. During solemn processions, the Beadles carried the mace (*sceptrum*), an ensign of authority before university dignitaries, a custom still prevailing both in Europe and in some American universities. The Messenger, a predecessor of our modern banker and postman, assured the transfer of funds from parents or other sources of student revenue to the university. Originally an extra university official, the Chancellor was an ecclesiastical dignitary who granted degrees in the name of the Pope, and in later centuries in the name of the secular power. In Oxford, he presided over the congregations of all the Faculties.

Some universities did not completely conform to either the Parisian or Bolognese type in organization. They varied to some degree because of the diversity of their origins. Some arose spontaneously—Paris, Bologna, Oxford, Montpellier, for example. Others were founded by papal or imperial charters or both. Still others, especially in Italy, were founded by communes. French provincial universities—Avignon, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Bourges, and others—presented a cross-breed between the Paris and Bologna archetypes. Although some Italian universities were founded by papacy or empire (or both) to promote legal studies, they usually resembled communal foundations by embodying student participation in university government. Spanish universities were royal, in fact, national foundations. Salamanca, the most famous, followed the Bologna archetype. Princes played an important role in the establishment of German universities. Among the earliest foundations were Prague (1347-48) and Vienna (1365). The University of Cambridge in England emerged in 1209 after the migration of Oxford scholars to the city.

In order to be considered a university subject, a student's name had to be inscribed in the official register of the university, called the *Matricula*; he had to take an oath to observe the statutes of his institution, and defend the privileges of his university. Ecclesiastical authorities, supervised by the chancellor, granted degrees. These were valid everywhere and conferred the right to teach everywhere: *jus ubicumque docendi*. Once enrolled in universities, students enjoyed clerical privileges and, with the exception of criminal cases, were judged by ecclesiastical authorities. Cleric usually meant, in contrast to military and lay status, a person devoted to studies. The title, altered somewhat, survives today in such expressions as city clerk.

Students enrolled in medieval universities were younger (14-16 years of age) in the north and somewhat older in the south. Upon arriving at the place of study, the student was faced with the problems of finding lodging and financial support. For the four to five years to be spent among the Faculty of Arts, he rented a room or a house in association with others. In early times, for the protection of students, the university exercised rent control through specially appointed officers called *taxatores* or taxors, who determined the price the landlord was allowed to request from the student. The *Paedagogium*, with several students in residence, was under the direction of a teaching master or

pedagogue. The German equivalent was the *bursa*, a larger house where students lived from a "common purse" (in Latin, *bursa*).

The concern for the social, economic and spiritual welfare of the students and their intellectual development gave rise to the college system. The college was an autonomous community invested with certain rights and privileges, with residence in an endowed building. Students were governed by duly elected heads according to certain rules called statutes. In Paris, two colleges were instituted in the twelfth century, about seventeen were founded in the thirteenth century, thirty-seven or more established in the fourteenth century, and nine or so began in the fifteenth century. Among the famous thirteenth-century colleges was the Sorbonne in Paris founded around 1251/57 for sixteen poor students studying theology. Statutes were personally written by the founder, Robert of Sorbonne, in 1274. Later on, the Sorbonne gave its name to the entire University of Paris. In Oxford, the earliest and most important college, Merton College (1264) with statutes given in 1270 and 1274, was headed by a Warden (*custos*). There was a noticeable difference between the English and French colleges. In England the colleges had greater independence from the university, similar to the organization of the English-speaking universities in Canada today. In Paris the university had a statutory right over the colleges. Colleges of German origin, such as Prague, *Carolinum* (1366) and Vienna, *Collegium Ducale* (1384), reserved their membership for high-ranking masters. In the fifteenth century, Paris colleges opened their doors to teaching and became centers of instruction.

The modern American university is headed by a president, a title borrowed from the medieval college terminology, where the head of the college was known as *Praeses*, *Presidens*, presiding over the institutions. The heads of European universities today, as in the Middle Ages, are called Rectors. The dean (*decanus*) originally was the oldest master within the Faculty, but later became an elected officer presiding over the Faculty of Arts, Medicine, Law or Theology. The medieval university had its Apostolic Conservators, overseeing in their courts the rights and liberties of the university, an office similar to that of the regents and trustees of our modern universities.

Students were sometimes supported by ecclesiastical benefices. Other means of making money were working as copyists, or waiting and serving at tables. They were the predecessors of the modern beneficiaries of our student aid and were actually so called in Latin: *beneficiarii*. For payment of degrees and other expenses, the students were taxed according to the amount of their *bursa*, a unit comprising a student's weekly expenditures for food and lodging. If he had no revenues, lived at the mercy of others or begged, he had to swear that he was without support: *juravit paupertatem*. In the fifteenth century at the University of Paris, 18 percent of the students were poor; in Vienna between 1377-1413, 25 percent.

Students who enrolled in universities sought degrees of Bachelor, Licentiate, Master, or Doctor in any or several of the four Faculties. Studying philosophy at the elementary level were the *modista* and *sophista*, students trained in tricky disputations called *sophismata*. This expression was used in early Harvard terminology as "sophister" and survives today as sophomore, a second-year student. The symbol of the Bachelor was a baton or cane (*bacca*), signifying teaching authority.

The modern expression graduate student—one who received his B.A.—reverts also to medieval times. In order to teach under the supervision of his master, the Bachelor had to climb the steps (in Latin, *gradus*) of the pulpit, seated higher above the other benches; therefore, in English, he is called graduate. The Bachelor became Licentiate after

examination because he obtained the license to teach. Obtaining the title of Master or Doctor was a solemn ceremony. Originally no official academic gown existed; only some colleges specified the color of the dress worn by their members. The promoted doctor was embraced and kissed by his fellow doctors. Then he was expected to begin (commence) his first public lecture, a ceremony which is retained today in America as commencement exercises. The duty of the master was to give public or "ordinary" lectures and students were allowed to take notes. Other lectures delivered in the afternoons, either by the master or his bachelor, were called extraordinary or "cursory" lectures (*cursus*), given rapidly, almost running through the text in order to train the memory of the students by not allowing them to take notes; hence, the modern expression "courses."

The master was expected to conduct disputations, an academic exercise where everyone could raise an argument for or against the discussed topic. The medieval disputation was the ancestor of our modern academic debates. During these exercises the students were occasionally allowed to ask amusing questions, which later in some places, such as Heidelberg towards 1518, degenerated into "shameful, lascivious and impudent" disputations.

The masters were allowed to accept salaries and remunerations not for selling the truth but for the price of their labor. In Italy, payment was regulated by contracts with the city; in Paris, the masters collected their fees directly from the students who were often delinquent payers.

Medieval churchmen and college founders were very generous in providing college libraries, considered holy and august places with necessary books. Most distinguished was the library of the Sorbonne which in 1338 already had 1,722 volumes on its shelves. Merton College in Oxford has 569 volumes by 1385, and at Erfurt, the Amplonianum had 635 books by the middle of the fifteenth century. The college founders considered the lending of books as deeds of mercy and charity. The Cistercian College of Bernadins in Paris in 1493 decreed that wine should be denied to the librarian as long as books were missing from the library.

The medieval university in the first part of the thirteenth century produced a university manual called the *De disciplina scholarium*, about the scholars' behavior. The main qualities demanded from the teaching master were erudition followed by gentleness, firmness, experience, and being "neither negligent nor arrogant." The exemplary master was expected to possess truth in speech, fairness in judgment, prudence in counseling and faithfulness in conduct. Medieval opinion loudly claimed that the chair and pulpit do not make its possessor famous, but the doctor himself brings prestige to the chair he occupies by virtue of his good morals and profound learning.





Walters Art Gallery

Hill Monastic Manuscript Library

Throughout the Dark Ages the monasteries kept lit the bright lights of past civilizations. Early in the sixth century, St. Benedict codified the monastic life, dedicated to useful work and devotion to God. Benedict's Rule set the pattern for European monastic life thereafter.

Cassiodorus, a contemporary of Benedict, added the purpose of scholarship to monastic orders. He founded two monasteries where he enjoined his monks to acquire knowledge both sacred and profane. To this purpose, Cassiodorus collected valuable manuscripts, which he instructed the monks to copy, supervised the translation of various Greek works into Latin, and wrote several historical works himself. Thus began the Benedictine tradition of transferring knowledge—in the form of manuscripts—and preserving it from the past to posterity.

Almost 1500 years later, in the 1950s, Fr. Colman Barry, then professor of history at St. John's University which is the world's largest Benedictine community, traveled from Collegeville, Minnesota to Rome to meet with Pope Pius XII. The Pope recalled how through the centuries manuscripts in monasteries had been lost through war, catastrophe, theft, and sometimes careless handling. The Pope reminded Fr. Barry of the Benedictine tradition. Referring to the countless manuscripts and archives reposing in monastery libraries throughout Western Europe, the Near East and Africa, he said, "Go to the hills and valleys before it is too late."

The dramatic result of this conversation was the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library (HMML) begun in 1964 to preserve on microfilm the contents of irreplaceable medieval and Renaissance books. Undertaken with NEH grants and private contributions, the Library gathers together under one roof copies of manuscripts from widely scattered repositories, some of which are remote, or almost inaccessible.

HMML is also cataloging some manuscript collections which have not previously been inventoried, and is building an index of the opening lines of works (*incipits*) to assist researchers in locating material. Presently, the *incipit* index has about 750,000 entries.

Since April, 1965, when the first page was microfilmed at Kremsmünster Abbey in Austria, HMML has collected about 50,000 handwritten documents antedating the advent of printing. With each manuscript containing an average of seven distinct chronicles, treatises, essays, Scriptural readings, poems, or other writings, there are approximately 350,000 separate works now on

Illuminating the Dark Ages

microfilm at HMML. They represent, according to Director Julian Plante, almost every field of medieval learning, from the culturally broadening liberal arts, to the practical "how-to" mechanical arts, to the speculative modes of thought embodied in philosophy, law and theology.

Most of the collection comes from microfilm projects undertaken in libraries in Austria, Ethiopia, Spain, Malta, Germany and Portugal. Manuscripts are filmed in black and white, two pages at a time when possible. In Austria alone, between 1965 and 1973, HMML photographed more than 32,000 manuscripts from 76 libraries. This adds up to more than 12.5 million pages—6.3 million black and white exposures—and more than 42,000 color exposures.

This vast quantity had already yielded several unanticipated fragments of the past. Plante tells of musicologist Peter Jeffery's examining a manuscript which had been used for binding for another manuscript. He found a leaf containing an illustration of a hocket, one of the earliest-known genres of secular instrumental music. In a hocket, each instrument plays one note in turn. This produces a musical effect suggesting a hiccuph—or *hoquet* in French.

Another quite extraordinary find was made by Paul Meyvaert of the Medieval Academy of America. Looking through a hagiographical text from the Austrian National Library, he noticed a few pages where the handwriting differed from the rest of the manuscript. Reading the Latin text, he discovered it was a letter to the King of France from Hulagu, grandson of Genghis Khan.

In Austria, HMML also photographed some 100,000 fragments of papyrus dating from the third to the first centuries B.C. Written in Greek, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Syriac and other languages, most are legal and administrative documents. But with them were some literary works, including fragments of Homer.

Microfilming takes place under varying circumstances. In Germany, where less than 100 manuscripts have been photographed, the Cathedral Chapter of Cologne opened its 900-year-old collection to HMML as a gesture of friendship and gratitude to St. John's Benedictines who sent food, clothing and medicine to the people of Cologne at the end of World War II. And curators of other German libraries have carried their books to Cologne to be microfilmed there.

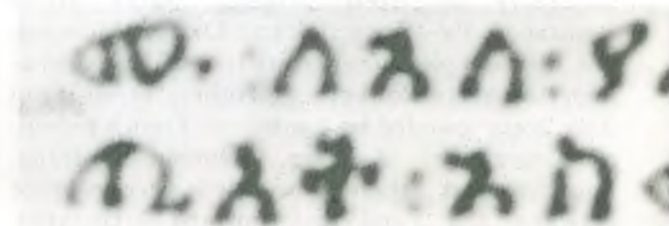
In Ethiopia, the camera crew travels the countryside in a Land Rover, visiting remote villages and churches, attending markets and fairs, asking for old manuscripts that might be stored away or, perhaps, are in everyday use. The outstanding discovery so far belongs to a priest who allowed the crew to photograph the Ethiopic Bible he carries in his pocket for daily prayers. On examination, the book was found to be very old indeed, made in the thirteenth century, if not before.

Walter Harrelson, Dean Emeritus of Vander-

bilt University Divinity School explains the value of the Ethiopic collections. "Ethiopia is one of the world's oldest continuing, active Christian communions. Relatively isolated from the East, Ethiopic Christianity has developed unique ways of thinking in association with Judaism, Islam and other African religions. The literature in the old church language—Ge'ez or Ethiopic—is recounted in a stylized form with recollections of actual saints. It differs from all other religious literature," Harrelson says. "The distinct writings are presented not only as ancient, but as a living part of religion. Commentaries are still being written today."

The 7,500 Ethiopian manuscripts already microfilmed cooperatively with Vanderbilt comprise the most complete representative collection of Ethiopian literature anywhere outside the churches of that country.

George Nickelsburg, professor of religion at the University of Iowa, has used the HMML collection in writing a commentary on the Book of Enoch, a Jewish apocryphal, pseudepigraphic text originally written in Aramaic, probably in the third or second century B.C., and later translated into Greek. Excluded from all other canons, Enoch is



included in the Ethiopic scriptures.

As textual critics must, Nickelsburg is reaching back to find the version closest to the original documents. With only fragments available in Aramaic, he believes the Ethiopic texts to be of prime importance because "Ethiopian, Coptic and Syriac texts sometimes are based on Greek manuscripts that are better than any of the Greek manuscripts we have."

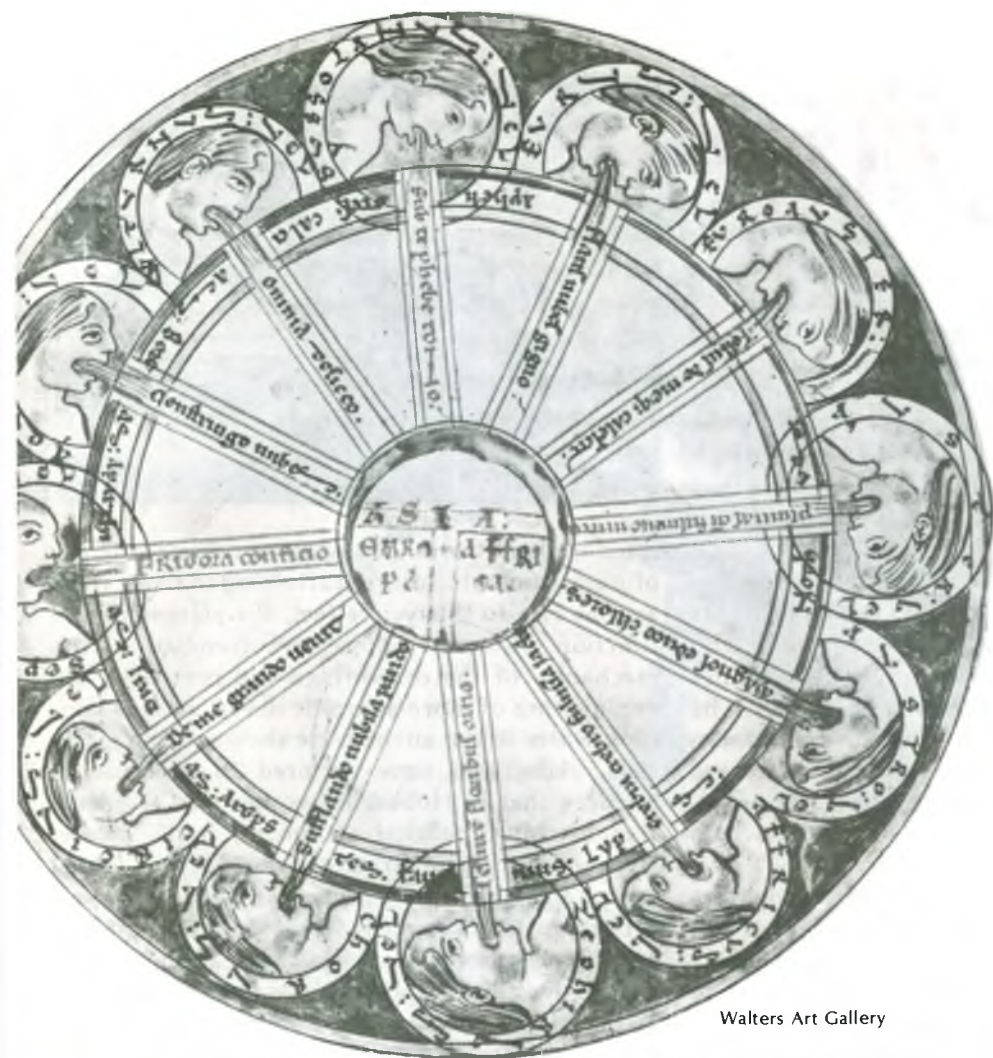
To make use of HMML's Ethiopian collection, another researcher, Rochus Zuurmond of the Netherlands is coming soon to St. John's for the third consecutive year. During his six-week visits he has been studying Gospel manuscripts and the Book of Jubilees. Like Enoch, Jubilees is part of the Ethiopian Bible. But, except for fragments of one chapter in Latin, the text of Jubilees is available only in Ethiopic.

On Malta, 1600 items have been photographed. Historically, the Island was a Mediterranean outpost against Turkish expansion. Of particular interest to historians, Plante says, are the sixteenth-century Inquisition archives preserved at Mdina. "They seem to be unique among Inquisition documents for containing original working papers, dossiers and judicial records."

From Spain the collection holds about 6,200

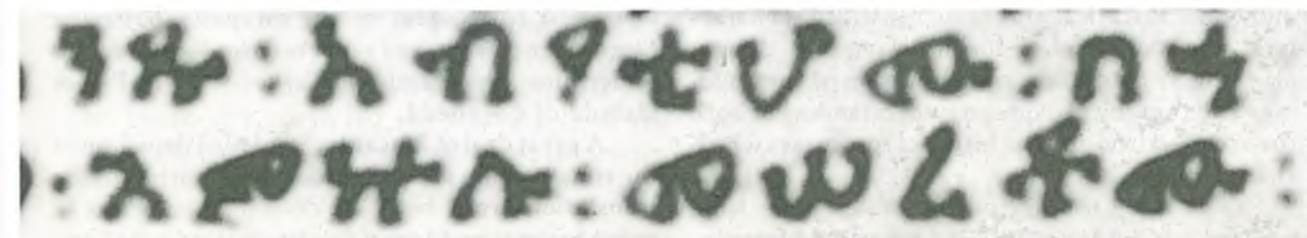


Hill Monastic Manuscript Library



Walters Art Gallery

Opposite page, top: A 14th-century manuscript illustrates "rinseau," the decorative pattern of vines and leaves. Below: In 1966 the HMML filmed 543 manuscripts at the Benedictine Abbey of Götweig, Austria, founded in 1083. This page, left: an English 12th-century Cosmography depicts the winds blowing inward on a three-part world: Asia, Europe, and Africa. Below: Lines from the oldest known text of the Old Testament in Ge'ez, the liturgical language of the Church in Ethiopia. Bottom right: Silver and jewelled cover of the Mondsee Gospels from 11th-century Germany.



manuscripts from twenty-nine libraries, including some texts in Visigothic script. One abbey, San Millán de la Cogolla, has documents of conventual life from the tenth century, and its history goes back to the Visigothic period when one of its abbots is known to have attended the councils of Toledo.

A small number of microfilms have been made in Portugal since 1980. Potentially the harvest there is abundant—perhaps 30,000 to 50,000 manuscripts—some in remote repositories, many uncataloged. Because Portuguese manuscripts are relatively unknown to Western scholars, Plante thinks it possible that "discoveries of major significance will emerge."

Besides HMML's own microfilms, manuscripts are being added to the Library through purchase of existing microfilm collections in England, Italy and elsewhere. One especially choice collection, from the Lambeth Palace Library, was assembled fifty years before Henry VIII dissolved the monasteries, at a time when outstanding manuscripts from monastic libraries were plentiful. It is particularly rich in English documents from the ninth to the sixteenth century, including copies of English poetry.

Another collection is from the Cairo Genizah or "hiding," one of the storehouses for Jewish texts which cannot be destroyed but are no longer in use. Found in the attic of a synagogue built on the site of a ninth-century synagogue, the Genizah contains 100,000 leaves, the oldest from A.D. 750. Among many heretofore lost Hebrew works is a version of the Book of Ecclesiasticus.

The collection continues to grow as possibilities for filming in additional countries are explored. Scholars and other researchers use the library, as do children from neighboring schools and those who are merely curious. In Nickelsburg's words, "Our life-blood is documents."

—Anita Franz Mintz

Mrs. Mintz is a frequent contributor to *Humanities*.

Walters Art Gallery

The late Henry Walters began his manuscript collection in 1895 with the purchase of a fifteenth-century French Book of Hours. For thirty-six years he purchased rare documents until, at the time of his death, the rare book collection of the Walters Art Gallery held some eight hundred manuscripts, ranging from the ninth to the twentieth century.

Walters was primarily interested in forming a collection for comprehensive study. But, for the splendor of its illuminated manuscripts, the collection is regarded in the United States as second only to that of the Pierpont Morgan Library. In the realm of illuminated Books of Hours, its more than two hundred examples are unexcelled.

Until recently, this collection has been known to the public only through articles published in scholarly journals and through special exhibitions. A definitive catalog had not been undertaken until 1977, when an NEH grant enabled a team of three manuscript specialists, including the Walters curator of manuscripts and rare books, Lillian C. Randall, and rare book conservator Christopher Clarkson, to make a minutely detailed study of each codex.

The descriptions, soon to be published in a catalog, are contained in a card-index file. The team has also compiled over three thousand color slides and nearly a thousand black and white photographs of noteworthy codicological and aesthetic features.

In addition, the project has helped to restore several dozen manuscripts that time and atmosphere have conspired to deface.

The parchment on which the texts were copied came from sheepskin; the finer vellum, from calf skin. Both were soaked in lime, stretched, scraped and rubbed with chalk. Cut into sheets the size of a double page, the parchment was pricked with a sharp instrument to mark points for ruled lines.

After drawing the rules with stylus, lead, or pen and ink, the scribe began to write with a quill pen. He used ink he had made with the powder of a crushed tree burl, mixed with vinegar and other ingredients.

The scribe probably worked by copying another text. But before the fifteenth century, he might have written as someone dictated to him—thus opening the possibility of making an error of sound rather than of sight. If the scribe did err, and was aware of it, he could have erased the faulty words by scraping them away with a knife.

The ease with which scribes and illuminators could remove ink and paint from parchment is precisely the cause for much of the difficulty that conservators of those manuscripts face today. The paint or gold leaf that cracks and flakes away from the parchment must be reattached. This is done by slipping a special adhesive beneath each flake of paint with a single hair of a brush. The adhesive is drawn into the minute space between paint and paper.

In addition to the illuminations, many of the bindings—of velvet, leather, wood, or silver, some elaborate etched or bejeweled—have made manuscripts art treasures as well as prizes of scholarship.

"Books were a status symbol in medieval Europe," says Randall. "People were proud of their beauty."

Randall regards the economic growth at the beginning of the thirteenth century as a turning point in book patronage, away from royalty and the church. New upper and middle classes were able to afford books, encouraging secular scribes and artists to develop their skills. Patrons commissioned scribes from distant lands which stimulated artistic cross-fertilization.

The Walters catalog describes the binding and illumination of each codex as well as its gatherings, script, literary text, and provenance. In this way, according to Randall, it "assists scholars and generalists in their various quests, be it for a rare motif or for illustrative material for a brochure or television program."

—AFM

"Hill Monastic Manuscript Library"/Julian G. Plante/St. John's University, Collegeville, MN/\$456,964 FM/1971-77/\$42,000; \$180,000 FM/1977-79/\$200,000 FM/1979-81/Research Resources

"Catalog of Western Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery"/Lillian C. Randall/Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD/\$99,095/1977-80/Research Resources



Walters Art Gallery

Castles on the Air

When Hever Castle—built in the thirteenth century and later home of Anne Boleyn—went on the market recently for \$24,165,000, it attracted more attention from the press than from home buyers. Of course, monthly mortgage payments of \$325,475 for 30 years (with 20 percent down) may account for that. But it also may be that we think of castles as something to read about, not something to live in; something fantastic, not something domestic.

Indeed, castles have become more myth than reality. They are demonic settings for gothic horror and heroic settings for Arthurian romance; their ivy covered ruins inspired the romantic poets, and modern fantasy novels transmogrify them into the realm of the unreal.

Yet castles are very real and an important part of the development of Western civilization. They are exceptional engineering accomplishments and ingenious military fortifications that played a significant role in bringing Europe out of the Middle Ages and into the middle class.

In fact, the castle, by its very success in bringing the outlands under control and fostering the growth of towns, contributed to its own decline. The heyday of English castles lasted only from the mid-thirteenth to the early fourteenth centuries and most fell into disrepair soon thereafter, becoming stone quarries for new construction.

For 600 years the reality of castles has withered, but now it is being revived by an hour-long public television program entitled *Castle* expected to be broadcast nationally late this year. The program is based on the book of the same name by David Macaulay, former chairman of the Department of Illustration at the Rhode Island School of Design and author of four other books on architectural/social history—*Cathedral: The Story of Its Construction*, *City: A Story of Roman Planning and Construction*, *Pyramid*, and *Underground*.

Macaulay's books, published between 1973 and 1977, have fascinated young and not-so-young

adults with their detailed, multi-perspective illustrations and their explanations of the architectural, historical, and cultural significance of these structures. The books have sold a million copies in the United States, been translated into eight foreign languages, and won numerous awards here and abroad, including the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects.

A number of producers had approached Macaulay concerning the film and television rights to the books. Macaulay waited for someone who would translate the books onto film in a manner artistically compatible with his style. In 1978, he sold the rights to Unicorn Projects, Inc. of Potomac, Maryland, in part because he had been impressed by Unicorn Vice President Ray Hubbard's production *Lewis Mumford: Toward Human Architecture*, which aired on PBS.

Hubbard decided *Castle* would be the pilot film in a series to include all the books except *Underground*, which differs from the others by lacking a narrative structure and is, therefore, less suited to a film. The remaining four, however, all follow a story of how the structure evolved by focusing on individual historical and pseudo-historical characters. The books explore the initial impetus, design, planning, construction and utilization of the buildings and thereby provide an understanding of both the architectural and the historical processes which shaped them.

Castle is set in England and Wales under King Edward I. It is March 27, 1283 when, as Macaulay imagines it, the King names Kevin Le Strange to be Lord of Aberwyvern, a nonexistent but typical outpost in rebellious Wales. In exchange for the title, Le Strange will build a castle and town to help the king secure the area under English rule.

Lord Kevin sets off for Aberwyvern, hires a master engineer, with whom he selects the site, and begins the project to build his castle—a project which will take five years to complete and, at its height, will require the labor of over three thousand people.

Macaulay chronicles in great detail the building of the castle—the design of the twelve-foot-



The British Tourist Authority

thick walls of the inner and outer curtain, the use of putlog holes to secure scaffolding to those walls as they rise to thirty-five feet, the placement and function of arrow loops and crenelation, the mechanics of the drawbridge and portcullis, the engineering of more domestic needs, such as running water in the kitchen. He shows us the materials, skills, and time required to construct a building that in Hubbard's words "was at once a war machine, political statement, hotel, palace, storehouse, administrative headquarters, social center and symbol of power on an unruly frontier. More than just a complex structure, the castle was a complete system of social organization."

Above all, Aberwyvern was designed as a fortress able to withstand the onslaught of Welsh armies. Macaulay's story closes with the castle being put to the test by the catapults, battering rams, siege towers, and sappers (who dig tunnels to undermine the castle walls) of Welsh Prince Dafydd of Gwynedd.

A great deal of Macaulay's detailed depiction of the construction process could have been lost in the translation from book to documentary film. In order to capture Macaulay's fascinating detail and to convert the static reality of surviving castles into living, working, growing structures, Hubbard decided to use animation.

Animation unfortunately carries with it the potential to perpetuate the mythical quality of castles. But Hubbard found several ways to avoid the tendency of animated films to make castles less, rather than more, real.

First of all, he decided to combine the animation with documentary footage of surviving castles that resemble Macaulay's Aberwyvern—Caernarvon, Beaumaris, Conway, Harlech. He also scripted for live narrators to appear in the documentary scenes and provide historical commentary through voiceovers during some of the animated sequences.

Secondly, Hubbard ensured the script's histor-

Macaulay's imaginary castle of Aberwyvern, left, resembles the actual castle of Beaumaris in Wales, above. Opposite page: One of the defenders of Aberwyvern, as the animators of *CASTLE* drew him. Bottom right: The interior of the Hammond Castle Museum.



ical accuracy by establishing a board of advisers made up of medieval scholars—John Bell Henne-
man, Jr., University of Iowa; David Herlihy, Har-
vard University; C. Warren Hollister, University of
California at Santa Barbara; Lon R. Shelby, South-
ern Illinois University; and Gabrielle M. Spiegel,
University of Maryland. The board helped to weed
out anachronisms, such as a comment by the
blacksmith that the town did not have sidewalks,
since he couldn't have known what a sidewalk was.
The board also corrected the scholarship of the
filmscript, objecting, for example, to explaining the
end of the medieval era in terms of the Italian
Renaissance.

In addition to the board, Meredydd Evans of
the University College of Wales read the script to
be sure it was accurate from the Welsh point of
view. Evans also translated Prince Dafydd's
speeches into Welsh.

Thirdly, Hubbard sought out animators who
could handle a "serious" project and would not
treat the material in Saturday-morning-cartoon
style; but would preserve Macaulay's artistry.
There are few animation studios that can adapt to
another artist's style; Hubbard and Macaulay
approached Richard Williams Animation, Ltd. of
London and Hollywood. It proved a fortuitous
choice. "The animators have taken a national pride
in the project," according to Hubbard. "They have
shown terrific enthusiasm and added embellish-
ments that reflect both a love for and an under-
standing of the subject."

Months were spent just developing a tech-
nique to capture Macaulay's style and distinctive
ability to communicate the reality of three-
dimensional structures through drawings. The
Williams Studio used color washes with line over-
lays for the castle and backgrounds; for the charac-
ters, the studio photocopied sketches onto
transparent overlays and colored the cells without
using the containing lines that typify most televi-
sion animation.

Animation of this quality has one drawback: it
is very expensive. It has taken thirty animators a
full year to create thirty minutes of film for *Castle*
(that's one minute per year per animator!).

The project is expected to cost over \$1 million.
NEH agreed to cover approximately half of that in
an outright grant and to provide the rest on a
gift-and-matching basis to encourage private sup-
port for the project. At the time of this writing,
Unicorn has raised (from the Arthur Vining Davis
Foundation) all but \$100,000 to receive the full
NEH matching grant.

Most of the animation for *Castle* is now com-
plete. The live sequences will have to be filmed in
the fall, after the tourist season, when the castles

can be closed. Negotiations are underway with a
Welsh musician to compose an original score for
the film using contemporaneous instruments and
musical style.

Hubbard hopes to have the program ready to
air on PBS during the Christmas season.

After it has been nationally broadcast, *Castle*
will be available to libraries, schools and commu-
nity organizations for local showings. The produc-
ers hope that this film and the others in the
proposed series will be sold widely to foreign
broadcasters.

A preview of the completed animation sequen-
ces suggests the film will find large and enthusias-
tic audiences and that they will agree with the
concluding remarks of the narrator in the "Castle"
script:

To see castles clearly, we'll have to give
up some of our cherished illusions about fire-
breathing dragons and fair maidens in dis-
tress but what we'll gain is a respect for the
genuine accomplishments of the past.

The castle is a visible symbol of man's
spirit, imagination, conflicts and ability to
persist. And if we let them, these structures
can not only intrigue us and fire our imagina-
tions, but also give us that vital sense of who
we are and what we've been.

Asked if working on the film has changed his
own perception of castles, Hubbard responded,
"Enormously. I really didn't have much idea how
they worked or what they were for. I came to
realize that they are as much a war machine as a
modern battleship. It also occurred to me that they
are really the British parallel to the nineteenth-
century forts built in the American West to subdue
the native population of the frontier."

Now Hubbard is gearing up to tackle another
medieval subject—*Cathedral*—the next program in
the series. At its Council meeting last month the
NEH awarded Hubbard a script-writing grant for
the program.

In the meantime, Unicorn has commissioned
Macaulay to begin research on a new title—"New
England Mill"—to be included in the television
series.

—John Lippincott

Mr. Lippincott is a member of the Endowment staff.

"Castle"/Ray Hubbard/Unicorn Projects, Inc./Potomac,
MD/\$593,714 OR; 250,000 FM/1981-82/Media

The enduring fantasy

The history of popular fascination with cas-
tles, from the time of their Saracen and Norman
beginnings to the present, was explored in an inter-
pretive exhibit last spring at the Hammond Castle
Museum in Gloucester, Massachusetts.

Built in 1926 as both a home and museum by
the inventor John Hays Hammond, Jr., the Ham-
mond Castle, complete with turrets, crenelation
and drawbridge, is itself a monument to the influ-
ence of castles in our culture.

The Museum's temporary exhibit—"Castles:
An Enduring Fantasy"—was designed by an inter-
disciplinary research team to increase public
understanding of the pervasiveness and signifi-
cance of the castle image, not only as a cultural and
aesthetic theme but also in its more subtle psycho-
logical dimensions as a symbol of the defenses of
the individual and as a Jungian archetype.

The exhibit consisted of objects loaned by
museums throughout the United States and from
the Hammond Museum's own collection, as well as
displays and informational materials placing the
objects in cultural and thematic contexts. To
achieve a sense of both the chronology and the
richness of castle imagery, the exhibit was spread
throughout the rooms of the Museum in an "itin-
erary" covering four major themes and periods.

(1) The first section introduced visitors to the
prototypical castle and explained its form and
function as a military bastion in the Middle Ages.

(2) In the Great Hall of the Museum, the
exhibit explored the castle as a symbol of chivalric
ideals in the late Middle Ages.

(3) In the first of two rooms devoted to the
gothic revival, the nostalgia of the late eighteenth
and early nineteenth centuries for the medieval
past was revealed through literature of the period.
The second room displayed the gothic revival in
America, especially in landscape painting.

(4) Four areas of the Museum then chronicled
the modern popularization of the castle image both
in America and abroad. They examined castle lore
in the Industrial Revolution; American collections
of European antiquities, typified in the furnishings
of the Hammond Castle; the role of American illus-
trators, such as Walt Disney, in perpetuating and
altering the castle image; and, finally, the influence
of castles on American architecture.

A variety of programs and workshops for
school and community groups accompanied the
exhibit, including a book fair at which David
Macaulay, author of *Castle*, was a featured speaker.

The number of individual visitors to the Ham-
mond Museum tripled during the period of the
exhibit, reaching 1,000 on spring weekends. And
though the exhibit is now over, it will continue to
have significance for the life of the museum, says
Naomi Kline, project director. "Elements of the
exhibit will remain on display and in our collection,
and we plan to produce a book on castle imagery.
But perhaps more importantly, we have gained
new sophistication, supporters, and skills that can
only come to a small museum like ours through the
experience of mounting a major exhibition. As a
result of 'Castles' we are a very different museum."

"Castles: An Enduring Fantasy"/Naomi R. Kline/Hammond Cas-
tle Museum, Gloucester, MA/\$100,000/1981-82/Museums
and Historical Organizations



Hammond Castle Museum



DUSTJACKETS

Medieval Studies

Anyone who still doubts the cross-disciplinary nature of medieval studies need only consider a sampling of recently published work that has received NEH support. Our continually evolving understanding of medieval civilization depends on the contributions of scholars from virtually all the humanities disciplines.

Making sense of even one aspect of medieval life presents enormous scholarly difficulties, as the great historian of feudal institutions, Marc Bloch, has explained.

Very few scholars can boast that they are equally well equipped to read critically a medieval charter, to explain correctly the etymology of place names, to date unerringly the ruins of dwellings of the prehistoric, Celtic, or Gallo-Roman periods, and to analyze the plant life proper to a pasture, a field, or a moor.

But all these skills are necessary to inquire into the history of land use. Questions of ecclesiastical history, legal institutions, literary form, evolution of language and transmission of culture, are similarly rigorous.

The sources are refractory. Much material is lost or has been destroyed. In many cases the written record was meretricious to begin with, set down with intent to deceive, if not to mislead, or at least to persuade by polemic that was generally less than scrupulous.

Many forms of philosophical and theological disputation are abstruse, legal treatises are vague and fail to describe how the system of justice actually operated. Sheer technical difficulties of linguistics and paleography make the work just of comprehending the source material—not to mention analysis and interpretation—seem a formidable task.

The quantitative data are fragmented and hard to tabulate. Accounts of people's motives, behavior and feelings are often disingenuous or so constrained by formal convention as to resist penetration. Dates are controversial and sometimes impossible to establish. Often we can't determine where the King of France was at a critical moment, or the Pope; most people in the medieval world literally did not know what time it was nor did they care. All this can be maddening to scholars in a culture like ours that prizes precision and takes as truth the hard data of the social scientist.

Further, there is little evidence of the inner lives of the mass of the population, peasants who worked the land, although Bloch and some of his followers have brilliantly reconstructed the life of rural society.

Medievalists have managed to explore even the most remote and obscure corners of their field and wring answers to their questions from the most recalcitrant of witnesses.

William of Ockham, the fourteenth-century Oxford Franciscan is often depicted as a notorious figure. A member of the radical wing of the Fran-

ciscan order who advocated a return to the apostolic poverty of the church, he claimed that the Pope, in subverting the gospels, was a heretic. (The Pope returned the compliment by excommunicating Ockham.) He was forced into exile at the court of Louis of Bavaria, another papal foe, where he died in 1350. Ockham's political writings and his reputation as a rebel and destroyer of the medieval synthesis presumably epitomized by St. Thomas Aquinas has eclipsed recognition of him as a world-class philosopher.

Ockham is now ranked by some scholars with Aquinas and Scotus in the Middle Ages and subsequently with Descartes, Leibniz, Locke, Berkeley, Hume and Kant as one of the great Western philosophers. His application of logical analysis to theology and philosophy as well as to natural science, his insistence on the separation of logic and metaphysics, and his extreme nominalism (the belief that universals are simply names with no existence outside the mind), point the way toward Hume and radical empiricism.

Yet there has been no modern critical edition of Ockham's philosophical and theological writings. Scholars have had to rely on a reprint of the first published edition of the work—the Lyons edition which was based on a copy of one of the worst surviving manuscripts and often severely distorts Ockham's language and thought.

At the Franciscan Institute of St. Bonaventure University in New York, a team of scholars directed by Ladislao G. Gal is preparing a critical edition of Ockham's works from the manuscripts that have survived. Eight volumes have thus far appeared; a total of sixteen volumes—about 10,000 printed pages—are projected, with the hope of completing the series by 1985, the seven-hundredth anniversary of Ockham's birth.

The work of editing is labor-intensive and bristles with technical pitfalls—"nasty and difficult" is one commentator's characterization of the job. Merely collating the sources (the working editorial principle has been to use at least eight different manuscripts for each work) is a monumental effort.

The researchers do all their own typing, even preparing the manuscript for the printer because, they report, "secretaries and proofreaders who can cope with Latin are virtually nonexistent." Reading proof for these texts involves making sure that "the critical apparatus of variants and notes correctly corresponds to the lines of the text and finally that the text itself is correctly punctuated and makes sense. This cannot be entrusted to graduate students, even if they know Latin."

The Franciscan Institute is now the world center of Ockham scholarship, and the edition as it proceeds is recognized as a major American contribution to international scholarship in the field of medieval philosophy and culture.

Another team project—this one applying computerized technology in scale unmatched in the

humanities—has made Madison, Wisconsin, the world center for medieval Spanish textual analysis. Work on the monumental Dictionary of the Old Spanish Language under the direction of Lloyd Kasten and John Nitti at the Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies has produced an array of ancillary reference works that includes microfiche publication of more than 20,000 pages of texts from the royal scriptorium of Alfonso X, El Sabio (the Learned), the thirteenth-century king of Castile.

Drawn by the flowering of Arabic culture, scholars came to thirteenth-century Spain from all over Europe. Alfonso cultivated the arts and sciences; established schools in Seville, Toledo, and Murci; and at his royal scriptorium oversaw the translation of Arabic scientific works into the vernacular. He also set out to write a complete history of his own time. There is some debate, says Nitti, as to Alfonso's own scholarly accomplishments (in politics he was not very successful), but he did intervene as an editor. As a contemporary source said, "He righted inconsistencies and infelicities." He also wrote poetry in Galician patois—the lyric medium of his time—as well as a number of songs to the Virgin Mary.

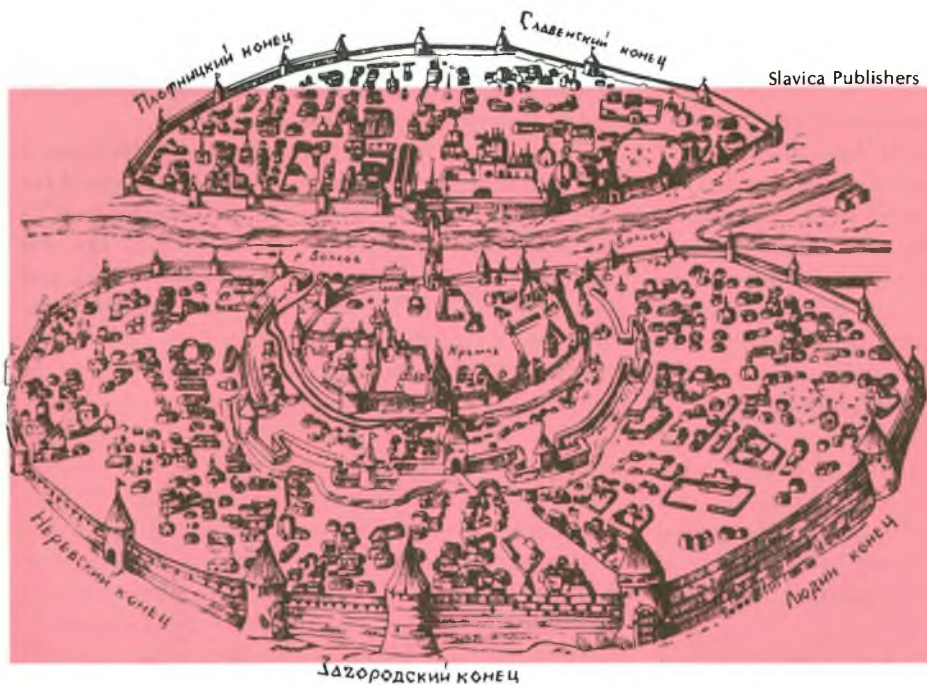
The texts of the Alfonsine corpus include histories and chronicles, astrological and astronomical treatises, and the largest compilation of laws in Spanish, the *Libro de las leyes*, which is still used to establish precedents for legal cases in the American Southwest. A particularly delightful text, says Nitti, is a chess book, the *Libro de ajedres, dados y tablas* (chess, dice and backgammon)—the first known book on the subject. This is a how-to-do-it manual from the Arabic that even contains instructions for building the chess board and illustrations showing women playing as equals with men.

Other offshoots of the Old Spanish Dictionary project include a medical treatise originally written in Latin by the tenth-century Spanish Jew, Isaac Israeli, and the unique Aragonese version of a widely disseminated work, the *Libro de Marco Polo*.

Complementing the Alfonsine Castilian texts and comparable to them in magnitude are the texts of fourteenth-century Aragonese manuscript translations produced under the aegis of Juan Fernandez de Hérédia, Grand Master of the Knights Hospitalers, at his Aragonese scriptorium at the papal court in Avignon. They comprise another two-volume microfiche edition being published this spring.

The Aragonese collection includes an important Moorish chronicle for which the Hérédia text is the sole source, extracts from Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War*, Plutarch's *Lives*, and a translation of the pseudo-Aristotle's *Secreto secretorum*, one of the most popular books in the medieval period, second only to the Bible, says Nitti.

Publication of these texts—the earliest and largest significant body of works in Spanish literature—opens an enormous field for research. The value to students in medieval Spanish history,



Slavica Publishers

Left: Pictorial plan of Old Novgorod. Right: A woodcut from the *Ars Moriendi*, a 15th-century "how-to" book on meeting death without priestly assistance, shows a plague victim being tempted by the devil. Center: In a French Book of Hours (ca. 1425) St. Matthew copies the Scriptures with the help of an angel who transmits inspiration from the Virgin. Bottom: Frankish noblewomen.



language, and literature of making accessible the texts of material scattered in manuscripts all over Europe, is still to be exploited. (The Spaniards themselves, says Nitti, find it ironic that no such project has been undertaken in any European country.)



Focusing on a specific collection of sources, John Contreni's *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* attempts to reconstruct the library of a school that served as an important Carolingian cultural center. In this case no descriptive documents, letters or narratives survive; Contreni undertook an "archaeological investigation of culture" by examining the physical remains of the school. The book is based on "new," hitherto neglected sources—the more than one hundred manuscripts of the Laon masters that remain, most of which were found "jammed into an old, black safe in the Bibliotheque of Laon."

While many works exemplify traditional patterns of scholarship, current trends in historiography and literary analysis are also represented. Recent books show the influence of the theoretical approaches of semiotics and structuralism as well as the application of techniques of computer analysis of data such as land-holding records and dendrochronology—the dating of trees.

Scholars have always been impelled by the questions of their own time, and concerns and issues of contemporary life also inform new published work. It should not be surprising, therefore, that recent books in medieval studies display our interest in all aspects of feminism, the nature of sexuality and the erotic life, society's view of homosexuality, the effects of pandemic disease and disaster on the fabric of society and ecumenism in religion.



A ground-breaking work of social history, John Boswell's *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*, demonstrates how the scholar's perception and painstaking critical analysis of material formerly suppressed, glossed over, or misinterpreted by previous writers can reshape our thinking and compel us to consider new questions in the history of consciousness. From an intense study of popular literature, Biblical and patristic texts, legal codes, and letters, Boswell has produced a comprehensive survey of attitudes toward homosexuality in medieval life.

His central thesis is that homosexual behavior was tolerated in the early medieval period, during which time the church never issued strictures against it; that in the latter part of the twelfth century hostility towards homosexuals appears, as it does toward Jews; and that by the fourteenth century, homosexuals were actively persecuted. Between 1150 and 1350 "homosexual behavior appears to have changed, in the eyes of the public, from the personal preference of a prosperous minority, satirized and celebrated in popular verse,

to a dangerous, antisocial, and severely sinful aberration."

Why this should have happened, says Boswell, has still to be explained.

The book, which won the Bancroft prize for history in 1981, has received widespread critical attention. Even reviewers who questioned some of Boswell's conclusions, or found his application of the term "gay" to such a broad sweep of time somewhat anachronistic, praised his erudition and thorough scholarship and hailed the importance of the pioneering inquiry.

Another work dealing with the attitude of early Christianity towards human sexuality is John M. Bugge's study in the history of ideas, *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal*, which examines the meaning of virginity in the ascetic philosophy of medieval monasticism and analyzes different views of the perfective value of the virginal life.

The subtitle of Suzanne Fonay Wemple's *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister, 500 to 900*, underlines the fact that only two options were open to women in that era. This may be seen as a great advance: Christianity marks a new departure in the history of feminism, she notes. Wemple contends that women were accepted as spiritual equals and during the Frankish period took an important role in converting their husbands, baptizing children, building churches and establishing monastic foundations—a role that was circumscribed by the development of a male-dominated ecclesiastical hierarchy.

The monastic life then assumed a new appeal for women, a vow of chastity often being far more attractive than the exigencies of married life in the Frankish kingdom. Such monasteries were centers of culture, where, to cite one example, women were librarians for the first time in history, and were given the opportunity to exercise spiritual leadership.

Wemple believes that in early Frankish society (the Merovingian era) women's economic status and social mobility were significantly better than in either the Roman Empire or Germanic society. She concludes that women of the upper class did have some freedom—not only in religious life, but also to establish their own sexual liaisons—an independence progressively limited later in Frankish history.

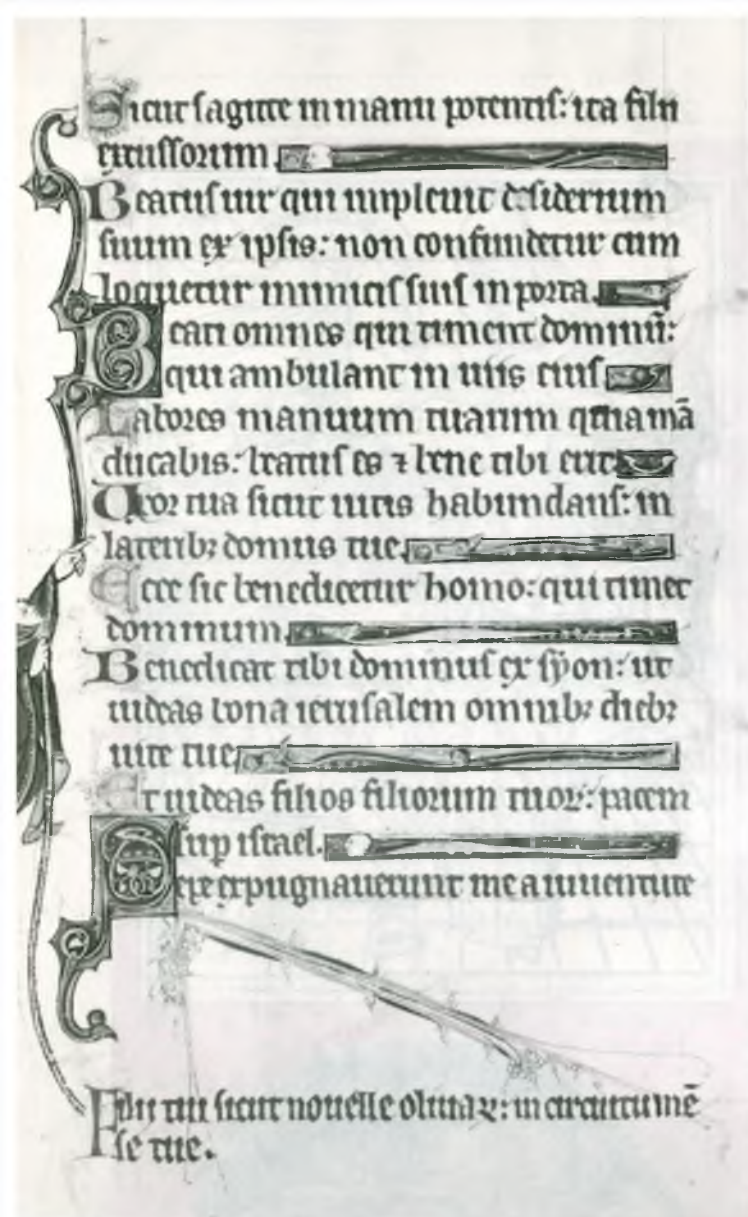
The rise of the Carolingian dynasty in the mid-eighth century meant a new era in the history of marriage, Wemple says. Responding to Christian influence, the Carolingians propounded the ideal of monogamy and insisted on matrimony as binding—a concept that in turn brought about a "social revolution" in Western society.

Twelfth-century Spain was the birthplace of the towering figure of medieval Judaism, Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon (Maimonides), known as the Rambam in Hebrew literary tradition and revered as perhaps the greatest teacher in Jewish history.



Walters Art Gallery





Walters Art Gallery

Isadore Twersky's *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides: Mishneh Torah* is a study of Maimonides' fourteen-volume code of Jewish law, a landmark in rabbinical literature. The code is primarily a legal work, but Twersky also considers it as an outline of Maimonides' philosophical principles.

The Islamic world that lay just beyond the border of Latin Christendom is an integral part of medieval studies. Arabic sources, demography, economics, theology and medical history are used by Michael Dols in *The Black Death in the Middle East*, a comparative examination of Western and Islamic response to the plague, which was not of course confined to Western Europe in the fourteenth century, but was also a catastrophic phenomenon in medieval Islam. Dols, who reminds us of Bloch's dictum: "It is very naive to claim to understand men without knowing what sort of health they enjoyed," suggests that the dramatic destruction of population caused by the plague epidemic led to the "impoverishment of Moslem society."

A Jesuit scholar, George A. Maloney, in *The Mystic of Fire and Light: St. Symeon the New Theologian*, gives us a study of the eleventh-century Byzantine mystic whose writings have been until recently little known in the West. Symeon's career is a reminder that the reform movement that helped transform Western monasticism in the eleventh century had a parallel in the East. Symeon was a zealot who battled what he saw as "fossilized segments of the institutional church for a return to radical Gospel Christianity." The monastic reforms Symeon sought demanded radical evangelicalism, a strict observance of the ascetic life, and a return to simplicity in the face of the formalism and luxury characterizing monasteries that had become, in East as well as West, part of the institutional framework of society.

A study ranging even further beyond the borders of Latin Christendom, Henrik Birnbaum's *Lord Novgorod the Great: Essays in the History and Culture of a Medieval City-State*, is an example of a remarkable degree of international cooperation among scholars. Birnbaum, from UCLA, has worked with and drawn upon the research of Soviet, East European and Scandinavian scholars in his comprehensive study of the trading center that was Russia's "first

true window to the West."

Novgorod—the name means New Town—was founded early in the Middle Ages at the crossroad of the major waterways connecting the seas of northern and southern Europe. For a half millennium of recorded history—the 970s to the 1470s—the city was an autonomous political entity, a city republic whose pride gave it the title of *Gospodin Velikiy Novgorod*, Lord Novgorod the Great. It was finally annexed by the Muscovite state under Grand Prince Ivan III in the fifteenth century.

As a chief distribution and transshipment point in the international network of trade routes running from Scandinavia to Byzantium and beyond, to the Caliphate of Baghdad, Novgorod became one of the most densely settled cities in medieval Europe as well as an important manufacturing town noted for its crafts.

Birnbaum's urban history is an attempt to deal with the life of a whole community. In addition to the written primary sources of chronicles and annals, he draws upon artifacts and archaeological evidence and the work of prehistorians who use dendrochronological and stratigraphic analysis. This book of essays on the legend of Novgorod, its political autonomy, demography and topography, social structure, institutions and ideologies, is the first of several planned volumes. Birnbaum's future studies of the life of the city will include language, literature and oral tradition as well as art and religion, thus making complete the evocation of a little-known but important medieval community.

In the twelfth century, the warrior hero found in the *Chanson de Roland* and the Icelandic sagas gives way to the knight. The hero of the courtly romance is a chivalric figure and the theme of loyalty among warriors is supplanted by the new, peculiarly Western ethos of romantic love. Donald Maddox's *Structure and Sacring: The Systematic Kingdom in Chrétien's Erec et Enide*, takes a cross-disciplinary conceptual approach to the earliest known romance of Chrétien de Troyes, the most important practitioner of the genre.

Maddox's analysis of the poem draws on recent theories in structuralist poetics, linguistics, semiotics, and structural anthropology, particularly the work of Lévi-Strauss and Barthes. The techniques of the anthropologist, according to Maddox, help the literary scholar penetrate the "closed cultural transaction between the courtly author and his public."

Divergent approaches to understanding early Christianity are found in three books. In *Kingdom and Community: the Social World of Early Christianity*, John G. Gager reexamines his subject the way an anthropologist would study the religious practices of an African or Melanesian tribe, emphasizing the relationship between religion and social status. Gager's approach is theoretical in that he constructs explanatory models derived from the social sciences, and comparative in that the models are based on non-Christian religious movements. Written for students at the undergraduate and graduate level, the book is an attempt to open "new perspectives in a deeply traditional field of study."

A collection of interpretive essays, *Christianity in European History*, by William A. Clebsch, attempts to be truly ecumenical in "tracing the interaction of religion and culture in Europe since the rise of Christianity." Here church history is seen as inseparable from cultural history; Clebsch seeks to show the "wide range of Christian experiences and styles of life," from monks and martyrs in the Roman Empire, to mystics and theologians in the Holy Roman Empire, through the nineteenth century and to 1945.

Sources for the life of the fourth-century pagan convert St. Pachomius, one of the great early monastic figures and founder of cenobitism—the communal form of monastic life that so profoundly shaped Western culture—are newly translated by

Armand Veilleux in *Pachomian Koinonia, Volume One: the Life of Saint Pachomius and his Disciples*.

Like many early Christian saints, Pachomius was an anchorite, but came to recognize a need for a form of monasticism that would counter what he perceived as the hazards of the solitary life. He went on to establish nine monasteries for men and two for women in Egypt. A Latin translation of the Pachomian rule by St. Jerome transmitted his practice to the West where it had some influence on the Benedictine rule—the prevailing form of communal monastic life in the Middle Ages. Veilleux's translation is based on Greek texts as well as sources in two Coptic dialects, Bohairic and Sahidic.

Veilleux, who is himself a monk and a student of dead languages, exemplifies a living tradition that goes back four centuries to the monastic scholars who first edited and published critical editions of the lives of medieval saints, and thus gave us the earliest resources for medieval studies.

—Barbara Delman Wolfson

Ms. Wolfson is a historian and a regular contributor to Humanities

Ed. note: Space does not permit discussion of all NEH-supported books about the Middle Ages. The following bibliography supplements the titles in the previous pages.

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Right: Moses Ben Maimon (Maimonides), 1135-1204, the venerated Hebrew scholar, codified the Talmud in the 14-volume Mishneh Torah. Above left: This leaf from an English psalter (ca. 1300) shows how one ingenious scribe avoided relettering a whole page when he discovered an omitted verse from the psalm he was copying.



National Library of Medicine

PROPAGANDA, MEDIEVAL STYLE



Legions of travelers have admired the ancient bronze horses atop the facade of St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, but few tourists realize that they symbolize one of the great perfidies of the Middle Ages—the sack of Christian Constantinople by crusaders in 1204.

The horses, together with other precious objects in the Basilica, were part of a horde of treasures collect-

ed by the pillagers and distributed throughout Europe. Among those who gathered the spoils of the fallen city was Abbot Martin of the Cistercian abbey of Pairis, in Alsatia, who brought back a number of sacred relics. A few years later Gunther, a monk at the abbey, wrote an account of Abbot Martin's involvement in the crusade, the *Historia Constantinopolitana* (HC), known principally to specialists in medieval history.

A translation of the work into English has recently been completed by Alfred J. Andrea, associate professor of history at the University of Vermont, partially funded by an Endowment grant.

Gunther, who lived in the period 1150 to 1210, became a monk late in life, around 1203, following a career as courtier and tutor at the court of Frederick I, master of studies at a Rhenish cathedral school, poet, historian, and theologian.

"His life and works illustrate many important aspects of the achievements, concerns, and values of his society," Andrea says.

Gunther's earlier works, for example, show his knowledge of Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Statius, Lucan, and Lucretius. In the closing lines of one work he boasted that single-handedly he had awakened the literary art of the ancients, which had slumbered in the dark for centuries, reviving the brilliance of the past through his poetry.

Andrea believes that Gunther wrote the *Historia Constantinopolitana* because Abbot Martin commissioned a tale to authenticate and catalog the relics which he had stolen from the church of Christ Pantokrator, and to place the abbot's many questionable actions in the most favorable light.

The Fourth Crusade, 1202-1204, was the high point of the Cistercians' involvement in armed pilgrimages to the Near East. Preparations began in 1198 with preaching and money raising. At length the crusaders were assembled in Venice. But in order to obtain the Venetians' essential support the crusaders were forced to attack and return to Venetian control the port of Zara, a Christian city on the Dalmatian coast in the domain of the king of Hungary and in communion with Rome. The crusaders took the city, despite their misgivings and over the objections of Pope Innocent III. The wily, octogenarian doge of Venice, Enrico Dandolo, then worked to divert the crusaders to another goal—the taking of Constantinople.

The doge had been blinded thirty years previously while a captive of the Byzantines and no doubt a desire for revenge was coupled with an ambition to enhance Venice's economic position in the eastern Mediterranean. Using the pretext of restoring a deposed ruler to his throne, the crusad-

ers advanced on Constantinople. In a complicated series of events, they installed their claimant on the Emperor's throne, only to have him rejected by the Greek populace. In April, 1204, the crusaders stormed the city, took it, and embarked on an orgy of pillage and destruction.

Much of Christendom was shocked, and a number of participants in the incident soon felt obliged to write apologetic accounts of the action.

The accounts most widely known to historians have been those of two French crusaders who were primarily interested in justifying the army's conquest of the city.

"Gunther, more completely than anyone else, set these events into the clerical-theological perspective and justified them accordingly," Andrea states. Using Abbot Martin's recollections, but feeling free to fashion this material to serve his own artistic and theological purposes, the monk produced a "prosmetrical" work of history, laced with wry humor, containing twenty-four chapters of prose, each followed by a twenty-line poem.

In an essay in *Analecta Cisterciana*, Andrea describes the HC as the Latin West's "most sophisticated literary and theological defense of the tragedy of 1204. He believes that one of the reasons it has not been translated previously is the difficulty of 'wrenching' the medieval Latin poetry into a foreign tongue.

"A single theological theme runs throughout the HC and unifies its apparently disparate elements: although the events of the Fourth Crusade shocked many, all were the handiwork of Divine Providence," Andrea states.

Gunther attempted to mirror the very order of Providential history in the structure of the HC. He carefully balanced the themes and action of the prose chapters in pairs, with chapters 12 and 24 central to the work.

Gunther relates how Martin was commanded by the pope to "preach the cross" and to join in the Crusade, how he was placed in command of the Germans in the army, and how he engaged in numerous laudable activities. With the fall of Constantinople, he tells how Martin "not wishing to remain empty-handed while everyone else got rich...resolved to use his own consecrated hands for pillage. But, since he thought it unseemly to appropriate secular spoils with those hands, he began to plan how he might scrape together for

himself some portion of those relics of the saints, of which he knew there was a great abundance here." The account goes on to say that he plunders the church of the Pantokrator and, after being miraculously saved from pirates and robbers, returns to deposit the relics on the high altar of the abbey church.

Throughout the work, Gunther shows a Teutonic and/or Latin Christian prejudice against the "schismatic" Greeks, whom he characterizes as a mad and profane race, although not losing sight of the fact that they are fellow Christians. The Greeks and their vices are used as foils to Latin virtue.

Gunther writes that "it was God's desire and plan that this land pass into the hands of the crusaders, and that the Western church rejoice forever in the relics to which the Greeks proved themselves unworthy...."

Although the attack on Constantinople widened the schism between the Latin and Greek church and was even at the time perceived as catastrophic for Christianity in general, Gunther's account manages to present the disaster as the initiation of a great new stage of human history.

"My own studies of medieval history writing lead me to conclude that this is a work which does not deserve its present obscurity," Andrea says. "Above all else, it is a work which brings to life a very human and interesting person and provides [readers] with a fascinating glimpse of how one early-thirteenth-century man perceived and attempted to conform to the ideals of his society."

Andrea's translation and commentary will soon be published by Cistercian Publications, the Cistercian Institute, Western Michigan University at Kalamazoo.

—William O. Craig

Mr. Craig is a member of the Endowment staff.

"A Translation and Critical Study of the *Historia Constantinopolitana*, by Gunther of Pairis"/Alfred J. Andrea/U. of Vermont, Burlington/\$18,000/1980-81/Translations



RECENT NEH GRANT AWARDS

Some of the items in this list are offers, not final awards.

Archaeology & Anthropology

American Schools of Oriental Research, Cambridge, MA; Suzanne Richard; \$18,010 FM. To excavate Khirbet Iskander, Jordan, a site rich in Early Bronze Age (3300-2000 B.C.) remains expected to help explain a cultural shift from a highly urbanized to a semi-sedentary subsistence. RO

Brandeis U., Waltham, MA; Ian A. Todd; \$44,351 FM. To excavate the Late Bronze Age (13th century B.C.) site of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios in the Vasilikos valley, southern Cyprus. RO

Brown U., Providence, RI; Robert R. Holloway; \$11,956 FM. To excavate La Muculfa, Sicily, an Early Bronze-Age habitation site of the Castellucian culture (3rd-2nd millennium B.C.) undamaged by modern agriculture or clandestine excavation. RO

Bryn Mawr College, PA; Richard S. Ellis; \$30,000 FM. To excavate Gritille, Turkey, a site with unusual Early Bronze and Early Neolithic aceramic (pre-pottery) levels which distinguish it from the other sites in the Euphrates salvage operation.

Laurence M. Carucci, Indian Hills, CO; \$19,976. To study cultural change in the Marshall Islands by focusing on the recently repatriated Enewetak community. RO

CUNY City College, NYC; June C. Nash; \$46,000. To conduct an anthropological/historical study of social and economic changes which have accompanied the restructuring of the electronics industry in northwestern Massachusetts. RO

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Peter H. Kuniholm; \$75,000 FM. To create an absolute dating system for classical and preclassical sites in Greece and Turkey by analyzing ancient tree rings. RO

Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; John E. Coleman; \$55,000. To excavate a site at Alamoer in Cyprus to contribute useful information about Middle Bronze Age domestic architecture and planning. RO

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Elizabeth Cori-Jones; \$32,206. To capitalize on existing excavation and archaeological projects to introduce into the Cambridge elementary schools a course in local material culture. ES

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Gordon E. Willey; \$135,000. To continue documentation of Maya sculpture and other artifacts carrying hieroglyphic texts and preparation of text and illustrations for publication in the Corpus of Maya Hieroglyphic Inscriptions, providing primary data for studies of classic Maya culture. RO

Mary E. Hegge, Stoughton, WI; \$1,151. To produce a slide/tape presentation on the contributions of Per Lysne and his followers to the revival in America of the Norwegian folk art of rosemailing. AY

Historic Saint Augustine Preservation Board, FL; Kathleen Deagan; \$13,000. To prepare for publication an account of nine years of archaeological excavation in Florida (mainland and shipwrecks), Venezuela, Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. RS

Indiana U., Bloomington; Wolf W. Rudolph; \$20,800 FM. To conduct research and write a four-volume manuscript on the archaeological excavations at Halieis, Greece, which dates from the sixth century B.C. and is the oldest town built on an orthogonal plan known on the Greek mainland. RO

Institute for Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; Betty Crapivinsky-Jutkowitz; \$3,750. To publish *Why They Did Not Starve: Biocultural Adaptation in a South Indian Village*, by Morgan Douglass Machlachland. RP

Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; Harvey E. Goldberg; \$60,000 OR; \$5,000 FM. To reconstruct ethnographically Jewish life in North Africa—Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya—where some 500,000 Jews lived only 35 years ago but few remain now. RO

NYU; Donald P. Hansen; \$30,000 FM. To conduct a sixth season of excavation of a systematic surface survey at al-Hiba in Iraq, now known to be the major Sumerian city-state of Lagash. RO

Rice U., Houston, TX; Stephen A. Tyler; \$30,000. To translate and write extensive commentary on the entire corpus of text from India's Koya tribal culture, works important to Dravidian linguistics and Indian ethnographic studies. RL

U. of Chicago, IL; Attipat K. Ramanujan; \$15,000. To complete a translation and study of some 400 folktales from the village of Kanada in South India. RL

U. of Chicago, IL; Bruce B. Williams; \$45,000. To publish interpretation of archaeological material excavated under a UNESCO salvage project and representing a critical period in Nubian history, the Roman and early Christian eras (A.D. 350-550). RO

U. of Florida, Gainesville; Barbara A. Purdy; \$60,000. To recover perishable materials from waterlogged deposits of prehistoric cultures at Houton Island in Florida. RS

U. of Kentucky, Lexington; Kenneth H. Cherry; \$2,092. To publish *Homer Ledford and Traditional Folk Music in American Culture*. RP

U. of Maine, Orono; Alaric Faulkner; \$85,000. To excavate Fort Pentagoet in Maine, a settlement preserving early French colonial (Acadian) history in America. RS

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; John W. Eadie; \$22,871 FM. To explore a Nabataean-Islamic site in the Humayma region of southern Jordan, an area continuously occupied from around 93 B.C. until the early Islamic period and offering information about Roman Arabia over seven centuries. RO

U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; William D. Coulson; \$29,965 FM. To support the Naukratis Project in Egypt to add to the corpus of Ptolemaic and Roman potters. RO

U. of New Mexico, Albuquerque; John M. Fritz; \$65,000. To conduct archaeological analysis of the Royal Center of Vijayanagara, the 14th-16th-century Hindu imperial capital (State of Karnataka, India). RO

U. of South Carolina, Columbia; Robert L. Stephenson; \$40,000. To excavate the Santa Elena site of South Carolina which should illuminate the Spanish colonial period of 1566-1587. RS

U. of Texas, Austin; Joseph C. Carter; \$60,000 FM. To conduct the excavation and analysis of ancient Greek farming communities in southern Italy. RO

U. of Texas, Austin; Natalie B. Garner/Sanders; \$3,799. To conduct excavation and analysis of an important portion of a recently unearthed Native American ceremonial site—the Great Kiva at the W.S. Ranch. The work is expected to shed light on the social structure of an ancient community which experienced unusual cyclical upheaval. AY

Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier; Jane C. Beck; \$34,225. To implement a traveling exhibit of folk art, focusing on the relationships of the objects with traditional learning and the history, culture and social dynamics of the community. PM

Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, MD; Diana M. Buitron; \$10,160 FM. To continue excavation in the Archaic Precinct of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, Cyprus. RO

Arts—History & Criticism

Pauline Albenda, Brooklyn, NY; \$40,680. To study the monumental wall reliefs of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721-705 B.C.), from his palace at Khorsabad (in modern Iraq). The study will rely primarily on the unpublished and long-lost drawings made when the sculptures were discovered in 1844. RO

American Dance Festival, Inc., Durham, NC; Sandra Dilley; \$2,000. To provide consultant services for the American Dance Festival Archives on how to organize, preserve, catalog, and make accessible a vast resource of

primary documents. RC

American U. in Cairo, NYC; George T. Scanlon; \$2,200 OR, \$19,800 FM. To continue work on *A Bibliography of Islamic Architecture, Arts, and Crafts of Islam*. RC

Corcoran Gallery, Washington, DC; Katherine M. Kovacs; \$40,933. To organize the archives of the Gallery, the oldest fine arts institution in Washington D.C. RC

Dance Notation Bureau, NYC; Patricia Rader; \$65,432. To organize, catalog, and preserve a research collection of dance notation materials. RC

Ann H. Dils, Columbus, OH; \$2,251. To research and document ritual dancing represented in 16th-century Flemish art. AY

Dale B. Fitzpatrick, Maple Heights, OH; \$1,151. To produce a slide presentation and a pamphlet on the development and architectural history of Shaker Heights, Ohio. AY

Christopher T. Hailey, New Haven, CT; \$10,000 OR; \$6,000 FM. To translate and comment on the correspondence of Alban Berg and Arnold Schoenberg. This material—to be published for the first time in any language—offers new insights into the development of 20th-century music. RL

Hampshire College, Amherst, MA; Alan Edelstein; \$15,000. To produce a film on the history of American vaudeville and the effects of technological change on the entertainment industry as seen through the life of musician Roy Smeck. AY

Hofstra U., Hempstead, NY; Charles R. Andrews; \$27,037. To catalog the Weingrow Collection of library resources on avant-garde art and literature. RC

Indiana U. Press, Bloomington; Janet Rabino-witch; \$6,000. To publish *Sixty Years of Chinese Drama, 1919-1979: An Anthology*, translated and edited by Edward M. Gunn. RP

Piilani Kaawaloa, Pahoa, HI; \$2,490. To research the religious and symbolic meanings of movements used in ancient hula for a report—in English and Hawaiian. AY

Patricia J. Lyon, Berkeley, CA; \$5,000. To translate and comment on a major text on mural paintings in preconquest Peru, documenting a tradition of over 2000 years of art in the Andean region. RL

M. Megan McNamer, Missoula, MT; \$2,337. To record music in Hmong traditional culture in Laos and study its incorporation into the life of Hmong refugees in Montana for three 30-minute radio programs and a research paper. AY

Joseph A. Moon, Greensburg, KY; \$23,455. To photograph and research architecturally and historically significant commercial, industrial, and farm sites in Green County, Kentucky, for a slide/tape presentation. AY

Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe; Lonn W. Taylor; \$5,000. To study New Mexican furniture of furniture makers from 1600 to 1940 for a book and an interpretive museum exhibit. RS

N.V. Boekhandel & Drukkerij, Leiden; J.D. Verschoor; \$15,000 FM. To publish *Hindu Temple Art of Orissa*, by Thomas E. Donaldson. RP

New York Public Library, NYC; Frank C. Campbell; \$65,000. To prepare a finding aid for autograph music manuscripts by American composers. RC

Oakland Museum Association, CA; Therese T. Heyman; \$6,049. To catalog a collection of photographs of California architecture taken by Roger Sturtevant (1925-1972). RC

Susan Petherbridge, Leander, TX; \$15,000. To translate *The Organ Builder's Manual*, written in Spanish and published in 1872. RL

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher; \$4,000. To publish *Antonio Rizzo: Sculptor and Architect* by Anne Markham Schulz. RP

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher; \$2,800. To publish *Pandemonium: Theories, Shapes, and Strategies of the Grotesque* by Geoffrey G. Harpham. RP

South & Southeast Asian Studies Publications, Ann Arbor, MI; Thomas R. Trautmann; \$10,000. To publish *Source Readings in Javanese Gamelan Music*, translated by Judith D. Becker. RP

Southern Illinois U., Carbondale; Charles H.

Harpole; \$50,000 OR; \$50,000 FM. To research and write three volumes in a proposed ten-volume series on the history of cinema, primarily American. RO

State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Max J. Evans; \$95,189. To organize the performing arts collections held by the Wisconsin Center for Film and Theater Research. RC

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; John J. Fisher; \$8,745. To hold a conference to explore the relationship among law, art and society, focusing on both theoretical and practical questions about the rights and social limitations of the artist and art works. RD

U. of Arizona, Tucson; Sara W. Cresham; \$51,050. To process the University's architectural records, the chief repository for documentation of Arizona's built environment. RC

U. of California, San Diego, La Jolla; Jann C. Pasler; \$10,000 FM. To conduct an international Stravinsky Centennial symposium. Stravinsky's role in the 20th-century music and cultural history will be examined by scholars and musicians who actually worked with the composer. RD

U. of Illinois, Urbana; Herbert Kellman; \$120,000 OR, \$30,000 FM. To complete a descriptive catalog of manuscript sources of Renaissance polyphonic music from the period 1400-1550. RC

U. of Iowa, Iowa City; Rudolf E. Kuenzli; \$16,566. To continue description and preservation of previously inaccessible Dada documents, important to the history of 20th-century art. RC

U. of Louisville, KY; Robert L. Weaver; \$58,507. To prepare a bibliography of Music in the Florentine Theatre, 1750-1800, a period of particular achievement in Italian opera. RC

U. of Minnesota, St. Paul; Alan K. Lathrop; \$20,044. To organize the papers of a Minneapolis architectural firm (Heibenberg & Kaplan), 1920-1980. RC

U. of Texas, San Antonio; Jacinto Quirarte; \$194,309. To continue developing curriculum materials for Chicano art history and appreciation. EH

U. of Washington, Seattle; George S. Bozarth; \$10,000 OR; \$5,788 FM. To hold a conference on the music of Johannes Brahms to present current research and determine further goals for work on Brahms. RD

Zahira B. Veliz, Tacoma Park, MD; \$15,750. To translate and comment on painting treatises from 17th-century Spain and Portugal, discussing formulation of pigments and media, illumination techniques, restoration of paintings, as well as general topics such as laws of perspective and proportion, and the relation between art and nature. RL

West Virginia U., Morgantown; John A. Cuthbert; \$13,955.00 To catalog the Sound Archives of Appalachian folk song and documentation on performers and the social context of the performance event. RC

Classics

David N. Herskovits, New Haven, CT; \$1,695. To prepare a new verse translation of Sophocles' *Philoctetes*, with particular attention to the usage and significance of classical Greek metrical forms in the play and with the aim of producing a contemporary version suitable for performance in the modern theater. AY

U. of Massachusetts, Amherst; Robert C. Sleight, Jr.; \$10,000. To hold a conference on Aristotle's epistemology and metaphysics. RD

History—Non-U.S.

Columbia U., NYC; Nina G. Garsoian: \$26,000. To translate and comment on the *Epic History* attributed to P'awstos, a 4th-century compilation of popular historical tales drawn from the lost oral tradition of Armenia and reflecting Iranian influences rejected by the dominant culture. *RL*

Columbia U., NYC; Harold B. Segel: \$49,500. To translate an anthology of representative selections from eight major political and religio-polemical treatises written in 16th- and 17th-century Poland, illustrating the intellectual climate of the period. *RL*

Columbia U., NYC; Ioannis Sinanoglou: \$4,000 OR; \$4,000 FM. To conduct the Third International Conference of Europeanists to explore the value of the concept of cycles and periods in providing an integrative framework for a wide range of seemingly disparate phenomena in European history. *RD*

Duke U., Durham, NC; John G. Younger: \$12,000. To develop a general chronology for the major arts—seal engraving, fresco and vase painting, ivory carving, and monumental sculpture—of the Greek Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600-1200 B.C.). *RO*

Richard Hellie, Chicago, IL: \$50,000. To translate and comment on the Russian Law Code (ULOZHENIE) of 1649, constituting the single most important guide to the complex hierarchy of the Muscovite state. *RL*

Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., Madison, WI; Anthony T. Luttrell: \$45,000. To translate and comment on the Aragonese Chronicle of the Morea, a late medieval document critical to an understanding of the history of the crusader world, of Latin Greece in the 13th-14th centuries, and of the language and literature of Aragon. *RL*

Indiana U., Bloomington; Emanuel J. Mickel: \$7,000 OR; \$2,400 FM. To translate *Sylva Panegyrica*, a work documenting Italian humanist influence in Eastern Europe during the Renaissance, by the Hungarian scholar Janus Panninius. *RL*

Jewish Theological Seminary of America, NYC; Ivan G. Marcus: \$20,000 OR; \$4,000 FM. To translate and comment on *Sefer Hasidim*, a 13th-century work by Rabbi Judah the Pietist of Germany, crucial to understanding Jewish and Christian social, economic, and religious life in medieval Germany. *RL*

Alfred H. Kelly, Clinton, NY: \$11,000. To translate and comment on German workers' memoirs from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. *RL*

Gary Kern, Riverside CA: \$10,067. To translate *The Mental Worker*, Wacław Machajski's classic criticism of the Soviet state, proposing the theory that Marxism creates a "new class," the managerial elite. *RL*

Kingston Press, Inc., Princeton, NJ; Carl M. Kortepeter: \$14,000. To publish *The Nikonian Chronicle*, translated and edited by Serge Zenkovsky and Betty Zenkovsky. *RP*

KLRN/KLRU-TV, Austin, TX; Gary A. Witt: \$71,225. To test, produce, and disseminate three quarter-hour educational television programs of an anticipated series called "Newscast From the Past." The first three programs will report selected events of the 17th century. *ES*

La Salle College, Philadelphia, PA; George A. Perfeky: \$4,676. To translate and comment on the 16th-century *Bychovels Chronicle*, a major source for the study of the history of Lithuania, from its legendary beginnings to 1506, as well as of the histories of Russia, Ukraine, and Belorussia. *RL*

Carol Laderman, NYC: \$25,000. To prepare an annotated translation and commentary and historical analysis of *Main Peteri*, Malay Shamanistic performances, discussing these healing ceremonies in relation to other traditional Malay forms. *RL*

Barbara Laing, Chicago, IL: \$15,000. To produce a film on the history of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, a group founded in 1915 by European women and led by Jane Addams. *AY*

Frances M. Lopez-Morillas, Austin, TX: \$16,450. To translate the four novels of *The Torquemada Cycle*, by Benito Perez Galdos. This work shows the development of capitalism in Spain, and the resulting socio-economic conditions. *RI*

Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge; Robert I. Rotberg: \$87,000. To enable a historian and a psychiatrist to collaborate on a biography of Cecil Rhodes, a central figure in British imperialism in Africa. *RO*

Michigan State U., East Lansing; David W. Robinson, Jr.: \$25,000. To produce an anthology of oral traditions on the history of the

Fulbe people in Tuta Tora, West Africa, who overthrew existing regimes and installed Islamic governments in the 17th century. *RL*

Suzanne M. Noffke, Middletown, WI: \$25,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. To translate and comment on the *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, which contribute to an understanding of the history of 14th-century Italy (with its struggles between Papacy and City/State) and the Crusades. *RL*

North Carolina State U., Raleigh; S. Thomas Parker: \$40,000 FM. To study the historical evolution of the Roman Frontier in central Jordan. *RO*

Northern Illinois U., DeKalb; Mary L. Livingston: \$1,500. To publish *In the Vanguard of Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825-1861* by W. Bruce Lincoln. *RP*

Princeton U., NJ; Edmund L. Keeley: \$6,000 FM. To translate *Yannis Ritsos, Selected Poems, 1972-1982*, the work of a contemporary Greek poet. *RL*

Princeton U., NJ; Denis C. Twitchett: \$42,000. To translate fragments of T'ang administrative law—a major source for understanding medieval Chinese society. *RL*

Princeton U. Press, NJ; Sanford G. Thatcher: \$4,000. To publish *The Paris City Councillors in the 16th Century* by Barbara B. Diefendorf. *RP*

Thomas E. Sawyer, Reston, VA: \$32,000. To study the status, organization, and functions of Soviet government at the "subnational" level, including an analysis of the political effects of recent official reforms to elevate local government's role. *RO*

SUNY at Albany, NY; Claude E. Welch, Jr.: \$10,000. To hold a conference on the dilemmas of liberty and development in tropical Africa. Human rights issues in Africa will be analyzed in the special context of economic underdevelopment, political instability, and social diversity. *RD*

Syracuse U., NY; Robert G. Gregory: \$26,614. To index microfilms of the government records of Kenya for the period 1888-1963. *RC*

John K. Thornton, Meadville, PA: \$18,300. To translate *Cavazzi's Manuscript*, a text on the history, culture, and social organization of the Kongo-Angolan coast of Africa from 1500-1650. *RL*

Joan C. Ullman, Seattle, WA: \$10,000. To translate *Los Judeoconversos en Espana y America* (Jewish Converts in Spain and America). Written in 1971 by Antonio Dominguez Ortiz, the work deals with the role of Jewish converts in Spanish society and literature from the 15th to 17th centuries. *RL*

U. of California, Berkeley; Carl A. Mosk: \$10,000. To hold a conference on British demographic history, covering questions of methodology, population and environment before and after the Industrial Revolution, as well as population, economic, and social conditions on the Continent. *RD*

U. of Chicago, IL; Douglas C. Mitchell: \$5,064. To publish *The Institutions of France under the Absolute Monarchy, 1598-1789* by R. Mousnier. *RP*

U. of Maryland, Baltimore; Carolyn G. Koehler: \$30,000. To research trade in agricultural produce carried on throughout the Mediterranean by the mercantile center of ancient Corinth, 700-146 B.C., as revealed through a study of the manufacture and distribution of specially made clay jars (amphoras) used to transport commodities. *RO*

U. of Maryland, College Park; Karl Stowasser: \$62,353. To complete a scholarly edition as well as an annotated translation of Al-Maqrizi's *Khitab* (1420), a history and topography of medieval Egypt. *RL*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Daniel H. Levine: \$55,000. To conduct a cultural study of changes in religion and politics in selected dioceses in Venezuela and Colombia. *RO*

U. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill; Lewis A. Bateman: \$2,300. To publish *The House of Lords, 1603-1649: Structure, Procedure, and the Nature of Its Business* by Elizabeth Read Foster. *RP*

U. of Virginia, Charlottesville; Joseph C. Miller: \$25,230. To complete a bibliography of 20th-century writings about slavery and slave-trading in all parts of the world. *RC*

Bernard G. Weiss, Canada: \$25,000. To translate the *Muntaha*, a 13th-century Arabic text by al-Aimdi on Islamic jurisprudence. *RL*

History—U.S.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA; Carol R. Alexander: \$80,000 OR; \$13,000 FM. To catalog the society's collection of American printed broadsides, 1801-1830. The project will include placing the data into the Research Libraries Information Network and using the network's archival tapes as the basis for a printed guide to the collection. *RC*

American U., Washington, DC; Alan M. Kraut:

\$45,000. To conduct research for a book on American immigration policy toward German and, later, other European Jews between 1933 and 1945 when the United States permitted the entry of relatively few refugees. *RO*

Arts and Crafts Association, Winston-Salem, NC; Alison R. Biggs: \$9,973. To study the origins and establishment of four southern settlement schools and their impact on the people of the Appalachian Mountains and the American crafts movement. *AY*

Coleen V. Barry, Scituate, MA: \$1,428. To produce a slide/tape presentation on the vanishing culture of "farmers of the sea," the Irish mossers of Scituate, Massachusetts. *AY*

Boston U., MA; Mary C. Beaudry: \$20,000. To collate and synthesize information on selected 17th-century sites in the Plymouth colony area. *RS*

Brown U., Providence, RI; Thomas R. Adams: \$160,000. To produce a chronological guide to literature about the Americas printed in Europe during the period 1701-1750. *RC*

Susan J. Draves, Scotia, NY: \$10,000. To collect oral histories, photographs and archival documents to be compiled into a history of the Grange and its members in rural Northeast communities. *AY*

Essex Institute, Salem, MA; Caroline D. Preston: \$73,454. To organize manuscript collections relating to the maritime history of Essex County, Massachusetts, 1650-1980. *RC*

Liz E. Etheridge, Clarksville, GA: \$2,097. To study the history of Burton, Georgia, a town wiped out by dam construction in 1920. *AY*

Paula R. Frank, Holly, CO: \$525. To study the influence of the 50-year-old Amity Irrigation Canal on local agriculture around Holly, Colorado. *AY*

Reginald D. Groff, Portland, OR: \$2,500. To produce a documentary film on the history of the Maine coast and its strategic role in U.S. defense. *AY*

Luke R. Hill, NYC: \$2,500. To document the origins of a multiracial, multiethnic New York neighborhood with photographs and oral histories. *AY*

Louisiana State U., Baton Rouge; Beverly Jarrett: \$3,874. To publish *The Cause of the South: Selections from DeBow's Review, 1846-1867*, edited by Paul F. Paskoff and Daniel J. Wilson. *RP*

Donna M. Lucey, Brooklyn, NY: \$40,000. To edit and interpret a collection of photographs and diaries created by Evelyn Cameron, a British-born rancher who lived on the plains of eastern Montana from 1890-1928. *RS*

Elizabeth M. Lynn, North Leeds, ME: \$2,409. To complete and prepare for publication of *A History of Leeds, Maine, Vol. II*, an account of changes in the life of one rural New England town from 1901-1981. *AY*

Sharon L. Martin, Decatur, IL: \$1,602. To produce a manuscript on the history and significance of the Grand Army of the Republic, especially in its birthplace, Decatur, IL. *AY*

NYU; Dorothy W. Swanson: \$65,431. To document the history of American radicalism, 1920-1950, through oral history. *RC*

NYU; Susan M. Elmes: \$2,500. To study the American Securities Investing Corporation, created jointly by the Federal Reserve System and New York bankers to support sagging bond prices during the Great Depression. *AY*

North Texas State U., Denton; John Kincaid: \$31,000 OR; \$15,000 FM. To study a new residential community in the Dallas/Fort Worth area. *RS*

Juan M. Otero, Brooklyn, NY: \$1,591. To conduct library, archival and oral history research on the unique history of Brooklyn's Automotive High School. Slides, video and audio tapes based on the research will be presented to school and community audiences. *AY*

Polish American Historical Association, Chicago, IL; James S. Pula: \$10,000 OR; \$3,500 FM. To translate Kruszk's history of Polish America, published between 1888 and 1904. *RL*

Princeton U., NJ; John M. Delaney: \$172,104. To arrange and describe unprocessed manuscripts in Princeton's Firestone Library. *RC*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany; John M. Spalek: \$31,626. To prepare the second volume of a guide to materials on post-1933 German-speaking immigrants. *RC*

Russell Sage College, Troy, NY; Stephen L. Schechter: \$21,306. To conduct a summer institute for teachers focusing on resources for teaching the history of the Upper Hudson region. *ES*

Ingrid W. Scobie, Del Mar, CA: \$19,368. To produce a biography of Helen Gahagan Douglas, actress, Hollywood political activist, California congresswoman, and Richard Nixon's opponent in the celebrated California senate campaign of 1950. *RS*

Holly L. Skinner, Laramie, WY: \$2,192. To prepare a cultural resource inventory of historic sites related to the tie-lumber industry of the early 1900s in Upper Green River Valley,

Sublette County, Wyoming. *AY*

Society for Industrial Archeology, Washington, DC; Michael B. Folsom: \$144,504. To develop a curriculum on the history of manual labor in America growing out of a series of workshops for teachers and students. *ES*

Syracuse U. Press, NY; Walda C. Metcalf: \$4,500. To publish *Luigi Castiglioni: Travels in the United States of North America, 1785-1787*, translated and edited by Antonio Pace. *RP*

Temple U., Philadelphia, PA; Michael Ames: \$10,000. To publish *Brass Valley: The Story of Working People's Lives & Struggles in an American Industrial Region*, edited by J. Brecher. *RP*

Amy M. Tornquist, Durham, NC: \$1,630. To research civil rights activities in Durham, North Carolina, during the 1960s. *AY*

U. Press of New England, Hanover, NH; Thomas L. McFarland: \$2,000. To publish *Old Light on Separate Ways: The Narragansett Journals of the Reverend Joseph Fish, 1764-1776*, by William S. Simmons. *RP*

U. Press of New England, Hanover, NH; Thomas L. McFarland: \$8,000. To publish *The Papers of Daniel Webster: Diplomatic Papers*, edited by Charles M. Wiltse. *RP*

U. Press of New England, Hanover, NH; Thomas L. McFarland: \$3,000. To publish *Ruggles' Regiment: The 122nd New York Volunteers in the American Civil War* by David Swinfen. *RP*

U. of California, Los Angeles; Paul R. Sellin: \$5,000 OR; \$17,500 FM. To hold a conference on the Dutch cultural presence in colonial America. *RD*

U. of Idaho, Moscow; Lois Ackaret: \$10,406. To preserve part of a collection of photographic negatives from 1894-1964, documenting the history of the Coeur d'Alene mining district. *RC*

U. of Illinois Press, Champaign; Roger G. Clark: \$12,000. To publish *The Booker T. Washington Papers* edited by Lewis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. *RP*

U. of Kentucky, Lexington; Kenneth H. Cherry: \$4,817. To publish *John Bell Hood and the Southern Confederacy* by Richard McMurry. *RP*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Francis X. Blouin, Jr.: \$27,400. To microfilm the *Detroit Abend Post*, a daily German-language newspaper in Detroit and a primary source for the history of the German-American experience, 1868-1931. *RC*

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Stephen F. Cox: \$10,000. To publish *Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, edited by Gary E. Moulton. *RP*

U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Faye Phillips: \$19,965. To catalog and rehouse a collection of 20,000 photographs in the Southern Historical Collection. *RC*

U. of Tennessee Press, Knoxville; Carol Orr: \$3,500. To publish *Patronage and Poverty in the Tobacco South: Louisa County, Virginia, 1860-1900* by Crandall A. Shifflett. *RP*

U. of Wisconsin, Madison; James A. Clifton: \$138,000. To investigate the Indian Removal program in the Old Northwest, 1822-1855, the critical period of the region's development, for a collection of case studies and a narrative and analytic overview. *RS*

Yale U. Press, New Haven, CT; Judy Metro: \$7,096. To publish *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale & His Family: Vol. 1, The Early Years, 1735-1791*, edited by Lillian B. Miller. *RP*

Interdisciplinary

Albertus Magnus College, New Haven, CT; Susan Gurewitsch: \$196,000. To implement an alternative general education program based on sequential development of the skills to observe experience, identify patterns, form judgments, and solve problems. This sequence will be pursued in a series of thematically paired courses from two disciplines and a culminating seminar. *ED*

Albright College, Reading, PA; Sarel P. Fuchs: \$50,000. To develop and refine a cluster of Asian Studies courses as a means of integrating disciplines more effectively for purposes of general education. *EP*

Ellen Alexander, Lacey, WA: \$2,490. To gather information and prepare an exhibit of historic photographs and documents with narrative text on the history of mental health institutions and policy in Washington State. *AY*

American Council of Learned Societies, NYC; Richard Schlatter: \$400,000 FM. To pay travel costs of American scholars participating in scholarly conferences in the humanities held outside the United States. *RI*

Arizona State U., Tempe; John T. Wixted: \$42,443. To complete a research guide to Japanese scholarship on China, including practical information on using Japanese libraries and availability of Japanese materials on China in

American research libraries. *RC*
Barnard College, NYC; Barbara S. Miller: \$150,000. To implement an interdisciplinary undergraduate program using the process of translation—from one time period, culture, or medium to another—as a key to cultural understanding. Six team-taught courses and a seminar will be developed. *ED*
David M. Bridges, Unity, MD: \$1,160. To research and film the crafts of the Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine, placing the crafts in traditional and contemporary cultural contexts. *AY*
Buffalo City School District, NY; Daniel Manley: \$9,979. To design three interdisciplinary resource units integrating social studies and language arts as part of the development of a secondary school international studies program. *ES*
Carleton College, Northfield, MN; David A. Sipfle: \$5,500 FM. To translate and comment on a work in French on the philosophy of the theory of relativity by Emile Meyerson (1925). *RL*
Central Michigan U., Mt. Pleasant; Benjamin F. Taggie: \$50,000. To introduce three interdisciplinary course groupings, forming the core of three general education “humanities semesters” in Classical, American, and African Studies. *EP*
Clover Park School District No. 400, Tacoma, WA; Karen A. Forsy: \$9,978. To integrate the study of Asian-Pacific cultural patterns into the elementary school curriculum. *ES*
College of Saint Elizabeth, Convent Station, NJ; Judith A. Wimmer: \$35,621. To implement four courses of an interdisciplinary curriculum in American Studies designed for students in the school’s Weekend College program. *EP*
College of Saint Scholastica, Duluth, MN; Robert W. Brenning: \$49,077. To plan and test a project to integrate humanities content into the physical therapy and nursing curricula. *EP*
Cornell U., Ithaca, NY; Richard Strassberg: \$52,767. To complete a descriptive guide to labor history materials held at Cornell. *RC*
Cypress College, CA; Margaret B. Boegeman: \$50,000. To implement three team-taught courses, each integrating the humanities with a specific vocational area. *EP*
Helena M. Dobay, Houston, TX: \$2,091. To study, through library research and taped interviews, the development of the Hungarian community in Houston. *AY*
Dominican College of Blauvelt, Orangeburg, NY; D. Leigh Holt: \$50,000. To introduce six multidisciplinary courses to meet a revised general education requirement. *EP*
Dropsie U., Philadelphia, PA; David M. Goldenberg: \$24,663. To organize and preserve fragments of vellum, parchment, and paper from the Cairo synagogue, 11th-15th centuries. *RC*
Dropsie U., Philadelphia, PA; David N. Goldenberg: \$50,000. To revitalize the university’s program of Judaica studies and to expand the focus to include Middle Eastern Studies by creating two new courses in literature and archaeology. *EP*
Margarita Egan, New Haven, CT: \$15,000. To translate and comment on the corpus of medieval French lunaria (calendars and almanacs arranged according to the phases of the moon), valuable sources for medieval popular culture and belief as well as the history of science. *RL*
Michael K. Foster, Canada: \$31,000. To transcribe, analyze, and translate the political oratory of the League of the Iroquois, used in diplomatic negotiations between Europeans and Native Americans in the Colonial period. *RL*
George Mason U., Fairfax, VA; Robert L. Nadeau: \$18,133. To study ways in which cultural concepts have been shaped by scientific discoveries. *RO*
Georgia Southern College, Statesboro; Zia H. Hashmi: \$50,000. To implement three team-taught courses in the school’s International Studies program. *EP*
George Meany Center for Labor Studies, Silver Spring, MD; Ernest Lee: \$99,008. To process the records of the AFL-CIO, a primary source for labor studies and social and economic history. *RC*
Greenfield Community College, MA; Bernard A. Drabek: \$79,230. To conduct a regional studies summer institute for elementary and secondary school teachers, on the history and culture of western Massachusetts. *ES*
Janita F. Hollis, Tallahassee, FL: \$2,500. To prepare a slide/tape program for local schools on the artifacts and documents housed in the Black Archives Research Center and Museum. *AY*
Indiana U., Bloomington; Jean C. Robinson: \$46,075. To integrate materials from women’s studies into six introductory courses in folklore, history, economics, political science, psy-

chology, and sociology. *EP*
John Hopkins U., Baltimore, MD; Timothy L. Smith: \$32,000. To study the intellectual history of black Christianity in 19th-century America. The resulting book will focus on Biblical ideas in black congregational and denominational life and on the content, sources, and diffusion of such ideas. *RO*
John Hopkins U. Press, Baltimore, MD; Henry Y.K. Tom: \$4,000. To publish *Women Scientists in America: Struggles and Strategies to 1940* by Margaret Rossiter. *RP*
Judah L. Magnes Memorial Museum, Berkeley, CA; Moses Rischin: \$10,000. To conduct an international symposium to study the life and legacy of Judah L. Magnes, pioneer spokesman of cultural pluralism and cultural Zionism in America. *RD*
Louisiana State U., Baton Rouge; Henry L. Snyder: \$150,000 OR, \$200,000 FM. To add to *The Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue*—a listing of all items printed in the English-speaking world from 1701-1800. *RC*
Michael J. Madrigal, San Jacinto, CA: \$1,521. To record oral histories and document artifacts, customs beliefs, language, and music of the Cahuilla Indians and other Southern California Mission Indian Tribes for a museum exhibit. *AY*
Mason Public Schools, IK; David M. Lambeth: \$9,000. To design a course in Creek, history, culture, language, and folklore and to develop a series of interviews with the Creek people as part of the course. *ES*
Barbara A. McCann, Atlanta, GA: \$2,428. To study the acculturation of Slovenian-American farm women in Michigan’s Upper Peninsula for an article and radio program. *AY*
Monmouth College, New Jersey, IL; William O. Amy: \$49,220. To implement six courses focusing on ideas and values in art, literature, and philosophy, for a new senior year general education requirement. *EP*
Mount Vernon College, Washington, DC; Philip H. Bolton: \$39,918. To implement an interdisciplinary major in the arts and humanities with a management component. *ED*
North Park College & Theological Seminary, Chicago, IL; Charles E. Wiberg: \$48,319. To introduce a group of new freshman seminars two multidisciplinary courses for advanced students as models for a new general education curriculum. *EP*
Oklahoma State U., Stillwater, Mary H. Rohrbacher: \$47,863. To implement four courses in the humanities that explore the interdisciplinary nature of knowledge. *EP*
Frank W. Porter, III, Relay, MD: \$9,106. To prepare a bibliography on published and unpublished literature pertaining to Indians in Maryland and Delaware. *RC*
Project LEARN, East Lyme, CT; Francis D. Robinson: \$88,081. To conduct two summer institutes, one regional, one state-wide, for secondary, foreign language and social studies teachers to prepare a curriculum unit for social studies classes and to develop a series of regional cross-cultural activities to encourage foreign language study. *ES*
Research Foundation of CUNY, NYC; Barbara L. Gerber: \$49,836. To plan and test two core seminars and complementary symposia for a Master of Liberal Studies Program. *EP*
Seamus Ross, Philadelphia, PA: \$9,453. To prepare an annotated catalog for the Carvalho Collection—an uncataloged collection of ten centuries of medieval manuscripts in the Free Library of Philadelphia. Full descriptions of 75 of the most intriguing manuscripts will serve as the basis for an exhibition and lecture series. *AY*
Lisa E. Rotondo, Middletown, CT: \$2,405. To prepare an exhibit using an uncataloged collection of Chinese woodcuts from the 1930s and 1940s to interpret the social history of the period. *AY*
Seton Hall U., South Orange, NJ; Peter J. Wosh: \$63,385. To survey Roman Catholic parish and institutional records in New Jersey’s seven northern counties. *RC*
Svatopluk Soucek, NYC: \$24,000. To translate and comment on Kitab-I Bahriye, a 16th-century portolan or book of sailing directions written in Turkish by Piri Reis during the years 1524-26. This manual, the only one of its type written by a Muslim, is valuable for the study of the Mediterranean during the Renaissance. *RL*
Trinity College, Burlington, VT; Oren W. Davis: \$40,123. To develop three new elective courses and a concentration in comparative study of United States and Canadian cultures. *EP*
U. of California, Los Angeles; Lucie C. Hirata: \$45,541. To index taped interviews collected by the Asian American Studies Center. *RD*
U. of Delaware, Newark; Paul T. Durbin: \$18,250. To support the second year of a Sus-

tained Development Award to a fellow working with the University to establish ongoing bases for study of ethical issues in technical professions as well as pursuing his own research on the impact of science and technology on culture. *AV*
U. of Kansas, Lawrence; Ann Hyde: \$139,808. To organize a collection of manuscripts of the 16th-19th centuries of interest to researchers in English, Irish, Scottish and American politics, art, commerce, drama, literature, history, and culture. *RC*
U. of Lowell, MA; Arthur I. Miller: \$15,000 FM. To translate and comment on a source book in 19th- and 20th-century works on relativity and field theory. *RL*
U. of Maine, Orono; A. Patricia Burns: \$55,993. To develop an interdisciplinary course in 19th-century American art, history, and literature for the Bangor-area secondary schools. *ES*
U. of Massachusetts Press, Amherst; Leone Stein: \$3,000. To publish a volume in the series *Library of the Indies*. *RP*
U. of Massachusetts, Amherst; Vincent Iardi: \$26,500. To duplicate a microfilm collection of Renaissance diplomatic documents to ensure that the product of a previous NEH award will be more generally available to research scholars. *RC*
U. of Missouri, Columbia; Richard L. Lee: \$4,000. To publish *Missouri Counties, County Seats and Courthouse Squares, 1814-1981* by Marian Ohman. *RP*
U. of Missouri, Columbia; Carl H. Chapman: \$100,000. To study the cultural changes in the Missouri and Osage Indian tribes during 1675-1825 when contacts with Euroamericans increased because of the hide and fur trade. The study combines the disciplines of archaeology, ethnology, paleoethnobiology, and history. *RS*
U. of Pittsburgh, PA; Bernard R. Goldstein: \$30,000. To translate and comment on Hebrew scientific texts produced in the later Middle Ages in southern France. The project will give priority to the study of Levi ben Gerson (Cersonides), a 14th-century scholar in the fields of scientific method and mathematical measurement. *RL*
U. of Tennessee Press, Knoxville; Carol Orr: \$3,500. To publish *Free Man of Color: The Autobiography of Willis Augustus Hodges*, edited by Willard B. Gatewood, Jr.. *RP*
U. of Texas, Austin; Harold W. Billings: \$35,000. To microfilm a collection of Cuban-American materials for the period 1890-1970. *RC*
U. of Texas, Dallas, Richardson; Rainer Schulte: \$175,888. To establish an undergraduate humanities major based on the theory that methods derived from literary translation can expand a student’s ability to read and interpret various kinds of texts. *ED*
U. of Washington, Seattle; Naomi B. Pascal: \$5,000 FM. To publish *Danes in North America*, edited and translated by Frederick Hale. *RP*
Stephen A. Vincent, Indianapolis, IN: \$2,471. To study the history of a large, extended family of free Afro-Americans in North Carolina and Indiana during the antebellum period. *AY*
Virginia Polytechnic Inst. & State U., Blacksburg; Arthur L. Donovan: \$10,000. To hold a national conference on the history of energy, at which historians of energy will explore the most pressing conceptual and disciplinary needs of this new, special field of study. *RD*
Robert M. Wallace, Goshen, NH: \$7,990 OR, \$9,000 FM. To translate and comment on *Arbeim Mythos (Work on Myth)*, a new interpretation of myth and its role in Western cultural and intellectual tradition. *RL*
Whittier College, CA; Robert B. Marks: \$49,992. To plan and test six interdisciplinary courses. *EP*
Margaret E. Willson, Bellingham, WA: \$2,498. To prepare an ethnohistorical account of the Chinese people in Whatcom County, Washington, through interviews, archives and photographic records. *AY*
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, NYC; Dina Abramowicz: \$14,687. To complete a catalog of the YIVO Institute’s Yiddish book collection, the largest such collection in the U.S. *RC*
Yale U. Press, New Haven, CT; Ellen H. Graham: \$2,353. To publish *Representation of Revolution: A Study of the Interactions of Aesthetic & Psychological Categories* by Ronald Paulson. *RP*

Jurisprudence

International Academy of Philosophy, Irving, TX; John F. Crosby: \$10,460. To translate and comment on Adolf Reinach’s *Philosophy of Law*, which uses phenomenology and language analysis to examine concepts underlying legal codes. *RL*

Language & Linguistics

Bucknell U., Lewisburg, PA; Catherine F. Smith: \$50,000. To plan a new writing program, four workshops of five days each for forty faculty, and the implementation of six model courses. *EP*
Capital Children’s Museum, Washington, DC; Mavis L. Wylie: \$54,000. To conduct a series of seven lecture/discussions followed by workshops in the history of human communication for 50 elementary school teachers. *ES*
College of Saint Catherine, St. Paul, MN; Ann Redmond: \$50,000. To revise thirty courses to include writing components. *EP*
Concord Public Schools, MA; Virginia Barker: \$7,000. To introduce new units of study on Old English mythology and the roots of the English language. *ES*
Daniel R. Davis, Cambridge, MA: \$2,102. To collect samples of the language of rural upstate New York and analyze the use of metaphor and simile in the narrative speech of the area. *AY*
Pennsylvania State U., University Park; John T. Harwood: \$81,378. To conduct a summer institute and follow-up in-service program to develop a rhetoric program in the public schools of Pennsylvania. *ES*
Research Foundation of CUNY; Renee Wal-dinger: \$103,103. To conduct a four-week institute in French contemporary culture for 40 secondary foreign language teachers to be followed by a year of in-service training. *ES*
Tougaloo College, MS; Ben E. Bailey: \$45,257. To conduct a five-week extended teacher institute for area high school teachers in teaching composition in the humanities. *ES*
U. of Delaware, Newark; Gerald R. Culley: \$40,412. To conduct a four-week summer teacher institute in computer-assisted instruction in foreign languages. *ES*
Washington State U., Pullman; Thomas L. Barton: \$40,527. To implement five new courses in rhetoric and composition. *EP*

Literature

Rebecca A. Burdett, Poughkeepsie, NY: \$2,470. To study ethical issues within children’s literature using the collection of books, catalogs and correspondence of Louise Bechtel, first children’s book editor in America, and through interviews with contemporary children’s writers. *AY*
California State U., Fresno; George B. Kaufman: \$30,000. To study August Strindberg’s chemical and alchemical studies and their effect on his literary and dramatic productions for a series of articles and eventually a book analyzing the role of the natural and occult sciences in the Swedish dramatist’s life and work. *RO*
Community School District #9, Bronx, NY; Lynwood Cooper: \$57,209. To develop a new course of study centered on reading works of “classic” literature. *ES*
Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; Katharine F. Pantzer: \$97,410 OR; 15,000 FM. To complete the revision of Pollard and Redgrave’s *Short-Title Catalogue*, which lists all extant English printed materials for the period 1475-1640. *RC*
William J. Hourihan, Wellesley Hill, MA: \$2,370. To prepare an article and a radio script on the relationship of mental illness to an artist’s perception and creativity, through a study of the work and unpublished papers of poet Robert Lowell. *AY*
Illinois State U., Normal; Rodger L. Tarr: \$22,995. To prepare a bibliography of the printed and manuscript works of Thomas Carlyle. *RC*
Allen J. Karzweil, New Haven, CT: \$2,152. To compile, index and annotate the collected correspondence of the founding editor of the *Partisan Review*, the nation’s oldest literary/political quarterly. *AY*
La Salle College, Philadelphia, PA; Leonid Rudnytzky: \$10,000. To translate and comment on Oles Honchar’s *Sobor (The Cathedral)*, a

Ukrainian novel offering a wide range of insights into life under socialism/communism not usually treated in Soviet literature. *RL*

Louisiana State U., Baton Rouge; Beverly Jarrett: \$3,805. To publish *Faulkner's "Negro": Art and the Southern Context*, by Thadious Davis. *RP*

Northern Kentucky U., Highland Hts.; Peter Schiff: \$35,606. To conduct a five-week summer institute for local secondary school English teachers to introduce them to "reader response to literature" theory, and assist them in strengthening their teaching of literature through that work. *ES*

Pierpont Morgan Library, NYC; Gerald Gottlieb: \$49,500 OR, \$10,000 FM. To prepare a catalog of early children's books in the Pierpont Morgan Library, providing a major bibliographic tool and a model for the standard cataloging of such a collection. *RC*

Purdue Research Foundation, W. Lafayette, IN; Charles S. Ross: \$20,000. To translate and edit *Orlando Innamorato (Orlando in Love)* by Bojardo, a 15th-century Italian poet who influenced Ariosto (*Orlando Furioso*), Spencer (*Faerie Queen*) and Milton (*Paradise Regained*). *RL*

Research Foundation of SUNY, Albany, NY; Rodney L. Patterson: \$28,000. To translate and comment on Aleksandr Blok's *Critical Prose: Essays on Literature, Art and Aesthetics*, which provides insight into Russian and European developments of the early 20th century, especially the Symbolist movement. *RL*

Roosevelt U., Chicago IL; John L. Foster: \$39,766. To catalog inscribed pottery fragments from ancient Egypt; this collection is a primary source for the study of ancient Egyptian language and literature. *RC*

Rutgers U. Press, New Brunswick, NJ; Herbert F. Mann: \$4,000. To publish *Defoe and the Uses of Narrative* by Michael M. Boardman. *RP*

Saint John's U., Jamaica, NY; Jeffrey C. Kinkley: \$10,000. To conduct a workshop on Chinese literature produced in the People's Republic of China and Taiwan during roughly the last decade. *RD*

Jodi L. Sax, Studio City, CA: \$1,371. To research for and write an article on the effects of the Holocaust on French literature. *AY*

Stanford U., CA; Albert J. Gelpi: \$10,000. To hold a conference on women's poetry in America during the last two decades. *RD*

Stanford U. Press, CA; Leon E. Seltzer: \$6,220. To publish *An Iconographic Reading of the Canterbury Tales* by V. A. Kolve. *RP*

Stanford U. Perss, CA; Leon E. Seltzer: \$3,872. To publish *The Prodigal Daughter: A Study of Pushkin's Prose Fiction*, by Paul Debreczeny. *RP*

Stanford U. Press, CA; Leon E. Seltzer: \$4,000. To publish *Alexander Pushkin: Complete Prose Fiction*, translated by Paul Debreczeny. *RP*

Tulane U., New Orleans, LA; Thomas C. Starnes: \$13,000. To translate and comment on prose and verse narratives of C.M. Weiland, "the German Voltaire," major figure in 18th-century German classical literature. *RL*

U. of Alabama, University; David L. Miller: \$10,000. To hold a conference on the role of theory in the study of literature. *RD*

U. of California, Irvine, William J. Lillyman: \$10,000. To conduct a symposium on Goethe's narrative fiction. *RD*

U. of California, Irvine; Alexander Gelley: \$3,500. To translate the theoretical writings on literature, philosophy and society by Novalis, which concern German romanticism and idealism and affect later aesthetic theory in European literature. *RL*

U. of California, Santa Barbara; William R. Reardon: \$10,000. To plan observance of the Eugene O'Neill Centennial. *AP*

U. of Chicago, IL; Allen N. Fitchen: \$5,000. To

publish *The Journey to the West*, translated by Anthony C. Yu. *RP*

U. of Illinois, Chicago Circle; Lore Segal: \$7,000. To translate the German 17th-century Rubezahl Legend with accompanying study of later versions, to trace the development from simple folk to Rococo art tale. *RL*

U. of Nebraska, Lincoln; Willis G. Regier: \$2,723. To publish *The House of Emerson* by Leonard Neufeldt. *RP*

U. of Toronto, Canada; Prudence Tracy: \$4,616. To publish *The Structures of Middle High German Arthurian Romance* by James Schultz. *RP*

Vanderbilt U., Nashville, TN; Frank P. Grisham: \$109,169. To process a collection of materials by and about Baudelaire. *RC*

Wellesley College, MA; Lawrence A. Rosenwald: \$5,000 FM. To translate a work written in 1964 by the French scholar Maurice Gonnaud about Ralph Waldo Emerson. *RL*

Caveh R. Zahedi, New Haven, CT: \$2,420. To translate Maurice Blanchot's *Le Dernier Homme (The Last Man)*, a 1953 "metaphysical fiction" by an influential French philosopher-critic. *AY*

Philosophy

Bethlehem Area School District, PA; A. Thomas Kartsois: \$62,032. To expand a successful Philosophy for Children program which proposes to develop critical thinking and logic in elementary and middle school students. *ES*

Irene T. Bloom, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: \$13,100. To undertake the first complete translation of *K'un-Chih (Notes on Knowledge Painfully Acquired)* by Lo Ch'in-shun, seminal thinker of 16th-century China. *RL*

Fairfield U., CT; Lisa H. Newton: \$104,275. To implement a program in Applied Ethics for undergraduates, especially preprofessional students. *ED*

Haverford College, PA; Lucius T. Outlaw: \$10,000 OR; \$2,500 FM. To hold an international conference on African philosophy. *RD*

J. Graham Brown School, Jefferson County, Louisville, KY; Martha R. Ellison: \$6,248. To provide in-service training for seven teachers who will implement the Philosophy For Children Program (M. Lipman) in grades 4-10. *ES*

Mount Senario College, Ladysmith, WI; Victor M. Macaruso: \$50,000. To develop and introduce five new courses in ethics and values as a core curriculum. *EP*

Swarthmore College, PA; Marion J. Faber: \$3,500 OR; \$5,000 FM. To translate Nietzsche's *Human, All-too-human (1876-1878)*. *RL*

U. of Kentucky, Lexington; Ronald C. Bruzina: \$10,000 OR; \$5,000 FM. To translate and comment on the *Sixth Cartesian Meditation—Text and Husserlian Notations*, written by the German philosopher Eugen Fink in cooperation with the founder of phenomenology, Edmund Husserl. *RL*

Tufts U., Medford, MA; Steven P. Marrone: \$45,000. To conduct an interdisciplinary study of the epistemological theories of a group of scholastic thinkers, associated with an Augustinian school of thought and active at the Universities of Paris and Oxford in the 13th and early 14th centuries. *RO*

U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Charles Witke: \$25,000. To translate and comment on Erasmus' *Hyperaspistes*, which completes the structure of his philosophical and theological debate with Martin Luther on the nature of free will. *RL*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Wilhelm F.

Halbfass: \$10,000. To translate and comment on *Classical Vaisesika and Nyaya "Ontology,"* an analysis of Sanskrit sources clarifying historical and philosophical implications of these texts for Western philosophy. *RL*

Wesleyan U., Middletown, CT; Philip P. Hallie: \$50,000. To plan and test five interdisciplinary general education seminars in history, philosophy, and literature exploring the ways in which ethical standards affect and are affected by difficult ethical decisions. *EP*

Religion

Baruch M. Bokser, Albany, CA: \$25,000. To translate the treatise on Passover in the Palestinian Talmud (edited ca. 400 Common Era), which records rabbinic commentary at a time when Palestinian Jews faced the challenge of legitimacy posed by the new state religion, Christianity. *RL*

Cistercian Publications, Inc., Kalamazoo, MI; Rozanne E. Elder: \$5,186. To publish *Pachomian Koinonia III: Instructions, Letters and Other Writings of St. Pachomius*, translated by Armand Veilleux. *RP*

Grail Movement, Loveland, OH; Joyce M. Dietrick: \$1,000. To enlist consultant services for the archives of the Grail Movement, a significant organization for modern Catholic church history. *RC*

Harvard U., Cambridge, MA; John P. Thomas: \$32,565. To translate and comment on Byzantine monastic foundation documents, describing monastic life from the 9th-15th centuries. *RL*

Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, PA; David D. Shulman: \$20,000. To translate and comment on the *Sacred Tevaram Poems*, religious texts of medieval South India comprising a major part of the sacred canon of Saiva Hinduism. *RL*

Vinay Lal, Baltimore, MD: \$2,180. To study Hindu and Judeo-Christian views on the use of fasting as a nonviolent means of changing the social and political order. *AY*

North Carolina State U., Raleigh; James C. VanderKam: \$25,000. To prepare a critical text and English translation from the Hebrew of the *Ethiopic Book of the Jubilees*, the earliest written version (ca. 150 B.C.) of biblical Genesis 1-Exodus 19. *RL*

Ohio State U., Research Foundation, Columbus; Tamar Rudavsky: \$1,306. To hold a conference examining the concept of divine omniscience and omnipotence in Medieval Jewish, Islamic and Christian philosophy. *RD*

Research Foundation of CUNY; Howard S. Harris: \$41,712. To introduce three new courses in religion to form the first religion concentration available in the CUNY Community Colleges. *EP*

U. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Siegfried Wenzel: \$30,000. To translate and comment on the *Fasciculus*, a Latin handbook for preachers written by a Franciscan author in England shortly after 1300. The text contains a great store of information on the lives of common people in England during the later Middle Ages. *RL*

Social Science

Amistad Research Center, New Orleans, LA; Clifton H. Johnson: \$734. To improve the Cen-

ter's archival methodology. *RC*

Carnegie-Mellon U., Pittsburgh, PA; Robert L. Feller: \$12,000. To prepare critical and annotated bibliographic reviews on fundamental aspects of the deterioration of paper. *RC*

Columbia U., NYC; David J. Rothman: \$60,000. To study the origins and consequences of the movement to achieve social reform through court intervention in 20th-century America. *RO*

Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, Cambridge; Robert Bolick: \$5,137. To publish *Development of the Laws of Human Relations* (Herman Heinrich Gossen), translated by Rudolph Blitz. *RP*

Midwest Archives Conference, Urbana, IL; Patrick M. Quinn: \$1,052. To distribute *The Proceedings of the National Conference on Regional Archival Networks*. *RC*

Newberry Library, Chicago, IL; Janice L. Reiff: \$75,000. To study social division of labor by analyzing employment files of some 2500 workers in a suburban Chicago facility of the Pullman Company between 1895 and 1967. *RO*

Rice Museum, Georgetown, SC; James A. Fitch: \$1,000. To improve the Rice Museum's archival and library methods. *RC*

Society of American Archivists, Chicago, IL; Mary Lynn Ritzenthaler: \$144,724. To conduct a workshop in basic archival conservation of photographic holdings. *RC*

South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston; David O. Moltke-Hansen: \$1,000. To improve the society's archival methodology. *RC*

State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Joanne E. Hohler: \$59,404. To establish a state-wide Conservation Services Center to assist institutions in conserving research materials. On-site consultation, training and laboratory services are among the Center's projected activities. *RC*

U. of Kansas, Lawrence; Ann E. Hagedorn: \$21,074. To prepare a subject catalog of the University's collection of books related to the history of economics, the strength of which is its post-1850 foreign print materials. *RC*

U. of Washington, Seattle; Naomi B. Pascall: \$9,170. To publish *Archival Theory and Practice in the United States: A Historical Analysis* by Richard C. Berner. *RP*

Special Programs

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AZ Youth Projects
Education Programs
EC Consultants
ED Implementation
EH Higher Education
EP Pilot
ES Elementary and Secondary
Planning And Policy Assessment
OP Planning and Assessment Studies
Public Programs
PL Libraries Humanities Projects
PM Museums and Historical Organizations
Humanities Projects
PN Media Humanities Projects
Research Programs
RC Research Resources
RD Research Conferences
RE Editions
RI Intercultural Research
RL Translations
RO Basic Research
RP Publications
RS State, Local and Regional Studies
RT Research Tools
RV Conservation and Preservation





'Elite Social Club'

I recently purloined a copy of your December, 1981, issue, mostly out of curiosity. There is a lot of good stuff in there. Unfortunately, most of it is virtually unreadable, from the cover article to the booklist. Example:

"The style of this intellectual challenge to the inherited hierarchies may seem a far cry from the student movements of the sixties, but the two phenomena share a basic distrust of imposed language. They each remind educational institutions of the will to power at work in supposedly altruistic or required activities...."

Aside from the various grand, unsupported and incorrect assumptions in these sentences, what the hell are they supposed to mean?

My business involves consuming vast amounts of written material, distilling it down to a set of central ideas, and thereby informing myself on a topic. If necessary, I must learn a piece of writing so well that I can recognize and explain every phrase in it. I still have to struggle with your stuff.

No, I am not saying that you should write for lawyers. What I am saying is that someone who has been to some fairly good schools and who works closely with prose all day long has a lot of trouble with your writing. You write only for your own profession, if that. Does perhaps a light begin to dimly glow? Is a small clue discovered to help explain why humanities are "in trouble"?

I was amused by the lip service paid to the idea of expanding the scope of "Literature." Like politicians whose constituents are suddenly outvoted due to a vast expansion of suffrage, you invite the groups who now hold power to *join you*. But not everybody. Bennett Cerf may come in but Hugh Hefner can forget it. And will anybody *ever* allow Jack London to be "literature"? Nowhere, anywhere, in your publication was there mentioned any author that I like to read.

Expand the scope of "literature" to any real extent? Not likely. I have always felt that the main reason people went into the literature business was to avoid people and things that are "common." The very concept of Literature is antiegalitarian. How in the world can you then complain that the majority are not interested in what you do? And are you surprised that they do not much like being denigrated for not learning the skills to participate in a ritual that they don't give a damn about anyway? You have an elite social club going. Look around you at the next convention you go to. And like all elite social clubs, you will continue to abuse your "pledges" until you drive away everyone who wasn't born to join.

To have any widespread appeal, one must understand many different kinds of people, how they speak, what will upset them or put them at ease, how they live, what they read (usually nothing) and the personalities with whom they identify.

By and large, America has done well for itself. Almost everyone can afford to have what they want, if not perhaps to have this year's gold-plated model. And, throughout history, most people have not been much interested in the "finer things." One just hears a lot more from these people now because they talk with their paychecks!... Are you folks in "The Humanities" going to throw your weight into "holding the line" against what the

very great number of people want, or are you going to pitch in and try to be a part of what they want? The power and the money are out there—in the wallet and spare time of Everyman—are you going to use it or fight it?

Let me finish by getting back to the point. Clean up your writing. Virtually every sentence in your publication violates the rules of clear, concise writing that I was taught in the eleventh grade. Maybe when the average college graduate can understand what you are saying without being required to read it three times then maybe you can get him to read your stuff and the "literature" (etc.) that you write about. Then you can start trying to reach, if you care to, the other 90 percent of the literate world.

After the self-serving attempts to save and/or promote a livelihood are sorted out, your publication basically promotes ideas that I agree with. This is obvious. Otherwise this letter would never have been written.... Thank you for your patience.

—Andrew French Loomis

Attorney at Law
San Francisco, CA

Literacy and Literary Criticism

Your recent issue on "literature and literary criticism" provocatively recapitulates those problems which constitute the contemporary critical scene (critic/text, "creative"/"critical," teacher/student) and, at least in one instance, presents specific recommendations as to how we, as critics and teachers, should go about the business of criticizing and educating.

Certainly there is a widening and, for many of us, disturbing gap between different schools of criticism and, more crucially, between teachers and students—between, in other words, teachers who have been trained to think and write in the most sophisticated of critical codes and students who are not only "ignorant" of such codes but of the most basic of reading and writing strategies. But if it is true as Murray Schwartz says that "students may be literate in ways kept hidden from the classroom," the question is how do we integrate those covert skills into the curriculum. That is, given that students can in some sense "read" a rock concert or soap opera, how does this significant activity, semiologically speaking, relate to reading and writing in the—I almost wrote—primary sense. Derrida, of course, has taught us that it is impossible to privilege one kind of reading (scanning a printed page) without implicitly doing violence to and rendering inferior other kinds (say, to be both polemical and topical, "reading" *General Hospital*).

Which brings us to another one of Schwartz's points: we must take contemporary culture seriously enough to bring it back within the walls of our narrowly conceived castle of literacy. And if we are willing to seriously consider alternative styles of "reading," we must also be willing to introduce extra-literary media into the classroom. Having done this, we might be surprised to find ourselves in a position to acquaint students with that critical language of signs and signifiers and *significance* which would be most appropriate to their "reading" skills.

Clearly, this is easier said than done, entailing as the above revisionist notion does a reconstitution of the notion of literacy in general (which perhaps should be seen in terms of semiology rather than "reading and writing" in the conventional sense) and of the literary canon in particular (which should be expanded, admittedly with discretion, to include such *significant* activities as popular fiction, film, music, commercial television, etc.). What this means, finally, is that we must rethink and restructure our whole approach to the humanities, a task that is daily becoming more and more imperative, in a job-scarce, inflationary time as the

present when "arts and letters" are less and less able to attract their share of the best students.

I would be remiss, though, if I did not conclude with one important caveat: that, my critical comments to the contrary, I feel there is no better way to train one's mind and sensibility than to try to put one's thoughts and feelings—however superficial or profound, simple or complex—on paper.

—Robert Miklitsch
Department of English
SUNY at Buffalo

Rethinking Geoffrey Hartman

What prompted Professor Geoffrey Hartman to reaffirm "the Creative Function of Criticism" in *Humanities*, December, 1981? His Wildean paradox, turning on its ear T.S. Eliot's formulation of the Function of Criticism, declaring that criticism rather than poetry ought to be considered as "autotelic," an end in itself, sets the reader up to imagine that there is a kind of higher criticism that is valuable though perfectly useless. In order to bring off this transvaluation, literature (the rest of it) must be demystified and taken down from its pedestal. The authority of Lacan is invoked to prove that literature is actually cannibalistic—endocannibalistic: it feeds on its ancestors—though its digestion is not very efficient. Like other artifacts, we are told, works of art are not well-made: they attempt, without succeeding, to "homogenize contradictory or disparate features." But readers who, nowadays, "live critically" are not to be deceived by these failures of art. They are willing to "tolerate" the derivations and traces of "immediate material and social pressures" that disfigure works of literature, and are content themselves to "abide in ambiguity."

Not that Professor Hartman wishes to liberate criticism entirely from the social responsibility of engaging in useful work. Especially at state universities, he believes, there is a continuing need to do something about the new illiteracy exhibited in the manifest "deterioration" of reading, speaking, and writing. What precisely education must do to bring about desirable improvements is hardly indicated. Hartman recalls the case of a Presidential speech writer who resigned in order to find his own voice. Presumably critics could point to this pathetic case as a warning to students not to get mixed up with the government if they want to do creative, self-exploratory writing. More positively, students might be encouraged to cultivate the critical essay as an antidote to current stylistic deformities. The trouble is that Hartman won't tell us which models ought to be advocated. Of the names he mentions, he can hardly mean to put forward Lacan, or Blackmur, or Adorno and Horkheimer as exemplary essayists. "Eliot wrote with brevity and elegance," but it is Hartman's thesis that Eliot was all wrong. Leavis had a commendable "anxiety concerning cultural standards," but everyone knows Leavis wasn't much of a writer. Then there is George Orwell, who "noted some time ago" that prose is particularly vulnerable to "totalitarian pressures" and who wrote 1984—which is coming right up. But Orwell was a plain dealer, no ally of any cause that obfuscates. The author of "Politics and the English Language" would have had no patience with those unnamed authors who stand to benefit from Hartman's hidden agenda for autotelic criticism, which is written between the lines of his last paragraph.

In the end Professor Hartman advocates an autonomous criticism that will respect "the complexity of its own enterprise," that will broaden "our sensitivity to all kinds of speech, however strange their decorum," and that will never give up "valuing works that perplex us because their art is so difficult or inwrought...." The context forbids the inference that this is supposed to be an apology for Black English or *Finnegans Wake*. No, the benefi-

ciaries of this Lacanian umbrella are those cohorts in criticism who are unwilling or unable to express themselves with clarity and precision, unequivocally, on any question. The reader is put in a position where he or she is supposed to believe that opaque critical formulations are prompted by the creative "critical spirit." Hartman wishes to issue a critical license still more permissive than the traditional poetic license. Since advanced modernists have shown that the poets are not now to be trusted, their licenses may be revoked without loss to the community of humanists. It is critics who need the new dispensation; indeed, it had already been claimed even before Hartman's pronouncements. Have we not heard heavy critical talk self-identified as a "poem?" Or even as a "strong poem?"

The typical learned and opaque writings that would be legitimated as perhaps the highest exercise of "the critical spirit," by Professor Hartman's principles are, of course, powerless to arrest the slide into the social elite vs. prole relationships foreseen in 1984. Indeed, they are symptoms of the split. Such manipulations or words are designed to mystify, not to expand imaginative horizons. Thoughts conveyed so darkly are not competent to express the critical spirit or to talk about, or produce, art.

—John E. Grant
Department of English
University of Iowa

Folklore's unique contribution

After reading through the February, 1982, *Humanities*,...how glad I am that you're paying good attention to folklore. That's been a long time coming—Keep it up!

Folklorists draw on the knowledge and perspectives of other humanists; that's pretty much taken for granted. What needs to be shown—what you've done with the Rhode Island report, for instance—is that folklorists make their own unique contribution, one that complements those other more established and recognized fields. This give and take shows up elsewhere in the February issue, though not always presented in terms of folklore; I'm thinking here of Alan Lomax's survey of dance styles, Elizabeth Bethel's techniques in documenting Promiseland, and George Farr's reference to DARE [Dictionary of American Regional English]. I hope you'll include more such accounts in future issues. They show how the Endowment can reach directly into communities, to very basic and significant aspects of people's lives—a central concern to folklorists, of course. I take this to be an excellent use of tax dollars; and that the extent that the people whose lives have been enriched also sense this direct connection, I dare say the Endowment can count on greater public support for its programs....

—Judith McCulloh
Associate Editor
University of Illinois Press

Folklife and cultural expression

I read with great pleasure the various articles in the February, 1982, issue of *Humanities* dealing with folklife and traditional culture. In an age where we are searching for continuity and meaning to our lives, the Rhode Island Folklife Project is in the forefront of bringing our everyday experience under humanistic scrutiny. Studies such as the Rhode Island Folklife Project and the world ethnography of dance conducted by Dr. Alan Lomax are exploring the aesthetics of everyday life to reveal the role folklife plays in shaping cultural expressions as a whole. As a folklorist, I look forward to hearing of more such projects in the future.

—Peggy A. Bulger
Folklife Programs Administrator
Florida Folklife Program

NEH Notes and News

Challenge Grant Program

Changes in the Endowment's legislative authority have modified certain provisions in the Challenge Grant Program. The new provisions are incorporated in the *Guidelines*, now available from the Public Affairs Office. The new *Guidelines* contain detailed information about program objectives, use of funds, grant amounts, eligibility, sources of matching gifts, review criteria and procedures, timetable, and applications filed against the September, 1982, deadline.

For copies of the new guidelines, write to *Challenge Grant Guidelines*, Mail Stop 351, National

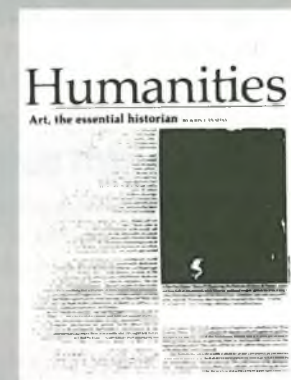
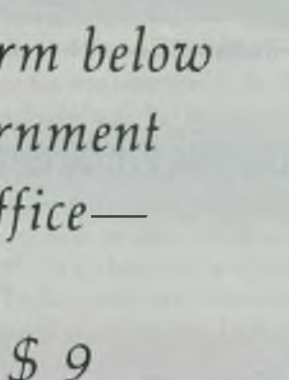
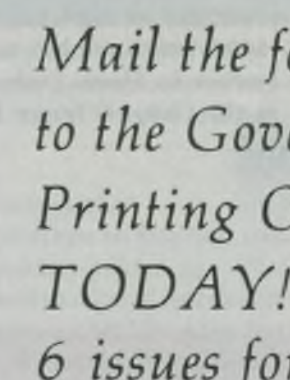
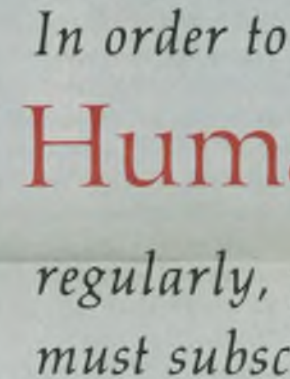
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Research Conferences

African Philosophy: An International Research Conference/Haverford College, PA/July 20-23/contact Lucius T. Outlaw (215)896-1031

Churchmen and the Western Indians, 1848-1920/Utah State University, Logan/August 5-7/contact Clyde A. Milner II (801)750-1290

International Comparative Literature Association Triennial Congress/New York University/August 22-29/contact Anna E. Balakian (212)598-3269



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Editor's Notes

The scribe, inserting a missing line from Psalm 127 of the Latin Vulgate in an English Psalter, ca. 1300, is a metaphor for medieval studies.

Subject to historical revision ever since Gibbon, the Middle Ages have been interpreted and reinterpreted according to the prevailing currents of the contemporary culture in every century.

Victorian romanticists, swept along by an "emotional and aggressive form of nationalism, encouraging governments to subsidize scholarly investigations into national 'origins,' gave medieval studies a new and bright currency," according to Norman Cantor, Page 1.

In the early part of the twentieth century, historians focused on the significance of medieval administrative, legal, economic, and constitutional history. So that while "historians of the nineteenth century had little doubt that the Middle Ages were a golden age of parliamentary life," writes Thomas Bisson on Page 8, the views of historian A. B. White "spoke of 'self government at the king's command.' Such revisionist views were profoundly disturbing. If medieval representation could not be understood as a precocious bourgeois liberalism, one of the crown jewels of medievalism seemed lost."

Another great wave of revisionism occurred in the thirties when material culture was first used to explore the quality of everyday medieval life. Erika Laquer points out on Page 5 that "cultural anthropologists have sensitized medieval historians to the importance of kin structure, notions of honor...and the roles of ceremony and ritual." The current use of social history to examine the history of medieval women as well as other previously ignored groups flows directly from this fifty-year-old "new" scholarship.

Perhaps the fascination of the Middle Ages lies in the fact that there is always a "missing line," something new to be discovered. The line that our scribe is inserting—"Thy children as olive plants round thy table"—seems to presage Mr. Cantor's prediction that "medieval studies may be on the verge of another golden age."

—Judith Chayes Neiman

En tu fait nouvelle olive: in circuitum se tue.

About the authors . . .

Norman F. Cantor received his early education in Manitoba, Canada, where he was born, and his Ph.D. at Princeton in 1957.

Among his academic honors are a Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford, and a Porter Ogden Jacobus Fellowship at Princeton. He is a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society of Great Britain, elected in recognition of his contributions to medieval English history. He has been a professor of History at Columbia, Leff Professor at Brandeis, and Distinguished Professor in the State University of New York. Mr. Cantor is currently director of the Institute for Cultural Analysis and professor of history and sociology at New York University where he also teaches in the School of Law, the School of the Arts, and the Department of Comparative Literature. Among his books are *Medieval History: the Life and Death of a Civilization*; *the Meaning of the Middle Ages*; and with R.I. Schneider, *How To Study History*. **Page 1.**



Erika J. Laquer received her undergraduate degree from Bryn Mawr College and her Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1979. An assistant professor at the College of Wooster in Ohio, Laquer teaches such introductory courses as Western Civilization, Historical Inquiry: The Crusades, and Heresy and Witchcraft, as well as upper level courses in Medieval Europe, Reformation and Revolution in Europe, and Women in Pre-Industrial Europe. She has been a frequent chairperson and presenter at the Congress of Medieval Studies (1975-1982) and has studied in Paris at the *Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales* as well as the *College de France*. **Page 5.**



Thomas N. Bisson received his undergraduate education at Haverford College and his Ph.D. from Princeton University where he was a Charlotte Elizabeth Procter Fellow from 1955 to 1957. Among his academic honors are a

John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Fellowship, a Visiting Membership in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, and a National Endowment for the Humanities Senior Fellowship. He has taught history at Amherst College, Brown University, Swarthmore College and is presently a professor of history at the University of California at Berkeley. Bisson is vice-president for the U.S.A., International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions and serves on the editorial boards of *Speculum*, and *Parliaments, Estates, and Representation*. **Page 8.**



Astrik L. Gabriel, professor at the University of Notre Dame, is a Fellow of the Medieval Academy of America, member of the French and Bavarian Academies of Science, and an honorary Doctor of the Ambrosiana in Milan, Italy.

He attended both the University of Budapest in Hungary and the University of Paris in France. From 1938 until 1947, he presided over the French International College in Godolo, Hungary. Recipient of French Academy prizes for his books *History of Ave Maria College, Paris*, and the publications of the *Financial Records of the English-German Nation at the University of Paris, 1424-1495*, he is currently working on the *History of Paris Colleges* (from their origins until 1600). Gabriel is officer of the *Legion d'honneur* of France, Commendatore of the Order of Merit of Italy, and president of the International Commission for History of Universities. **Page 12.**



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