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## HENRY ANSGAR KELLY

### Higher Education

1952-53: **Creighton University**

1953-61: **St. Louis University**

**A.B.** 1959 (Classics/English/Philosophy)

**A. M.** 1961 (English Literature)

**Ph.L.** 1961 (Philosophy)

1961-1964: **Harvard University**

**Ph.D.** 1965 (English Literature)

1964-66: **Boston College: Weston College of Theology**

**S.T.B. Program: Scripture, Theology, Canon Law)**

1953-66: Jesuit Scholastic: Wisconsin Province of the Society of Jesus

### Employment

1967-69: **Assistant Professor, UCLA**

1969-72: **Associate Professor, UCLA**

1972-86: **Professor, UCLA**

1986-2004: **Distinguished Professor, UCLA**

2004-12: **Distinguished Professor Emeritus, UCLA**

2012- : **Distinguished Research Professor, UCLA**

1998-2003: **Director, Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies**

2003-2020: **Editor of *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies***

## Annotated Writings

### I. BOOKS

#### A. Monographs

1. ***The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft: The Development of Christian Beliefs in Evil Spirits.*** New York: Doubleday, 1968.

British edition: *Towards the Death of Satan: The Growth and Decline of Christian Demonology* (1968). Italian trans.: *La morte di Satana: Sviluppo e declino della demonologia Cristiana* (1969). Revised Edition: Doubleday, 1974. Interview with "the Exorcist"

added. French trans.: *Le diable et ses démons: La démonologie chrétienne hier et aujourd'hui*, 1977. Reprint: Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004. New appendix: "The Devil in Church History."

Proposes that Satan and demons are not a part of Christian revelation or dogma, but only elements of local color and folklore. Belief in them has proved damaging to religion. In the Bible, Satan is merely an unpleasant tester of humans, but later he was transformed into the dualistic Lucifer, God's enemy, who made Adam sin. Demons are amoral parasites in the Gospels, but later were seen as fallen angels with Satan, supposedly worshiped by sorcerers.

2. ***Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories***. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970. Reprint: Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004.

Refutes Tillyard's "Tudor Myth" (Henry VII's alleged propaganda that God sent him to end punishment of England for Henry IV's removal of Richard II). Instead there were short-term myths: the Lancastrians saw God as authorizing Henry IV; the Yorkists saw God as punishing the Lancastrians; the Tudors saw Henry VII as God's instrument against Richard III. Sixteenth-century chroniclers drew moral rather than historical providential lessons. Shakespeare suited invocations of God to his characters. The chapter on Polydore Vergil analyzes five versions of his history.

3. ***Love and Marriage in the Age of Chaucer***. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975 (xii + 344 pp.). Reprint: Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004.

Opposes the "mandatory adultery" claim of C. S. Lewis's "courtly love." Shows that lovers throughout history and literature wished to marry, and did so once impediments (e.g., the woman's husband) were removed. Focuses on Gower's *Confessio Amantis* and Chaucer's *Troilus* and *Legend of Good Women*, and their sources (Ovid and Boccaccio). A close examination of canon law, the common practice of clandestine marriage, and writings on mysticism shows that sexual passion was not incompatible with virtue, and marriage was sought for mutual consolation. Like Aeneas and Dido, Troilus and Criseyde were effectively married (Troilus invokes the god of marriage, Hymeneus).

4. ***The Matrimonial Trials of Henry VIII***. Stanford U. Press, 1976. Reprint: Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004. New Foreword. Reprint: Omaha: Gryphon, 2013, for The Notable Trials Library, Intro., Alan M. Dershowitz.

Draws for the first time on the official court record of the Legatine trial of 1529. Shows that Henry was not a plaintiff in an annulment petition, but rather he and Catherine were both defendants in an inquisition, i.e., a criminal trial (the same was true of Henry and Anne Boleyn in 1536 and Henry and Anne of Cleves in 1540). Gives a history of matrimonial impediments and how they were appealed to by the king's lawyers, including multiple tries at "public honesty" (against J. J. Scarisbrick). Reveals Henry's private theology, as set forth by Cranmer: affinity is not contracted by sex (which would bar him from Anne Boleyn), but by marriage (barring him from Catherine of Aragon).

5. ***Canon Law and the Archpriest of Hita***. Medieval Texts and Studies, Binghamton: SUNY, 1984.

A study of the *Libro de buen amor (LBA)* by "Juan Ruiz," the "Archpriest of Hita." An archpriest was equivalent to a permanent rural dean in England, in charge of a subdivision of the archdeaconry. Ruiz shows great knowledge of canon law, and, among other things, describes a highly technical trial by accusation (as opposed to inquisition), with Wolf as accuser, Fox as accused, and Monkey (Don Ximio) as judge. His citing of the *Novella* of John Andrew of Bologna shows that he was writing after 1338; supposed connections to Archbishop Albornoz in Toledo (before 1350) are fallacious. There are strong reasons (based on Church offices and officeholders) for placing *LBA* close to the scribal date of 1389.

6. ***The Devil at Baptism: Ritual, Theology, and Drama***. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985. Reprint: Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004.

Traces the rituals of baptism from the New Testament through the early Church up to the present, specifically in connection with developing beliefs in Satan and hostile demons. In fullest form, actions taken against these evil spirits constitute a kind of three-act drama of exorcism, renunciation, and apotropaism (repelling in the future). Candidates were first freed from possession and oppression of demons by elaborate prayers over the water, anointing oil, and the persons themselves, either menacing the spirits directly or beseeching divine assistance in their removal. Then comes a solemn voluntary repudiation of Satan himself, facing west towards the realm of darkness, followed by a declaration, facing the east, of faithful and firm adherence to Christ. Finally, there are prayers against the return of the malign spirits and their spiritual and physical attacks. The many variations in this schema reflect differing theologies of the diabolical world.

7. ***Chaucer and the Cult of St. Valentine.*** Leiden: Brill, 1986.

Proposes that Geoffrey was the first to associate “St. Valentine’s Day” with love.

However, he was not referring to the winter feast day of February 14 (Valentine of Rome or Valentine of Terni), but rather a springtime date, May 3, the feast of St. Valentine of Genoa. He celebrated May 3 as the anniversary of the betrothal of young Richard II and Anne of Bohemia in 1381, imagining it as the day on which all the birds gathered together to choose their mates, and producing a poem each year in its honor, perhaps thus: *Parliament of Fowls*, 1382; *Palemon (Knight’s Tale)*, 1383; *Compleynt d’Amours*, 1384; *Troilus*, 1385; *Complaint of Mars*, 1386; *Legend of Good Women*, 1387. The *Nuns’ Priest’s Tale* seems to celebrate Richard’s seizure of power from the Appellants on May 3, 1389. Early imitators of Chaucer, Clanvowe and Gower, vaguely set the Valentine love-day in March, whereas Lydgate, Charles of Orleans, and others assume it was the February 14 feast day. Lydgate describes a pitifully small turnout of winter-resident birds, while Charles abandons the birds altogether.

8. ***Tragedy and Comedy from Dante to Pseudo-Dante.*** Berkeley: UC Press, 1989.

Reprint: Eugene: Wipf and Stock, 2004.

Analyzes Dante’s ideas of tragedy and comedy from his genuine works, especially *De vulgari eloquentia*. Tragedy for him is any work on a noble subject in high diction and style, like the *Aeneid* and his own lyrics. Comedy uses a range of subjects and styles, like his *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso*. In contrast, the *Epistle to Cangrande*, written in Dante’s name, is obviously not by Dante (hence, Pseudo-Dante), since it has completely different definitions of tragedy and comedy. Another give-away is that the epistolary sections do not follow Dante’s *cursus* (prose rhythm) after §§ 1-3. *Cangrande*’s ideas are copied from Guido de Pisa’s commentary on Dante, based on Boethian commentators; tragedy begins in prosperity and ends in misery, while comedy has the opposite plot movement. Dante’s older son Jacopo had a Dantean understanding, while the younger son Pietro followed the Boethian notions, as did Boccaccio and other commentators on Dante.

9. ***Ideas and Forms of Tragedy from Aristotle to the Middle Ages.*** Cambridge

University Press, 1993. Paperback edition, 2005.

A history of the WORD “tragedy” and the various IDEAS attached to it over the ages, as well as the FORMS of dramatic or literary works that were called tragedies. It moves from Aristotle, who considered any serious story to be a tragedy, even with a happy ending (he admired the plot of Euripides’s *Iphigenia among the Taurians* even more than that of Sophocles’s *Oedipus Rex*), through Roman notions and practices, to the concepts found in the Middle Ages, ranging from that of Averroes (“praise of virtue”), to Albert the Great (“recitation of the foul deeds of degenerate men”), and Dante (superior subject and style). Particularly influential was the plot definition of William of Conches and other commentators on Boethius (from happy start to sad end), which was inherited by Chaucer. Ends with surveys of medieval works designated as tragedies in France, Italy, Spain, and England.

10. ***Chaucerian Tragedy.*** Cambridge: Brewer, 1997. Paperback edition, 2000.

“Tragedy” was a comparatively rare word in the Middle Ages, and Geoffrey Chaucer was the first vernacular author anywhere to call his own works tragedies, namely, the

stories that later became the *Monk's Tale*, and the *Troilus and Criseyde*. For the former, he drew on Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum*, but, contrary to general opinion, Boccaccio did not have any idea of considering his accounts to be tragedies. Chaucer gained his notion of tragedy from the characterization in Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* that tragedies lament misfortunes, and Nicholas Trevet's gloss that tragedies tell of prosperity of the wicked that ends in wretchedness (except that in his copy the "wicked" qualification was eliminated, so that tragedy included the falls of innocent men as well). He recognized his early experiments as unsatisfactory, compared to the "little tragedy" of *Troilus*. John Lydgate explains his views of ancient acted tragedy in his *Troy Book*, but expands upon Chaucer's example of the *Monk's Tale* in the *Fall of Princes*, while Robert Henryson drew on Chaucer's precedent in *Troilus* for his *Testament of Cresseid*. It was the more prosaic former approach that proved especially influential in the sixteenth century, in the very popular continuation of Lydgate, *The Mirror for Magistrates*.

11. ***Satan: A Biography***. Cambridge University Press, 2006. Italian trans.: *Satana, una biografia*, 2007. Greek trans.: *Satanas: Mia Biographia*, 2008. Portuguese (Brazil) trans.: *Satã: Uma biografia*, 2008. French trans.: *Satan: Une biographie*, 2010. Russian trans.: *CATAHA*, 2011. Czech trans.: *Satan: Zivotopis*, 2011.

A supernatural satan appears in Numbers 22 (Balaam), Job 1-2, and Zechariah 3. The LXX transforms the satans of Job and Zechariah into one person with the proper name of *ho Diabolos*, "DEVIL" (not "the Devil," a proper title). The envious *diabolos* of Wis. 2.24 refers to Cain, not DEVIL. The OT satanic functions of obstruction/*skandalon*, testing, and prosecuting are carried over to the NT *Diabolos/Satanas*, a celestial bureaucrat put in charge of the kingdoms of the world (Lk 4.6). His ouster from this position will be in the future (Lk 10.18, Jn. 12.31). He still negotiates testing with God (Lk 22.31) and brings charges against humans (Rev. 12.10). Thus far the Original Biography of Satan.

The New Biography of Satan begins with his being linked with the sin of Adam by Justin Martyr, who identified Satan with the Serpent of Eden; Origen made Satan the rebel Lucifer, glossing LXX Is.14.12. This New Biography of Satan as God's enemy gained general acceptance. The latest addition to his profile was that he was in charge of hell, a concept first shown in the Old English poems of the fall of Satan, like *Genesis B*, and three of Cynewulf's poems. Milton's *Paradise Lost* is an outstanding example of the New Biography of Satan. It was only with an unblinkered reading of the Bible, e.g., like Friedrich Schleiermacher's, that the Original Biography of Satan could begin to be recovered.

In contrast to my approach in *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft*, where I recommended doing away with Satan as a doctrine of faith, in this book, I urge those who feel they must believe in Satan to believe in the biblical Satan, not in the postbiblical distortions of his character.

12. ***The Middle English Bible: A Reassessment***. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016.

In the last quarter of the fourteenth century, the complete Old and New Testaments were translated from Latin into English, first very literally, and then revised into a more fluent, less Latinate style. This outstanding achievement, the Middle English Bible, is known by most modern scholars as the "Wycliffite" or "Lollard" Bible, attributing it to followers of the heretic John Wyclif. Prevailing scholarly opinion also holds that this Bible was condemned and banned by the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Arundel, at the Council of Oxford in 1407, even though it continued to be copied at a great rate and was frequently used for help in understanding Scripture readings at Sunday Mass. In this review of the evidence, the bases for the Wycliffite origins of the Middle English Bible are shown to be mostly illusory. While there were attempts by the Lollard movement to appropriate or co-opt it after the fact, the translation project, which appears to have originated at the University of Oxford, was wholly orthodox. Further, the 1407 Council did not ban translations but instead mandated

that they be approved by a local bishop. It was only in the early sixteenth century, in the years before the Reformation, that English translations of the Bible would be banned.

13. ***Satan in the Bible, God's Minister of Justice***. Eugene: Cascade Books, 2017.

Throughout the ages, Satan has been seen as God's implacable enemy, fiercely determined to keep as many human beings as he can from entering the heavenly kingdom. But according to Henry Ansgar Kelly, this understanding dates only from post-biblical times, when Satan was reconceived as Lucifer, a rebel angel, and as the serpent in the garden of Eden. In the Bible itself, beginning in the book of Job and continuing through the New Testament, Satan is considered to be a member of the heavenly government, charged with monitoring the human race. In effect, he is God's Minister of Justice, bent on exposing sin and vice, especially in virtuous-seeming persons like Job and Jesus. He fills the roles of investigator, tempter (that is, tester), accuser, prosecutor, and punisher, but also obstructor, preventer of vice, and rehabilitator. He is much feared and despised, accused of underhanded and immoral tactics. His removal from office is promised and his eventual punishment hoped for. The later misreading of Satan as radically depraved transformed Christianity into a highly dualistic religion, with an ongoing contest between good and evil. Seeing Satan in his true nature, as a cynical and sinister celestial bureaucrat, will help to remedy this distorted view.

14. ***Criminal/Inquisitorial Procedure in English Church Courts***. In progress.

Reviews the rules for *inquisitio*, a new form of criminal procedure introduced by Innocent III in the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215: a person who is publicly suspected of committing a public crime can be charged with it by a judge (the inquisitor). If the defendant denies it, the judge must prove it, or else acquit, or order canonical purgation. In England, the rules were in general adhered to, even when crimes of heresy were in question. Early examples studied are prosecutions of tithes and clandestine marriage. The prosecution of the English Templars is examined, and the sorcery trials of Alice Kyteler in Ireland. The processing of "criminous clerks" and ordinary trials of clerical and lay "correction" are taken up, and the major encounters with religious dissent in the wake of John Wyclif's teachings. The unusual case of Reginald Pecock is studied extensively, and major developments of the sixteenth century are laid out, including the inquisitions against Henry VIII and his wives.

## B. Collected Studies:

1. ***Inquisitions and Other Trial Procedures in the Medieval West***. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2001.

Includes articles no. 11, 31, 37, 40, 44, 47-50, and 52, with introduction, corrections, additions, and index:

- I. Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses (no. 31 below)
- II. Inquisitorial Due Process and the Status of Secret Crimes (no. 37)
- III. The Right to Remain Silent: Before and after Joan of Arc (no. 40)
- IV. Joan of Arc's Last Trial: The Attack of the Devil's Advocates (no. 44)
- V. Trial Procedures Against Wyclif and Wycliffites in England and at the Council of Constance (no. 51)
- VI. Lollard Inquisitions: Due and Undue Process (no. 48)
- VII. English Kings and the Fear of Sorcery (no. 11)
- VIII. The Case Against Edward IV's Marriage and Offspring: Secrecy; Witchcraft; Secrecy; Precontract (no. 49)

- IX. Statutes of Rapes and Alleged Ravishers of Wives: A Context for the Charges Against Thomas Malory, Knight (no. 47)  
 X. Meanings and Uses of *Raptus* in Chaucer's Time (no. 50)

2. ***Law and Religion in Chaucer's England***. Variorum Collected Studies Series. Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010.

Includes articles no. 34, 39, 46, 52, 54, 56, 59, 62, 63, 64, 67, and 69, with introduction, corrections, additions, and index:

- I. Shades of Incest and Cuckoldry: Pandarus and John of Gaunt (no. 34 below)  
 II. Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark (no. 52)  
 III. Medieval Laws and Views on Wife-Beating (no. 56)  
 IV. The Pardoner's Voice, Disjunctive Narrative, and Modes of Effemination (no. 54)  
 V. Sacraments, Sacramentals, and Lay Piety in Chaucer's England (no. 39)  
 VI. Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century (no. 69)  
 VII. Jews and Saracens in Chaucer's England: A Review of the Evidence (no. 62)  
 VIII. The Prioress's Tale in Context: Good and Bad Reports of Non-Christians in Fourteenth-Century England (no. 63)  
 IX. Chaucer's Knight and the Northern 'Crusades': The Example of Henry Bolingbroke (no. 64)  
 X. A Neo-Revisionist Look at Chaucer's Nuns (no. 46)  
 XI. How Cecilia Came to Be a Saint and Patron (Matron?) of Music (no. 59)  
 XII. Canon Law and Chaucer on Licit and Illicit Magic (no. 67)

**C. Edited**

1. Editor, *The Monsters and the Neo-Critics: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at UCLA (1994)*. *Exemplaria* 7.1 (Spring 1995) 1-98.  
 HAK: "Introduction: Are the Middle Ages Theoretically Recalcitrant?" (pp. 1-7).
2. *Thomas More's Trial by Jury: A Procedural and Legal Review with a Collection of Documents*, ed. HAK with Louis Karlin and Gerard Wegemer. Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011. Paperback edition, 2013.  
 HAK: "A Procedural Review of Thomas More's Trial" (pp. 1-52).  
 HAK, ed. and trans.: "Documents" (pp. 137-209)  
 HAK and GW: "Thomas More's Trial: Docudrama" (pp. 210-21)  
 For the first time, all existing reports of More's trial have been gathered together and analyzed. More was charged with treason for impugning Henry VIII's title of Supreme Head of the Church. Hitherto, the consensus has been that the judges were amenable to reasonable arguments and dismissed three of the four charges against him, and that More pleaded not guilty only to the fourth. It is argued here that More was charged and convicted on the whole Indictment. After the verdict of guilty was returned, the consensus view is that More made a standard motion to overturn it. There is, however, no evidence that such a motion was ever used in criminal cases in the sixteenth century. The most important legal question, then, is not whether a motion on his part should have been accepted, but whether the judges treated More fairly and according to law in not accepting his contention that he did not fall under the Treasons Statute. More argued, first, that he did nothing by spoken or written word or by deed to impugn the King's title, and specifically, that his silence, or refusal to speak on the subject, should be not construed as opposition, but, if anything, as affirmation; and, secondly, that he did nothing out of malice, which was a necessary condition for incurring the statutory censure.
3. Editor, Second Edition, *The Manly-Rickert Text of the CANTERBURY TALES* by Roy Vance Ramsey (original ed. 1994). Lewiston: Mellen, 2010.

## HAK: Foreword.

Among Ramsey's conclusions are that the scribe of the Hengwrt manuscript was not the same as the Ellesmere scribe. One reason is that common words (like "else") are consistently spelled differently ("ellis" by one, "elles" by the other).

## II. ARTICLES:

1. **"Consciousness in the Monologues of *Ulysses*,"** *Modern Language Quarterly* 24 (1963) 3-12.

"Stream of consciousness" is wrongly said to express what is on the periphery of consciousness. Rather, it delivers exclusively what is at the forefront of attention, whether important or not. Trivial, perhaps, but not peripheral. Based on my Master's thesis, "The Conscious Focus of Stream of Consciousness," St Louis University, 1961.

2. **"The Devil in the Desert,"** *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 26 (1964) 190-220.

In addressing Christ's temptation by Satan, I clear away many mistaken traditions about the Devil, including the idea that he is identified as Eve's tempter in Wis. 2.24 and Rev. 12.

3. **"The Deployment of Faith and Reason in Bacon's Approach to Knowledge,"** *Modern Schoolman* 42 (1965) 265-285.

Francis Bacon falls into the school of thought represented by Thomas Aquinas and Richard Hooker, as opposed to that, say, of Montaigne (which stresses the overall defectibility of natural knowledge) or of Bonaventure and Raymond Sebond (most dogmas of faith are provable by reason), or Averroism (there are acceptable contradictions between faith and reason). Divinity deals with the data of revelation, while philosophy and science deal with sense-data, but their conclusions can be used to explain and clarify each other. Aquinas was recognized as the preeminent scholastic thinker at this time, as John Donne's tribute to him demonstrates.

4. **"Demonology and Diabolical Temptation,"** *Thought* 40 (1965) 165-194.

Short version, *Theology Digest* 14 (1966) 131-136. Revised as Chap. 5, "Demonic Temptation," in *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft*.

Deals with the question of whether the Devil and demons (fallen angels) have access to persons' minds and thoughts. Aquinas says no.

5. **"Canonical Implications of Richard III's Plan to Marry His Niece,"** *Traditio* 23 (1967) 269-311.

A history of dispensations for kinship impediments. The canon lawyer who wrote the *Croyland Chronicle* (at Crowland Abbey) says that Catesby and Ratcliffe, afraid of Princess Elizabeth becoming queen, brought in theologians to tell Richard the pope had no power to allow marriage to a niece. In fact, nieces were not included in the Levitical degrees, and, besides, a Levitical degree had been dispensed for Henry V's brother to marry his uncle's widow. For identification of the Croyland author see below, nos. 19, 25, 33.

6. **"Kinship, Incest, and the Dictates of Law,"** *American Journal of Jurisprudence* 14 (1969) 69-78.

A further history of the theory and practice of dispensations to marry in close degrees of consanguinity and affinity.

7. **"Death of the Devil?"** *Commonweal* 93.6 (6 November 1970) 146-149.

Contemplating the elimination of Satan from Christian dogma.

8. **"The Metamorphoses of the Eden Serpent during the Middle Ages and Renaissance,"** *Viator* 2 (1971) 301-327.

Peter Comestor credits Bede with the idea that Satan used a serpent with a woman's face to tempt Eve. There were several possibilities: e.g., vipers had human tops. More important, artists had started giving additional features to all serpents: legs, wings (feathered or not), dog-heads, and human heads, so woman-headed serpents were readily available. Eventually serpents lost their appendages when artists looked around, except for dragons, who kept their feet and wings.

9. **“Clandestine Marriage and Chaucer's *Troilus*,”** in *Marriage in the Middle Ages*, ed. John Leyerle, *Viator* 4 (1973) 413-501, Chapter 2, pp. 435-457.  
Chaucer surrounds Troilus and Criseyde with a matrimonial aura but refrains from explicitly treating them as husband and wife.
10. **“*Occupatio* as Negative Narration: A Mistake for *Occultatio/Praeteritio*,”** *Modern Philology* 74 (1976-1977) 311-15.  
The mistake of speaking of *occupatio* (based on an erroneous reading of *occultatio*) as if it meant *praeteritio* is endemic to Chaucerians. *Occultatio* was the lawyer's trick of deviously moving past damaging facts. *Occupatio* did not exist as a trope; but *anteoccupatio* meant “anticipating and defusing an opponent's objection” (preemptive strike). *Praeteritio* meant “ostensibly passing over details and then describing them.”
11. **“English Kings and the Fear of Sorcery,”** *Mediaeval Studies* 39 (1977) 206-238.  
Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article VII.  
Witchcraft was not associated with heresy in England; it involved matters like poisoning, “nigromancy,” and love-inducements. Most kings from Edward III to Henry VIII suspected that they were victims of it. Notable was the trial of Eleanor Cobham for prognosticating the death of Henry VI, and coercing Duke Humphrey of Gloucester's affections (her marriage to him was annulled).
12. **“The Genoese St. Valentine and Chaucer's Third of May,”** *Chaucer Newsletter* 1.2 (Summer 1979) 6-10.  
Chaucer desired to celebrate May 3 as a feast of love (commemorating the betrothal of Richard II and Anne of Bohemia), and, finding it to be the feast of St Valentine, Bishop of Genoa, made him the patron of the birds mating on that day. The love theme was soon mistakenly associated with the February 14 feast (Valentine of Rome or Valentine of Terni). See *Chaucer and the Cult of St. Valentine*.
13. **“Aristotle-Averroes-Alemannus on Tragedy: The Influence of the *Poetics* on the Latin Middle Ages,”** *Viator* 10 (1979) 161-209.  
Averroes in his commentary on Aristotle's *Poetics* did not understand drama, and bizarrely thought of tragedies as poems of praise, and comedies as poems of vituperation. Hermannus Alemannus passed on these ideas to the west in his Latin translation of Averroes.
14. **“Tragedy and the Performance of Tragedy in Late Roman Antiquity,”** *Traditio* 35 (1979) 21-44.  
Tragedies could be read in private, or recited by the author (or another person), but they were rarely or never performed in full. Rather they were abbreviated, in three forms: a pantomime ballet (sometimes with speakers or singers or hand-outs for the story), a concert tragedy, or a citharedy (solo singer and player). Notable performers of the latter two were the Emperor Nero and the young St. Augustine. Isidore concluded from such accounts that tragedies and comedies were recited by the author while actors pantomimed the actions.
15. **“Tillyard and History,”** *Clio* 10 (1980-81) 85-88.  
E. M. W. Tillyard's postulated “Tudor Myth” (God punished England for Henry IV's sin of usurping Richard II, until He sent Henry VII to bring peace”) is mistaken. It was the Yorkists who saw God as punishing the Lancastrians (Henry IV, Henry V, and Henry VI).
16. **“Chaucer's Arts and Our Arts,”** in *New Perspectives in Chaucer Criticism*, ed. Donald M. Rose (Norman, Okla. 1981), pp. 107-120.  
Chaucer was not a “painterly poet,” he did not observe and appreciate the art around him, but always had his nose stuck in a book, as the Eagle tells him in *House of Fame*. His descriptions of art are all based on the *écphrāsēs* (literary descriptions of artworks) of Boccaccio and others.
17. **“Gaston Paris's Courteous and Horsely Love,”** in *The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society* (Toronto 1983), ed. Glyn S. Burgess and Robert A. Taylor. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1985. Pp. 217-223.

The *amour courtois ou chevaleresque* described by Paris in his 1883 article on Chrétien's *Lancelot* has been misunderstood, esp. when translated as "courtly love." What he said was that the love depicted there had "rules," like courtesy and chivalry. A better characterization would be "codely love."

18. **"Archpriests, Apostles, and Episcopal Epistles,"** *La Coronica* 14 (1985-86) 1-5.  
Discusses historical archpriests of Hita. Explains *apostoli* as a judge's response to an appeal.
19. **"The Last Chroniclers of Croyland,"** *The Ricardian* 7.91 (December 1985) 142-177.  
Identifies the author of the second continuation of the *Croyland Chronicle*, a doctor of canon law, who discusses Richard III's notion of marrying his niece (see "Canonical Implications," no. 5 above), I identify him as Richard Lavender, Chancellor and Commissary-General of Lincoln [and new Archdeacon of Leicester; see no. 33 below]. The next continuator is identified as John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln.
20. **"Pronouncing Latin Words in English,"** *Classical World* 80 (1986-87) 33-37.  
Long and short stressed vowels depend on position: hence *genus* (JEE-nus) and *genera* (JENN-era), but *genius* (JEE-ni-us). Hence *opus* (OH-pus), *opera* (OPP-er-a), but *opium* (OH-pi-um).
21. **"The Non-Tragedy of Arthur,"** in *Medieval English Religious and Ethical Literature: Essays in Honour of G. H. Russell*, ed. Gregory Kratzmann and James Simpson. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1986. Pp. 92-114.  
Disagrees with William Matthews's *The Tragedy of Arthur*. "Tragedy" was not a common word in Middle English, and only Chaucer saw his works as tragedies. Furthermore, Arthur in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure* does not fit the modern idea of a tragic hero who brings destruction on himself because of some failing. The poet does not portray Arthur as flawed, and the premonition he receives of his coming death serves as a warning to prepare himself for a good Christian end.
22. **"Heaney's Sweeney: The Poet as Version-Maker,"** *Philological Quarterly* 65 (1986) 293-310.  
Analyzes Heaney's diction in his translation of the medieval Irish narrative *Buile Suibne*, and comments on puzzling fluctuations of tone.
23. **"The Varieties of Love in Medieval Literature According to Gaston Paris,"** *Romance Philology* 40 (1986-87) 301-327.  
Reviews all of Paris's many writings touching love themes, and corrects simplistic or mistaken interpretations of his views on *amour courtois*, which he finds in Chrétien's *Lancelot*, consisting of a code, a set of rules the lover must follow. One rule is service of the beloved, an element not found in troubadour lyrics. Another rule is its illicitness, which Paris modifies in his last study, on *Cligès*: lovers marry when they can. Paris's idea that troubadours specialized in adulterous love was rightly challenged by Joseph Bédier. George Duby's slapdash ideas are criticized.
24. **"The Devil at Large,"** *Journal of Religion* 67 (1987) 519-528.  
Reviews Jeffrey Burton Russell's four major books on the Devil: *The Devil*; *Satan* (patristic period); *Lucifer* (Middle Ages), and *Mephistopheles* (modern period). The last three are excellent, but the first is problematic because of its Jungian method of analysis and broad concept of "devil." He spend only thirty pages on the Bible, and therefore the volume is an inadequate basis for those that follow, which concentrate entirely on the biblical figure.
25. **"The Croyland Chronicle Tragedies,"** *The Ricardian* 7.99 (December 1987) 498-515.  
The second continuator, whom I identify as Richard Lavender, uses the word "tragedy" to mean "chapter" or "book," as part of a larger work; it shows that the same author wrote both secular and monastic portions of the chronicle. He may have deduced this meaning from Lydgate's *Fall of Princes*, where "tragedy" might be taken to indicate subdivisions of the major sections. Further arguments are given to support the author identifications of no. 19 above.
26. **"Juan Ruiz and Archpriests: Novel Reports."** *La Coronica* 16 no. 2 (Spring 1988) 32-54.

Searching the papal registers for clerics named Juan Rodríguez/Ruiz and archpriests and their benefices. Responding to reviewers of *Canon Law and the Archpriest of Hita*, e.g., defending the reference of the poet to the *Novella* of John Andreae.

27. **“Lawyers' Latin: *Loquenda ut Vulgus?*”** *Journal of Legal Education* 38 (1988) 195-207.  
Sets out four different systems of pronouncing Latin available to lawyers: the Ciceronian, the Dantean (Italian), the Chaucerian (or Continental), and the Shakespearean, and rehearses various rules for consistency.
28. **“Dating the Accessus Section of the Pseudo-Dantean *Epistle to Cangrande.*”** *Lectura Dantis* no. 2 (Spring 1988) 93-102.  
A pre-print of chapter 2 of my *Tragedy and comedy from Dante to Pseudo-Dante*; it argues that the Accessus of *Cangrande* draws on Guido da Pisa and Pietro di Dante.
29. **“A Juan Ruiz Directory for 1380-1382.”** *Mester* 16 no. 2 (Fall 1988) 69-93.  
The status quo of my thoughts on the *Libro de buen amor*. Further results from the papal registers, pursuing the possibility that the *LBA* is of late composition, ca. 1381.
30. **“Chaucer and Shakespeare on Tragedy,”** *Leeds Studies in English* 20 (1989) 191-206.  
Chaucer’s understanding of the word “tragedy,” lamentation for a fall to wretchedness, with emphasis on lack of caution and the unexpectedness of misfortune, matches Shakespeare’s view, as can be gathered from his characters’ use of the term: it refers to disasters that come without warning to persons of all sorts, but usually to the innocent.
31. **“Inquisition and the Prosecution of Heresy: Misconceptions and Abuses.”** *Church History* 58 (1989) 439-451. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article I.  
The term “inquisition” has been hijacked by historians of heresy to refer only to heresy prosecution. Rather, it was a new form of criminal procedure set out by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Although it was soon utilized against heresy, the rules remained the same, except that endangered witnesses could keep their names secret. However, due process was often abused by heresy inquisitors.
32. **“Satan the Old Enemy: A Cosmic J. Edgar Hoover,”** *Journal of American Folklore* 103 (1990) 77-84.  
Contests the view of Neil Forsyth that Satan in the Bible functions as God’s enemy. Rather, he appears as an unscrupulous enforcer of the divine government, directing his enmity towards the humans he is supposed to investigate.
33. **“Croyland Observations.”** *The Ricardian* 8.108 (March 1990) 334-341.  
Clarifies details of the act of appropriation of the parish of Bringhurst that ends the Chronicle. Stresses once more that Richard Lavender was involved because he had just become archdeacon of Leicester (5 October 1485), and the parish fell within his jurisdiction. Also clears up problems with the Oxford transcript of the Chronicle, explaining interruptions in Lavender’s verses; and deals with misinterpretations concerning Edward IV’s marriage to Elizabeth Woodville. See no. 49 below.
34. **“Shades of Incest and Cuckoldry: Pandarus and John of Gaunt,”** *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 13 (1991) 121-140. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article I.  
No basis for the rumor that Gaunt had sex with Catherine Swynford’s sister Philippa (Chaucer’s wife); he applied for a dispensation from spiritual kinship, not affinity. The idea that Chaucer thought of Pandarus as having sex with Criseyde is nonsense, but other passages in Chaucer where the laws of kinship are relevant are discussed.
35. **“Dual Nationality, the Myth of Election, and a Kinder, Gentler State Department,”** *University of Miami Inter-American Law Review* 23 (1991-92) 421-464.  
Contrary to popular belief, there has never been a law in the U.S. requiring dual citizens at birth to reject one of their citizenships at the age of eighteen. Aliens who swear allegiance to the U.S. when becoming citizens do not lose their native citizenship unless the native country’s law says

so. Since 1990, Americans cannot lose their citizenship by becoming a citizen of another country or doing other actions that formerly resulted in loss of citizenship.

36. **“Medieval Relations, Marital and Other,”** *Medievalia et humanistica* n.s. 19 (1992) 133-146.  
 Review of Marilyn Stone, *Marriage and Friendship in Medieval Spain: Social Relations According to the Fourth Partida of Alfonso X* (1990).
37. **“Inquisitorial Due Process and the Status of Secret Crimes,”** *Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law* (UCSD 1988), ed. Stanley Chodorow. Monumenta iuris canonici, series C: Subsidia, vol. 4 (Vatican City, 1992), pp. 407-428. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article II.  
 According to the rules of inquisition, only a person widely suspected of a public crime can be prosecuted. This external forum of the courts is contrasted with the rules of sacramental confession, and the Spanish Inquisition is introduced to discuss how the principles involved were observed or not. Torquemada was an observer of the rules, which was not true of his successors in the next century.
38. **“Interpretation of Genres and by Genres in Medieval Literature,”** in *Interpretations: Medieval and Modern*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti, J. A. W. Bennett Lectures, no. 7: Perugia, 6-8 April 1992 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1993), pp. 107-122.  
 Interpretation of genres: author has generic idea when writing; e.g. Chaucer calling *Troilus* a tragedy, Dante calling *Inferno* a comedy. Interpretation by genres: imposing genre on a work; e.g., Dante considering his lyrics to be tragedies. Examines genre ideas of Aristotle, Isidore, Geoffrey of Vinsauf, etc., Dante, Boccaccio, Mussato, etc., Chaucer, etc., Spanish authors.
39. **“Sacraments, Sacramentals, and Lay Piety in Chaucer's England,”** *Chaucer Review* 28 (1993-94) 5-22. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article V.  
 Discusses the Mass and Divine Office as reflected in the *Canterbury Tales* and the status of the various clerics, including parish clerks, parish priests, and other kinds of secular priests and also friars and monks and pardoners, and the uses of sacramentals like holy water and relics. I satirize French-based theory by recommending home-grown approaches: organization theory and care-management methodologies.
40. **“The Right to Remain Silent: Before and After Joan of Arc,”** *Speculum* 68 (1993) 992-1026. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article III.  
 Fifth-Amendment rights are more indebted to due-process rules of canon law than to Magna Carta and common-law precedents. Defendants in inquisitions have the right to be properly charged before answering questions. Joan of Arc was denied this right in her 1431 trial. In the retrial of 1456, only a few critics recognized this right of silence.
41. **“Rule of Thumb' and the Folklaw of the Husband's Stick,”** *Journal of Legal Education* 44 (1994), 341-65.  
 Recent claims that that British law allowed husbands to beat their wives with a stick no bigger than their thumbs are groundless. One judge, Sir Francis Buller, opined in 1782 that it might be so, and was pilloried for it as “Judge Thumb.” Even more spurious is the notion that the expression “rule of thumb” originated from such a supposed law. Blackstone’s claim that early law allowed moderate violence against wives is also mistaken, as revealed by a review of common law, Roman law, and canon law.
42. **“Cangrande and the Ortho-Dantists,”** *Lectura Dantis* nos. 14-15 (1994) 61-95.  
 Refutes allegations of errors in my *Tragedy and Comedy* in Robert Hollander’s *Dante’s Epistle to Cangrande* (1993) and points out many errors on his part. Clarifies Dante’s *cursus* preferences and demonstrates the cursal authenticity of *Monarchia*, and its lack in *Questio de aqua*.
43. **“Reply to Robert Hollander,”** *Lectura Dantis* no. 14-15 (1994) 111-115.

Answers Hollander's "Response" (pp. 96-110), and reiterates my position: The *Cangrande* Accessus section contradicts Dante's views of tragedy and comedy, but Dante may have written the first three paragraphs, which are in his cursal style, but not the noncursal fourth paragraph, or the noncursal epistolary end of *Cangrande*.

44. **"Joan of Arc's Last Trial: The Attack of the Devil's Advocates,"** in *Fresh Verdicts on Joan of Arc*, ed. Bonnie Wheeler and Charles T. Wood (New York 1996), pp. 205-38. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article IV.  
Analyzes the canonization process of Joan of Arc, starting with a species of medieval trial in which the candidate for sainthood is posthumously subjected to searching attempts at denigration by "promoters of the faith" (commonly called Devil's advocates), and defended by the "postulator." In Joan's case, the "assessors" (a kind of jury) favored the promoters, but the cardinal-judges completely exonerated her.
45. **"Manuscript Mores and the *Libro de buen amor*,"** *Comparative Literature Studies* 33 (1996) 187-97.  
Review of John Dagenais, *The Ethics or Reading in Manuscript Culture: Glossing the Libro de buen amor* (Princeton 1994).
46. **"A Neo-Revisionist Look at Chaucer's Nuns,"** *Chaucer Review* 31 (1996-97) 116-36. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article X.  
Argues against seeing the Prioress as very lax (and typical of nuns of her time); there was no prohibition in force against nuns going on pilgrimage or keeping pets, and her attention to manners was in keeping with her presumed function as heading a school for girls. Chaucer assigned a pre-written tale to her without adapting it to her character.
47. **"Statutes of Rapes and Alleged Ravishers of Wives: A Context for the Charges Against Thomas Malory, Knight,"** *Viator* 28 (1997) 361-419. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article IX.  
Analyzes ways in which sexual rape of women and non-sexual rape (i.e., abduction) of heirs, wives, and widows were dealt with in the secular courts. Most statutes and cases refer to abduction rather than sexual rape, like the case that Chaucer investigated in 1387: here the accused abductor, John Lording, was the woman's own husband, and he remained accused of felony for a dozen years because a jury could not be assembled. In 1451 Malory was accused of rape-and-abduction of a consenting wife and was kept in prison for many years because no jury could be found. I stated here (p. 414) that he was pardoned in 1460, but in a correction added in *Inquisitions* (2001), I show that he was pardoned in 1455 but remained in prison until he could find further security.
48. **"Lollard Inquisitions: Due and Undue Process."** In *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 279-303. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article VI.  
Studies the trials of various accused heretics in England, notably William Swinderby, Walter Brute, Henry Crump, William Thorpe, John Badby, and John Oldcastle, and examines how the rules of inquisitorial procedure were or were not followed. It also discusses the bull of Martin V, *Inter cunctas* (1418), mandating interrogations on set lists of Wycliffian errors rather than on actual suspected and charged crimes.
49. **"The Case Against Edward IV's Marriage and Offspring: Secrecy; Witchcraft; Secrecy; Precontract,"** *The Ricardian* 11.142 (September 1998) 326-35. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article VIII.  
Richard III's claim to rule ahead of the sons (and daughters) of Edward IV was based on their illegitimacy, a result of the invalidity of Edward's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville. The case was argued in Richard's first parliament the *Titulus regius*, and the two substantial reasons put forth were that Edward was coerced by sorcery into the marriage, and that he was already

married. There was also much talk of the clandestinity surrounding both circumstances, which would not have affected validity.

50. **“Meanings and Uses of *Raptus* in Chaucer's Time,”** *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 20 (1998) 101-65. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article X.

Analyzes Cecily Champaign's release of Chaucer from further actions concerning her rape (she filed another release at the same time not specifying rape). Discusses the ways in which *raptus* (meaning either sexual violation or abduction) could be charged, whether factually or not, to get a foothold in court; it also shows how fictitious charges of other kinds could be made in order to get a hearing about a real *raptus*. The article deals especially with the options that women of various conditions had in acting against male adversaries. Whatever Cecily's complaint against Chaucer was, there must have been something to it, for he seems to have paid to make it go away. At the end is a discussion of various kinds of possible “rapes” in Chaucer's works.

51. **“Trial Procedures Against Wyclif and Wycliffites in England and at the Council of Constance.”** *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61 (1999) 1-28. Repr. in *Inquisitions* (2001), article V.

Examines the abortive procedures against John Wyclif in England and his posthumous inquisition and conviction at the Council of Constance in 1415. Discusses the unusual proceedings against his followers in England after the Blackfriars meeting in 1382, in which they were not accused of crimes but were required to comment on a series of condemned propositions (allegedly attributable to Wyclif). The same procedure was used on John Hus at Constance, followed by a standard inquisition. The trials of Pope John XXIII and Jerome of Prague are also detailed, and also the posthumous trial of John Petit, ably defended by Peter Cauchon (Joan of Arc's future judge).

52. **“Bishop, Prioress, and Bawd in the Stews of Southwark,”** *Speculum* 75 (2000) 342-88. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article II.

Begins with the allegation that the nunnery of St. Leonard-at-Bow (mentioned by Chaucer in connection with the Prioress) maintained a house of prostitution in the “Stews” district of Southwark (in the liberty of the bishop of Winchester), named after the fishponds (stews) or the rooming houses (stew-/stove houses) in the area. Reports of prostitution there begin in the fourteenth century, but names of bordellos, some unstable, appear only around 1500. The bishop's manor officials allowed them to function, under strict regulation. If there was a bordello on the nuns' property, their steward may not have been able to evict them. Even Bishop Braybrook of London could not break the lease of a bawd within the precincts of St. Paul's (1388). Methods of investigating and punishing sexual offenses are discussed.

53. **“The Evolution of the Monk's Tale: Tragical to Farcical,”** *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 22 (2000) 407-14.

Defends my contention (against A.J. Minnis) that Chaucer took his modified definition of tragedy (as not restricted to the falls of the wicked) from his own copy of Boethius with selected glosses of Trevet (preserved in the Croucher MS, Cambridge I.3.21). Lists five stages of the *Monk's Tale*: 1) the original 13 tragedies; 2) with the 4 “Modern Instances” (1386 or later); 3) assigned to the Monk, now not a bibliophobe but a bibliophile; 4) interrupted by the bored Host; 5) interrupted instead by the moved Knight, who reinstates the seriousness of the tragedies, followed by the Host's call for humor and the farcical near-tragedy of Chaunticleer.

54. **“The Pardoner's Voice, Disjunctive Narrative, and Modes of Effemination,”** *Speaking Images: Essays in Honor of V. A. Kolve*, ed. R. F. Yeager and Charlotte C. Morse (Asheville NC 2001), pp. 411-44. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article IV.

After first describing the Pardoner with a voice (like a goat, mare, or gelding), Chaucer shows that he has a powerful voice. I detail other instances of contradictory or “disjunctive” narration, and also sometimes contradictory indications of eunuchry and other sexual irregularities in the medical lore of the time. I discount the recent idea that the Pardoner is same-sex-oriented; he is an active womanizer, not only by his own testimony, but also by the testimony of Chaucer's

early readers. In fact, he is shown to have become “womanized” or “effeminated” by his heterosexual activities. Introduces the terms “colpic” and “colpocentric” to contrast with “phallic” and “phallocentric.”

55. **“Teufel, V: Kirchengeschichtlich,”** *TRE (Theologische Realenzyklopädie)* 33.1/2 (2001) 124-34. Original English text, “The Devil in Church History,” in *The Devil, Demonology, and Witchcraft*, ed. 2, repr. 2004, Appendix.

After a brief review of biblical data, patristic, medieval, and modern mythifications of Satan are presented, transforming him from a harsh angelic critic of mankind to a dualistic opponent of God.

56. **“Medieval Laws and Views on Wife-Beating,”** *Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Syracuse, New York, 13-18 August 1996)*, ed. Kenneth Pennington, Stanley Chodorow, and Keith H. Kendall. *Monumenta iuris canonici*, series C: Subsidia, vol. 11 (Vatican City 2001), pp. 985-1001. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article III.

Deals mainly with commentators on canon law, who reached a consensus around 1215 in the Ordinary Gloss to Gratian’s *Decretum*: husbands did not have the right to beat their wives. But this view was later modified by other commentators, notably Archdeacon Guy of Baysio in 1300, in his *Rosarium* on Gratian: he allows moderate beating for serious reasons. There is also some vacillation among the commentators on Roman civil law and English common law. Examples of disciplinary beatings in Chaucer are discussed, including the Wife of Bath’s allegation that her fifth husband, young Jankin, used to beat her in his futile attempts to keep her in line.

57. **“Law and Nonmarital Sex in the Middle Ages,”** *Conflict in Modern Europe: Changing Perspectives on Society and Culture*, ed. Warren C. Brown and Piotr Gorecki. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003, pp. 175-93.

Canon law, specifically Innocent’s decretal *Novit* (X 2.1.13), claimed absolute ability to act against all mortal sins/crimes, using secular power if necessary. But by the fourteenth century notable canonists agreed that purely lay sins that became public, like fornication and adultery, were better punished by the lay courts. Aquinas said that fornication was a crime not punished by human laws, which seems to have been the attitude in Italy. Some Church jurisdictions, especially in England, continued to prosecute the offenses (though secular courts also intervened), while some, e.g., in France, gradually gave it up. Sexual offenses by the clergy, though, were another matter. Records are scarce for many regions, e.g., Germany and Spain. Special attention is given to the prosecution of sodomy and prostitution in Italy.

58. **“Saint Joan and Confession: Internal and External Forum,”** in *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*, ed. Ann W. Astell and Bonnie Wheeler (New York: Macmillan, 2003), pp. 60-84.

Analyzes Joan’s experiences with the sacrament of confession, which were very positive, in contrast with the Church’s judicial system, which were very negative. But the confessions of truth that she made in her trial, in violation of canon law, which were twisted into crimes by her adversaries, contributed to her spiritual biography, especially her fortitude and fidelity, and our knowledge of her was greatly supplemented by the series of depositions beginning in 1450 that led up to her trial of rehabilitation in 1456. She was able to stymie the illegal questioning to some extent by refusing to respond except “in confession.” The complicated question of whether or when she went to confession between her abjuration and execution is discussed.

59. **“How Cecilia Came to Be a Saint and Patron (Matron?) of Music,”** in *The Echo of Music: Essays in Honor of Marie Louise Göllner*, ed. Blair Sullivan . Warren, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2004, pp. 3-18. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article XI.

A historical matron named Caecilia in the third century donated a building in Trastevere for a church, which was called the “Church of Caecilia. Around AD 500, it became the church of *Saint Caecilia*, after a virgin martyr of this name was invented [see my entry on her in the

*Chaucer Encyclopedia*]. Her transformation into the patroness of music began in the fourteenth century.

60. **“Uniformity and Sense in Editing and Citing Medieval Texts,”** *Medieval Academy News*, Spring 2004, pp. 8-9; “Letter,” *MAN*, Spring 2005, p. 6.  
Scholars discussing medieval texts should re-edit them for uniformity instead of slavishly following the peculiarities of their respective editors. Urges regularizing *u/v* and *i/j* according to vowel/consonant, as in the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*.
61. **“Medieval Heroics without Heroes or Epics,”** in *Heroic Poets and Poetic Heroes in Celtic Traditions: Essays in Honor of Patrick K. Ford*, ed. Leslie Ellen Jones and Joseph Falaky Nagy. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2005, pp. 226-38.  
Traces the meanings and variants of “hero,” “heroical,” and “epic” in Greek and Latin and in English. The modern meanings of the words were hardly in evidence in the Middle Ages. Dryden had a main hand in fixing our notions, which we have used to analyze medieval works. Gummere’s popular translation of *Beowulf* in 1910 uses “hero” to render some forty different words or compounds, often for alliterative purposes, whereas in Heaney’s 1999 translation the word is nearly missing in action.
62. **“Jews and Saracens in Chaucer’s England: A Review of the Evidence,”** *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 27 (2005) 129-69. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article VII.  
Tells of non-Christians living in England, including Rabbi Salomon ha-Levi (later the famous Bishop of Burgos), and the converted Jews in the House of Converts (including the daughter of Rabbi Moses, Bishop of the Jews) and the pensions they received; the Muslim convert, Richard of Sicily, godson of Richard II, was awarded more. Details a new district called “Poor Jewry” near Chaucer’s residence at Aldgate, and analyzes the sermons of Bishop Brinton telling the clergy of their obligation to convert the rich Jews of the city.
63. **“The Prioress’s Tale in Context: Good and Bad Reports of Non-Christians in Fourteenth-Century England,”** *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* n.s. 3 (2006) 73-132. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article VIII.  
Details attitudes towards Jews and other non-Christians, as detectable in sermons, chronicles, and miracle-stories (of which Chaucer’s *Prioress’s Tale* is one), ranging from hatred, indifference, concern for their salvation, and admiration (for instance, praising them for their religious devotion and their charity towards the unfortunate). The tale given to the Prioress was a version of the *Chorister*-type that ended in the punishment of the guilty Jews rather than their conversion, doubtless unchanged by Chaucer from his source (and not intended to criticize the Prioress for being anti-Jewish).
64. **“Chaucer’s Knight and the Northern ‘Crusades’: The Example of Henry Bolingbroke,”** *Medieval Cultural Studies in Honor of Stephen Knight*, ed. Helen Fulton, David Matthews, and Ruth Evans (Aberystwith: University of Wales Press, 2006), pp. 152-65. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article IX.  
Further examines attitudes towards non-Christians and their conversion, adding also schismatic Christians, both Eastern (the “Orthodox”) and Western (adherents of the Pope of Avignon as opposed to the Pope of Rome). Focuses on the Teutonic Knights and their crusades against Lithuania even after they converted in 1387. The fact of their conversion was probably not realized by some of the “guest knights,” like Henry Bolingbroke (and Chaucer’s Knight), who fought against them in 1390. Bolingbroke bought some Lithuanian boys to convert them (he also made Muslim and Jewish converts). Chaucer’s Knight was more of a military opportunist than Bolingbroke, since he fought on the side of one heathen against another in Turkey.
65. **“It’s Kelly versus Richter; or, Earthquakes for Dummies,”** *UCLA Today* 27.1 (August 15 2006) 7 (fuller details on my website, [english.ucla.edu/faculty/kelly/](http://english.ucla.edu/faculty/kelly/): “Kelly Kiloton Index of Earthquake Moment Magnitudes”)  
For Richter’s logarithmic scale (log-10), substitutes another (log-32), based on dynamite equivalents, and sets it out in a straightforward linear scale, thus visually showing the magnitude

sizes. For instance, the Sylmar 6.6 quake of 1971 was 8,000 kilotons, the Northridge 6.7 quake of 1994 was 11,000 kilotons, and the Loma Prieta (SF) 7.1 quake of 1989 was 45,000 kilotons of dynamite on the KKI scale.

66. **“Incest and Richard III, Bigamy and Edward IV,”** *Ricardian Bulletin*, Spring 2007, pp. 28-30.

Corrects mistakes by recent authors, especially Michael Hicks, on Richard III’s plan to marry his niece (see “Canonical Implications,” no. 5 above) and the invalidity of Edward IV’s marriage (see “The Case Against,” no. 49 above). The word “precontract” does NOT mean “preliminary contract”; it means “previous marriage.” Two brothers can marry two sisters, no impediment. Uncle-niece union is not Levitically prohibited. Clandestinity did not invalidate marriage.

67. **“Canon Law and Chaucer on Licit and Illicit Magic,”** *Law and the Illicit in Medieval Society*, ed. Ruth Mazo Karras et al. (Philadelphia 2008), pp. 211-24, 295-98. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article XII.

Discusses what was considered morally and theologically acceptable in the practice of magic, defined as the attempt to exploit the occult properties of things. Canon law allows the use of medicinal magic employing herbs, stones, and words (as long as they did not invoke demons). I analyze the restorative efforts made by John the Carpenter in the *Miller’s Tale* as they might have been judged by the local archdeacon (witchcraft was one of the offenses archdeacons investigated).

68. **“Thomas More on Inquisitorial Due Process,”** *English Historical Review*, 123 (2008) 847-94. See the review by Dominique Goy-Blanquet, *Moreana* 46 no. 177-78 (Dec. 2009) 238-51.

After Christopher St. Germain’s anonymous attack on the alleged methods of English bishops in prosecuting heretics and convicting them without proof or process, More responds in his *Apology* (April 1533) and then, in response to a second attack, in his *Debellation of Byzance* (November 1533). He refutes his charges, running through all the prosecutions that he can find on record in this and the previous century, and showing that proper inquisitorial (*ex officio*) procedure was invariably followed; he challenges his adversary (whom he names “Sir John Some-say”) to produce proofs rather than gossip. The Commons had come up with similar unsubstantiated complaints in 1532, which were incorporated into the 1534 Act Against Heresy, repealing the 1401 *Contra Lollardos* (falsely called *De heretico comburendo* by modern historians). The new Act insisted on two witnesses for conviction—but this had been part of standard canonical practice all along. It is not clear whether More approved of defense witnesses in heresy inquisitions (they were allowed by law). Contrary to modern assessments, More completely debellated St. German.

69. **“Penitential Theology and Law at the Turn of the Fifteenth Century,”** *A New History of Penance*, ed. Abigail Firey (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 239-317. Repr. in *Law and Religion* (2010), article VI.

Concentrates on the theology of the sacrament of penance in the *Pupilla oculi* of John Burgh (1385) and the legal aspects in William Lyndwood’s *Provinciale* (1434), and also Chaucer’s *Parson’s Tale*, a treatise on how to go to confession. One new aspect discussed is various understandings of “attrition” as opposed to “contrition,” and also the question of why confession is necessary (what does it add to the forgiveness effected by contrition?). I take these subjects up to the Council of Trent. The appendix gives a detailed summary of Burgh and Lyndwood.

70. **“Medieval *Jus commune* versus/uersus Modern *Ius commune*; or, Old ‘Juice’ and New ‘Use,’”** *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law (Washington, D.C., August 1-7, 2004)*, ed. Kenneth Pennington and Uta-Renate Blumenthal *Monumenta iuris canonici*, series C: *Subsidia*, vol. 13 (Vatican City 2008) pp. 377-406.

Urges modern distribution of the allographs *u/v* and *i/j* in citing texts. Being fussy about them, and not the many other allographs (e.g., *a/a*, and long and short *s*), is a function of ease on our modern keyboards, not of their intrinsic importance.

Shows that *jus commune* did not have the meaning of “body of Roman and canon law” until the twentieth century. Historically, the phrase referred to individual laws that were universally binding, as opposed to local laws.

71. **“Gin, Anyone? Or, How Did Gynecology Become a Guy Thing?”** *The Vocabulary Review* 10.7 (July 2008), 9 pp. in Web version; reprinted in January 2010 issue (10.1).  
 “Gynecology” was originally properly pronounced with a soft “g,” as in “gymnasium” and “androgyny” and the final syllable (“-gy”) in “gynecology.” The triumph of the GUY-form shows that pseudo-Greek is gaining ground as “sounding more scientific.”
72. **“Vance Ramsey on Manly-Rickert,”** *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 32 (2010) 327-35.  
 Ramsey’s book (which I brought out in a second edition in 2010) defends Manly-Rickert against unfair criticisms and points out some real faults of their edition of the *Canterbury Tales*. He adds arguments to support their doubt that Ellesmere and Hengwrt were by the same scribe. Ramsey reveals that Malcolm Parkes considered Ellesmere earlier than Hengwrt, whereas A. I. Doyle held the opposite.
73. **“Hell with Purgatory and Two Limbos: The Geography and Theology of the Underworld,”** Chapter 8 of *Hell and Its Afterlife: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Margaret Toscano and Isabel Moreira (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 121-36.  
 History of the Christian underworld, from the fires of Hades in the Gospel (parable of Dives and Lazarus) to the four-level structure of Thomas Aquinas: Hell of the Damned at the bottom, Limbo of Infants next, Purgatory higher, and the Limbo of the Fathers highest. In Origen’s story of Lucifer becoming Satan, he falls only to the smoggy atmosphere of the earth. The idea of his falling to deepest hell and being in charge there is very late, first appearing in Old English poems like *Genesis B*. The term *limbus* (“fringe”) was first applied to the holding-place of the Old Testament saints by Bruno of Würzburg around 1040. The theology of the Limbo of Infants is traced to the present time, when it is currently in limbo, and Hell itself is in danger of being emptied.
74. **“Wives and Property in Chaucer’s London: Testimony of Husting Wills,”** *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* n.s., 8 (2011) 81-193.  
 Examines the 4000 wills at the Guildhall, 1250-1500, especially the 500 between 1370 and 1410, for the kinds of property women brought to marriage, gained during marriage, and acquired when widowed, especially from compliant husbands, and the extent of their control of their property during marriage (sometimes with the aid of Church court orders). Most husbands will ALL of their lands and goods to their wives, ignoring the stipulated portions meant to go to children and Church. The earlier London prohibition against willing real estate to wives in perpetuity had become a dead letter by Chaucer’s time. Shows how the Wife of Bath could accumulate her wealth. Deals also with Criseyde and January’s wife May.
75. **“Body as Stand-In for the Self: From *Habeas Corpus* to Some-Body and ‘Need a Body Cry,’”** in *Fleshly Things and Spiritual Matters: Studies on the Medieval Body in Honour of Margaret Bridges*, ed. Nicole Nyffenegger and Katrin Rupp. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2011, pp. 11-26.  
*Corpus* in royal writs is just a stylistic variant of a pronoun: *habere corpus ejus = habere eum*, with no suggestion of physical restraint. The English word “body” is non-Germanic in origin. Chaucer is an early user of “every body” for “every man.” Lord Berners in 1530 uses it with a plural pronoun: “Every body was in THEIR lodgings.” “Body” in combination with “some-” as a mere indefinite pronoun (pron. SUM-buddy) is surprisingly late. The “main body” in *Coming Through the Rye* is the speaker herself; this usage survives rustically, as in “What’s a body to do?”

76. **“A Procedural Review of Thomas More’s Trial,”** in *Thomas More’s Trial by Jury*, ed. HAK with Louis Karlin and Gerard Wegemer (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), pp. 1-52.  
See above under BOOKS, EDITED.
77. **“Devil.”** *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Ian A. McFarland et al. (Cambridge 2011), pp. 137-38.  
Traces Satan’s origin in the Old Testament as angelic assistant of God, testing and accusing humans. These functions persist in the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament. This characterization of Satan gives way to Patristic fancies, e.g., Justin Martyr’s identification of Satan with the Eden serpent, and Origen’s monumental reading of Satan as Lucifer, an angel who rebelled and became God’s enemy. Such notions transformed the biblical accounts and turned Christianity into a dualistic religion, and made way for the handing over of all humanity to Satan (Augustine’s original sin) and Satan’s eventual roles as ruler of Hell and god of sorceresses.
78. **“Common and Special Purgatories, Authorized Revenge, and Hamlet’s Ghost,”** *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* n.s., 9 (2012) 257-309.  
Although purgatory proper is in the underworld, by God’s dispensation certain souls are assigned to perform their purgation in locales on the earth above (explained in Caxton’s oft-printed *Golden Legend* and in the *Little Book of Purgatory*, ca. 1532). Such souls are often commissioned to expose and correct wrongs. Thus King Hamlet is required to suffer by day in the common purgatory and to walk the earth at night; he reveals Claudius’s crimes to his son and conveys divine authorization to avenge them, that is, enact just retribution.
79. **“Inquisition, Public Fame, and Confession: General Rules and English Practice.”** In *The Culture of Inquisition in Medieval England*, ed. Mary Flannery and Katie Walter, Westfield Medieval Studies (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2013), pp. 8-29.  
Explains Innocent III’s rules for inquisitorial procedure, to be used for all criminal cases, and then discusses how these rules were observed in England, where the abuses instituted by heresy inquisitors on the Continent were avoided (except when the English Templars were tried). Unlike the forum of confession, where all sins were voluntarily and secretly confessed and penanced, the public forum, where inquisition was to be used, was only for public crimes, and then only when a specific person was deemed guilty by “public fame” (this does NOT refer to “general bad reputation”). The procedure was used for the sort of common crimes listed by Chaucer’s Friar as punished by the archdeacon of his tale, as well as important crimes. The heresy trial of Richard Wyche in 1402-03 is studied in detail. The Blackfriars procedure of interrogating suspects on lists of crimes not charged against them was in violation of the rules. It was later authorized by Martin V (1418), but not noticeably practiced. The death penalty for heresy was confirmed in the 1401 statute *Contra Lollardos* (NOT called *De heretico comburendo*). Thomas More vindicated the English bishops as following the rules.
80. **“Make-Over or Tune-Up: Every Student Needs Religious Instruction,”** TEAMS Roundtable, Kalamazoo, 12 May 2011, *Literature Compass* 10.12 (2013) 903-907.  
Everyone has great need to be informed about the way Christianity (and Judaism and Islam) functioned in the Middle Ages. The need is most obvious for non-Western students (particularly those from Asia) who have other religious traditions, but also true of “nones” and persons from a formerly religious background. But it is even true of those who have had a thorough religious upbringing, because their ideas can seriously lead them astray when applied to medieval societies. It is easy to be betrayed by “false friends.”
81. **“Adam Citings before the Intrusion of Satan: Recontextualizing Paul’s Theology of Sin and Death,”** *Biblical Theology Bulletin* 44 (2014) 13-28.  
The story of Adam and Eve’s sin is not referred to in the Hebrew Bible after Gen. 2-3 except Gen 5.29 (ground cursed); the earliest citation elsewhere is in Tobit, c. 200 BC, and references are few after that. The common notion that Adam was punished by death for his sin is verified

neither in Genesis 2–3 itself nor in any pre-Pauline texts. Paul’s focus on Adam’s sin was out of the ordinary, and his conclusion that he was punished by some kind of death does not resemble interpretations in any other contemporary source, including Philo. The equally common idea that the Devil was assumed to participate in causing Adam’s sin does not occur in early texts (for instance, Wisdom or the books of the New Testament), being first found in Justin Martyr. Therefore, assessments of biblical theology that depend on these concepts should be emended.

82. **“Inquisitorial Deviations and Cover-ups: The Trials of Margaret Porete and Guiard de Cressonessart, 1308-1310,”** *Speculum* 89 (2014) 936-73.

Inquisitors were required by law to charge suspects with the public crimes they were suspected of before making them to respond under oath. But heresy inquisitors in France sought to ferret out secret crimes by forcing suspects to swear to respond to all questions about themselves, and only then to conduct an inquisition against them, charging them with their confessed heresies (which needed no further proof).

This technique was used on Margaret and Guiard in 1308-10 by Guillelmus Parisius (the inquisitor who prosecuted the Templars in 1307). He ordered both to take the self-incriminating oath, and excommunicated them when they refused. After they remained excommunicated for over a year, he claimed that they were equivalently heretics, and he sought the approval of university canonists, but falsely stated that he had properly charged them.

Guiard eventually broke down, took the oath, confessed heterodox beliefs (e.g., he was “the Angel of Philadelphia”), was convicted of them, and, after abjuring them, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Margaret, however, persisted in her refusal, and Parisius proceeded to hold an inquisition against her by presenting evidence of past offenses concerning a book that she had produced, and convicting her of relapsing into these offenses.

In the sentence, Parisius acknowledged that he had excommunicated Margaret for refusing to testify against herself, but in the vernacular announcement afterwards he falsely claimed that she had been excommunicated for refusing to appear before him when summoned (and eluding arrest), and that is why he convicted her “as if a heretic” (thus fulfilling the requirements of *Cum contumacia*, *Sext* 5.2.7).

Bernard Guy used similar practices in the south of France.

83. **“Exorcism, 5: Christianity.”** Entry in the *Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception*, vol. 8 (New York: de Gruyter, 2014), cols. 529-31.

Reviews various kinds of efforts to repel simple parasitic demons in the Bible (especially the Synoptic Gospels) and subsequent new Christian breeds: “sin-demons,” “god-demons,” and “fallen-angel-demons,” at first centering around baptism, and then in cases of possession.

84. **“Questions of Due Process and Conviction in the Trial of Joan of Arc.”**

*Religion, Power, and Resistance from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Karen Bollerman, Thomas M. Izbicki, and Cary J. Nederman (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 81-100.

According to Daniel Hobbins, Bishop Cauchon seriously attempted to follow the rules of due process in prosecuting Joan of Arc in 1431. I agree that he did his damndest make it look regular, but he was also intent on violating Joan’s rights and depriving her of defenses (Cauchon knew his business: he showed himself to be a skilled defense attorney in the Jean Petit case at the Council of Constance). Instead of charging her and proving charges, he insisted on her incriminating herself through weeks of interrogation, without benefit of counsel and under harsh confinement, and under spying eyes, while brushing aside her constant objections. He confected charges only from her forced testimony, and rejected her repeated appeals to the pope.

The question of what charges Joan was actually found guilty of is hard to answer, since (as is usual in records of inquisitorial processes), the formal beginning or *contestatio* of the actual trial—leveling of charges and plea—is not included. The only offense that Cauchon mentioned in the cover letter of the trial record (apart from the vague “statements against the faith”) was wearing male clothes, which did not figure in his sentences before and after her abjuration. Her trial of relapse supposedly centered around two offenses: resumption of male clothes and

asserting new appearances of voices and spirits. The final sentence specified neither, and named no heresy. Cf. the trial of Savonarola in 1498.

85. **“Bishop Challoner's Ecumenical Revision of the Douai-Rheims Bible by Way of King James.”** *Review of English Studies* 66 (2015) 698-722. With Leslie K. Arnovick.

The Catholic Bible printed at Rheims in 1582 (New Testament) and Douai in 1610 (Old Testament) was brought out in a new edition in 1749-1752, the work of the chief Catholic prelate in the realm, Dr Richard Challoner. Usually credited only with adding notes, he revised the text substantially. Our analysis of the Gospel of Luke shows that he changed 15% of the text, and 75% of his revision coincided with the King James Version of 1611 (and most of the KJV text is taken from Tyndale's version of eighty years earlier). By combining older vocabulary with some newer words and by mixing older syntax with more recent phrasing, Challoner honors traditional biblical usage at the same time as he gently updates the text. The subtle but significant revisions he makes have been under-appreciated. Because his language draws from the Protestant as well as the Catholic Bible, Challoner sculpts a hybrid scriptural genre, one that was unprecedented. As a result of its non-denominational features, his new Douai-Rheims was more amenable to non-Catholic readers, which would stand it in good stead as the King James text grew in reverence and came to be spoken of as “the Authorized Version.” Challoner's use of it was rightly termed an “act of moral courage.”

86. **“Mixing Canon and Common Law in Religious Prosecutions under Henry VIII and Edward VI: Bishop Bonner, Anne Askew, and Beyond,”** *Sixteenth-Century Journal* 46 (2015) 927-55.

In medieval England, religious crimes were prosecuted in the ecclesiastical courts by way of inquisitorial procedure, whereas secular crimes were dealt with in the royal courts with common-law methods. This separation between the two jurisdictions was fairly well maintained until the king was recognized in 1534 as the Supreme Head of the English Church. From this time forward, there were various attempts by statutory and other means to “improve” canonical procedures by adding or combining common-law practices. Some of these changes can be observed in practice in London under Bishop Edmund Bonner during the last years of Henry's reign (1540–47), notably in the trials of Anne Askew in 1545 and 1546. Further alterations during the reign of Edward VI (1547–53) are detailed, when Bonner himself was deposed from his episcopal see by royal commissioners (1549). The article concludes with a brief look at Elizabeth's reign, when there was a strengthening of canonical norms (in contrast to the papal court in Rome).

87. **“Varieties of Exorcism in the Bible and the Church,”** *Studia Biblica Slovaca* 17 (2015) 75-87.

The Greek word *exorkismos* corresponds to Latin *adjuratio*; it comes from *horkos* “oath,” and originally had non-demonic meanings. Caiphas “exorcizes” (adjures) Jesus to say if he is the Son of God (Mt. 26.63). The group-demon Legion “horcizes” Jesus not to torment it/them (Mk 5.7). In the NT, neither Jesus nor his disciples adjure demons to drive them out. It is only the seven sons of the Jewish high priest Sceva who are said to do this: they “horcize” them in the name of Jesus and Paul (Acts 19.13). Eventually, Christians did use the language of exorcism/adjuration against the Devil and demons, but sometimes it was used for simple address, as in the baptismal formula: “I exorcize thee, O creature of water, that thou become a spring of life.” But a revised version breaks off from addressing the water and commands forces of Satan that are in it to depart.

I then analyze the methods actually used by Jesus and his followers for getting rid of demons. Finally, I show how the disease-causing Gospel spirit-parasites were transformed to fallen angels (pagan gods) or sin-demons, and discuss the efforts of official exorcists to expel them from baptismal candidates.

88. **“Torture in Canon Law and Church Tribunals: From Gratian to Galileo,”** *Catholic Historical Review* 101 (2015) 754-93.

Church historians have thought that the ancient and medieval Church disallowed torture in court proceedings. This view draws on Gratian's *Decretum* (ca. 1140), but Gratian cites canons that

permit judicial torture. Deutero-Gratian (ca.1150) added canons specifying torture from Roman civil law. Huguccio (ca.1190) and the Ordinary Gloss to the *Decretum* (1215 and later) also adopted Roman criteria but stipulated that the clergy using torture could not apply coercion involving serious injury or bloodshed. Heresy inquisitors added a twist to this practice well before Galileo's trial in 1633: a defendant admitting a heterodox deed but denying evil intent must be examined under torture.

89. **“Galileo’s Non-Trial (1616), Pre-Trial (1632-33), and Trial (May 10, 1633): A Review of Procedure, Featuring Routine Violations of the Forum of Conscience,”** *Church History* 85 (2016) 724-61.

Examines Galileo's confrontations with the Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition in light of the rules and technicalities of inquisitorial procedure as set forth in the *Corpus juris canonici*, officially issued in 1582 under the auspices of Pope Gregory XIII. When first summoned in 1616, Galileo was not questioned, but merely warned not to espouse heliocentrism. In 1632, after he published his *Dialog of the Two Systems*, Holy Office investigations resulted in a summons, and when he appeared in April 1633, he was interrogated without being charged. Because the case against him was weak, the deputy inquisitor talked him into a plea-bargain: admit guilt in return for a light sentence. His formal trial took place on May 10 (as usual in inquisitorial trials, the actual objection of charges was not recorded). He admitted giving stronger arguments to the heliocentric debater, but denied heretical intention. This denial triggered an automatic examination of his private beliefs under torture (in his case, only threat of torture)—a new procedure adopted by the Holy Office around the turn of the seventeenth century. After abjuring the heresy of heliocentrism and being sentenced to prison, his penalty was commuted to villa-arrest.

Galileo rejected heliocentrism again, under no constraint, in a letter in 1641. Meanwhile, Copernicus's book, approved for re-issue with a few tinkering, was allowed to speak in favor of the system that bore his name. Procedurally, Galileo was not the object of special favor or disfavor, but was treated in accord with standard bureaucracy.

90. **“Love of Neighbor as Great Commandment: Grasping at Straws in the Hebrew Scriptures,”** *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56 (2017) 265-81.

One's "neighbor," generously interpreted to include everyone else in the world, even personal and impersonal enemies, looms large in the NT, especially in the form of the second great commandment, and in various expressions of the Golden Rule. The NT also contains expansive claims that neighbors have a similar importance in the OT. The main basis that commentators cite for these claims is a half-verse in the middle of Leviticus ("You shall love your neighbor as yourself," 19:18b), as fully justifying these claims, supported by other isolated verses, notably, Exod 23:45 (on rescuing the ass of one's enemy). Relying on these verses has the appearance of grasping at straws in order to justify the words of Jesus, but it seems clear that in the time of Jesus they had indeed been searched out and elevated to new significance. John Meier has recently argued that it was Jesus himself who gave the Levitical neighbor his high standing, but because the Gospels present the notion as already known, I suggest that it had achieved a consensus status by this time.

91. **“King Henry VIII,”** chapter 14 of *Christianity and Family Law: An Introduction*, ed. John Witte Jr. and Gary S. Hauk (Cambridge University Press, 2017), pp. 229-44.

A canon citing a letter of Gregory the Great (actually by the forger Isidorus Mercator), *Quaedam lex* (Gratian C35 q2-3 c20), allowed only seventh-cousins and affines to marry; Innocent III in 1215 extended it to fourth cousins. But, just as Isidorus's Pseudo-Gregory allowed third-cousin marriage temporarily to the English, popes began to give closer dispensations, and, by the fifteenth century, even within the Levitical degrees. In 1504, Catherine of Aragon was allowed to marry her brother-in-law, Prince Henry Tudor. Cardinal Wolsey even considered asking the pope for a dispensation for their daughter Mary to wed her half-brother Henry Fitzroy, Henry VIII's bastard son. A summary of efforts to annul the marriage to Catherine follows (see *Matrimonial Trials*); the upshot was that by English law (1534), only the Levitical degrees

banned marriage. Later reduction of kinship impediments (both Anglican/English and Roman Catholic) are traced up to the present. Other marital impediments studied are “precontract” (bigamy), by which Henry’s marriage to Anne Boleyn was annulled, and “force and fear” (lack of full consent), by which Henry was freed from Anne of Cleves. Anne Boleyn’s alleged precontract (i.e., previous marriage) was clandestine, and the legal implications of such secret marriages are discussed.

92. **“Bible: Translations and Adaptations,”** *The Encyclopedia of British Medieval Literature*, ed. Sian Echard and Robert Rouse, 4 vols. (Hoboken: Wiley, 2017), 1:291-97.

The Latin Vulgate was translated piecemeal into the vernacular in sermons, etc., as needed for instructing the people. Systematic translations of the Psalms and the Gospels were made in the Old English period, and Psalms was the first book to be translated in the Middle English era. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the entire Bible was rendered very literally into English at Oxford (Early Version = EV), perhaps to help parish priests with the Latin Bible; it was then revised into a more fluent rendition (Later Version = LV). Since the seventeenth century, both EV and LV were believed to be the product of John Wyclif and his followers and to have been banned in the Province of Canterbury in 1409. However, this assessment is belied by the text of the mandate and the widespread reception of the versions throughout England, especially for liturgical use.

93. **“Epistle to Cangrande Updated,”** *Dante Notes*, September 28, 2018:

<https://www.dantesociety.org/node/131>

Responds to the discovery that Andrea Lancia around 1343 saw the *Epistle to Cangrande*. If so, the Compiler must have put it together around 1340. There are other possibilities (e.g., if Lancia only saw a part of what was to become the full letter). The fact remains that Dante had a virtue-based idea of tragedy, still evident at the end of *Paradiso*, and he could not have written the disaster-based account of *Cangrande*. Further cursus analyses confirm my earlier conclusions.

94. **“Oath-taking in Inquisitions,”** *Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law* 35 (2018) 215-42.

When Innocent III set out the rules of inquisition at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, he omitted describing the beginning of the trial (and subsequent trial records of inquisitions usually follow suit). Adhémar Esmein in 1896, assuming that Innocent intended no oath to be taken by the defendant, held that oath-taking was imposed only later. But it turns out that both Pope Innocent and his commentators assumed that oaths would be imposed. A later view of commentators was that the inquisition oath was modeled on the oath imposed at purgation.

I then describe how an oath to tell the truth *de se et aliis*, designed for witnesses in a general investigatory inquisition, came to be imposed on suspects forcing self-incrimination before any charges are revealed or probable cause (*publica fama*) established. This new procedure became policy in Continental courts, but not in England (contrary to what critics believed who denounced the “oath *ex officio*”). Modern canon law forbids all defendant oaths in criminal cases. They were first prohibited for the Province of Rome in 1725 by Pope Benedict XIII, not because they were unjust, but because they were ineffective: everyone routinely pleaded “Not guilty.”

95. **“The Fourth Lateran *Ordo* of Inquisition Adapted to the Prosecution of Heresy,”** *Brill’s Companion to Heresy Inquisitions*, ed. Donald S. Prudlo (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 75-107.

The criminal procedure of *inquisitio*, set forth by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, was designed mainly for clerical crimes like simony. Heresy continued to be treated under the standard method of *purgatio* (solemn denial supported by character witnesses, compurgators). In an inquisition, the defendant had three main rights: 1) to be tried only for a public crime of which he was widely suspected; 2) to know and understand the charges (implies the right against forced self-incrimination); and 3) full defense, including knowing names and testimony of witnesses.

Gregory IX began appointing special heresy prosecutors, beginning in 1227, and by the mid-1320s they can be seen using *inquisitio*, and they began to be termed *inquisitores hereticae pravitatis*. At least by 1244, they started concealing names of witnesses when endangered. This would be

the only approved restriction of the law (by custom it would later be extended to all witnesses). Forcing self-incrimination developed in France, with clear instructions emerging in the 1270s. It too became widely practiced (though not authorized by law), except in England, where special heresy-inquisitors were never appointed.

96. **“Luther at Augsburg, 1518: New Light on Papal Strategies,”** *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70 (2019) 804-22.

Leo X's brief *Cum nuper* was sent not on September 11 but on November 2. It referred to a lost brief countermanding the order of 23 August for Luther's arrest, and instead offering a safe-conduct to Rome; but Luther's abrupt departure from Augsburg prevented the offer from being made. *Cum nuper*, sent too late, authorized Cardinal Cajetan to actually put Luther on trial (with no restriction on debate). In *Exsurge Domine* (1520), Leo convicted Luther without trial on inflated charges of heresy, adding false claims, one of which was that Luther had rejected an invitation to Rome.

97. **“Bible Translation and Controversy in Late Medieval England,”** *A Companion to Medieval Translation*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019), pp. 51-61.

There was never any prohibition against translating the Bible in medieval England. Bits of it were constantly being translated on the fly in sermons and other modes of instruction. When the Middle English Bible was produced in the last decades of the 14<sup>th</sup> century in the literal Early Version (EV) and more fluent Later Version (LV), it was readily accepted by the faithful, especially as an aid to understanding the Sunday Gospels. It was not called the “Wycliffite Bible” until the nineteenth century. One likely reason for the LV revision was a change in translation philosophy: Trevisa made a similar move in rendering the *Polychronicon*.

Around 1400, there were disputes about the suitability of English to render the Latin Vulgate and the danger of the laity (Lollards or others) making errors of interpretation. The Oxford master Richard Ullerston discounted all objections in advocating translations, and did not even refer to the Lollards or Wycliffites. In 1407, The Canterbury Province passed a constitution requiring new translations be approved by the local bishop, to avoid error. The mandate was promulgated in 1409 and enshrined in Lyndwood's *Provinciale* in 1434. But soon after this, general interest in the Bible, both Latin and English, fell off markedly, while devotion to the Latin liturgy surged.

98. **“Afterdeath Locations and Return Appearances, from Scripture to Shakespeare,”** in *Imagining the Medieval Afterlife*, ed. Richard Matthew Pollard (Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 176-90.

More common than Dante's afterdeath schematic was that of St. Thomas Aquinas; both have a supernal heaven, but Thomas's infernal regions, based on Scripture and tradition, consisted of the limbo of the Fathers, emptied by Christ at his death, at the highest; immediately beneath it was the temporary hell of purgatory; under that was the limbo of infants; and at the very bottom was the region of the perpetually damned. It was believed that both souls in heaven (the saints) and the suffering souls in purgatory could somehow return to the earth's surface, and it was also believed that some of the departed souls suffered their purging on earth instead of, or as well as, in purgatory (the ghost in *Hamlet* is a late example). It was assumed that these souls of the “saved dead” had knowledge of what was happening among still-embodied mortals, and they were able (with divine permission) to have immediate means of communication with them.

99. **“The Deposition Trial of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, 1549,”** for Donald Logan festschrift, forthcoming.

Under Edward VI, Bishop Bonner was charged with dereliction in religious reform, and in his defense he attempted to invoke the principals of canon law without specifically naming the prohibited papal decretals. He demonstrated the depth of his knowledge of the learned laws, in contrast to his chief adversary among the trial commissioners, Sir Thomas Smith. Another commissioner, Archbishop Cranmer, acted as sole judge in finding him guilty and deposing him as bishop. Bonner appealed the sentence, and a review board (accepting Cranmer's canonical role as sole judge in an inquisition) confirmed the sentence some months later.

100. **Entries for *Chaucer Encyclopedia***, 4 vols, ed. Richard Newhouser (Oxford:Wiley-Blackwells, 2021):

**Aaron, Abbey, Abigail, Abraham, Absalom, Achitofel, Adam, Alms, Ambrose, Anne 1 & 2, Anselm, Antichrist, Antiochus, Apocalypse, Archdeacon, Ave Maria, Balthasar, Baptism, Benefice, Bernard of Clairvaux, Bible and Chaucer, Brother, Bygyne, Bygyn, Canaan, Cananee woman, Canon law, Canons, Caym, Cecilie, cell, Church, Church, comedy, Comestor, Commandments, convent, Creed, Crisostom, Curate, Dalida, Damasie, Damasus, David, Devil, Dunstan, Edward (Confessor), Elise, Elye, Ester, Ezechie, Ezechias, Ezechiel, Frydeswyde, Gabriel, Gregorie, Helie (Eli), Herodes, Hunting-and-Hawking, Isaac, Isaiah, Jacob, James (St.), Jephtha and daughter, Jeremiah, Jesus Christ, Job, Joce (St.), John of Garand, John (St.), John the Baptist, Jonas (Jonah), Joseph (1), (2), Judas Iscariot, Judith, Laban, Lamech, Lamuel (Lemuel), Lazar (Lazarus), Lia (Leah), Liturgical Calendar, Liturgy, Lot, Luc (Luke), Magdelene, Marie (Virgin Mary), Mark, Marriage, Matthew, Micah, mirror, monks, Moyses (Moses), Nabugodonosor, Nembrot (Nimrod, Nemrod), Noe, Oloferne, Olofernus (Holofernes), Paternoster, Paul, Poul, Paulus (Seint), Paulus (1), Penitence, Peter, Pilate, pilgrimage, Primer, Purgatory, Pythoness (Phitonisse), *Questio Quid Juris*, Rachel, Raphael, Rebekka, Rebekke (Rebecca), Samuel, Secreta, Note (St.), Stywes (Stews), Thobie (Tobit, Tobias), Thomas of India, Thomas of Canterbury, Thymothee, Tragedy, Tubal, Valentine, Vincent of Beauvais, Visio Pauli, Zachary**

101. **“Proceedings for and against Bishop Reginald Pecock,”** submitted.

As Bishop of St. Asaph’s, Reginald Pecock aroused enmity in 1447 by his insistence that bishops did not have a primary duty of preaching to their subjects, and he complained to the archbishop’s Court of Audience for protection. Later, as bishop of Chichester, he gained more opponents through his writings, which were aimed at winning over dissidents and educating the faithful through the application of right reason. He again complained to the Court of Audience, which responded with a decree in the name of Archbishop Bourchier, promulgated on October 22, 1457: it threatened punishment of detractors while his works were being examined, but also invited formal complaints against him on November 11. At the inquisition that was held against him, probably on November 21, Pecock was found guilty of a handful of errors (mainly misunderstandings or distortions of his positions); he duly abjured and was restored to full fame and position as bishop. On November 28 he made a further declaration about receding from the errors in his books (there was no Great Council drama that day, as historians have imagined). However, on December 3 he made a radical confession and abjuration before the archbishop of what he now called heresies; he repeated it in public the next day at Paul’s Cross, and also consented to the burning of his books.

After a few months, amidst calls from the Court of Audience for Pecock’s heretical books to be turned in, the bishop sent a transcript of his trial to the pope, petitioning his

support in carrying out Bourchier's sentence of restoration, and also requesting re-absolution from perjury (presumably for falsely confessing to heresy). Calixtus III acquiesced in a bull of June 13, 1458, which had no effect. A campaign of the Lancastrian government against Pecock resulted in a declaration by the new pope, Pius II, on January 8, 1459, that the see of Chichester was vacant, since at the time of his appointment in 1450 Pecock was universally known as a heretic. Then, on April 7, 1459, Pope Pius ordered Pecock to be tried for relapse into heresy for having concealed some of his books. Though no record of the trial exists, we can conclude that he was convicted and degraded from the episcopate and priesthood and other clerical orders, before being sent to prison for life and forbidden to set pen to parchment ever again.

102. **“The Crowland Chronicle, Canon Law, and Richard III's Marriage Impediments,”** submitted

The identity of the Second Continuator of the Crowland Chronicle has long been discussed, and also his qualifications, especially in canon law. This article focuses on identifications by Henry Kelly, Michael Hicks, and Alison Lanham, namely: Richard Lavender, Richard Langport, and Richard Cambridge, respectively, and then looks particularly the arguments of Kelly and Hicks on the Chronicler's canonical expertise or lack of it. Hicks discounts the need that he be a doctor of canon law, like Lavender. Indeed, he insists that the author was far from an expert in the subject, someone like Langport, whose bachelor's degree was rusty. His reason is that the Chronicler overlooked important impediments that could have justified Richard III's annulment of his marriage to Anne Neville (notably that they were related in the first degrees of affinity), opening the way to marry his niece Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV.

A review of the rules of matrimonial impediments, from the perspective especially of Henry VIII's difficulties in marrying Catherine of Aragon and then divorcing her, Anne Boleyn, and Anne of Cleves, and in view of new findings from the Apostolic Penitentiary, suggests that the Chronicler did indeed have a full knowledge of the canon law of marriage, and of what the impediments were (which did not include close affinity), and which of them could likely be dispensed and which could not.

103. **“The Bible in England in the Long Fifteenth Century: From Boom to Bust to Piecemeal Interest,”** submitted

After the first decades of the fourteenth century, there was a slump in academic interest in the Bible in France as well as England. John Wyclif was the most significant figure in sparking renewal of interest in England, but the most important development was the complete translation of the Bible into English, the Middle English Bible, or MEB (I reject the modern designation of “Wycliffite Bible”) centered at Oxford. It was rapidly copied, mainly in the London area, and the copying continued at a brisk pace after the Canterbury Constitutions were enforced in 1409, indicating, I argue, that the MEB was found to be acceptable under the provisions of the constitution *Pericolosa* (recent Bible translations need episcopal approval). But copying stopped by mid-century, and neither the MEB nor the Latin Vulgate was printed in England, in contrast to what was happening on the Continent. Lack of interest in the Bible is apparent elsewhere as well, both academically (between 1440 and 1500 around a thousand clerics earned theology degrees at Oxford, none of whom, it seems, left any writings) and pastorally: notably in the drop-off in sermons on the Sunday Gospels. However, if Caxton did not think it profitable to print the English Bible, he did publish extensive scriptural accounts, generally following the liturgy, at the beginning of his popular *Golden Legend*. But it was the Latin liturgy with its heavy scriptural content that seems to have been the great money-maker for printers (both English and Continental) in England. At the turn of the sixteenth century, there is little to show for Bible studies among scholars except for Colet's Pauline commentaries and a few of his sermons, and Fisher's best-selling sermons

on the penitential psalms. But the arrival of Erasmus on the scene changed things, as he prepared his revisions of the Vulgate New Testament and produced his *editio princeps* of the Greek text in 1516, and solicited assistance from his humanist friends in England for the second edition in 1519. However, no real scholar of the Bible would emerge in England for another century.

#### D. SELECT REVIEWS:

6. Review of **Roger Boase**, *The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: A Critical Study of European Scholarship* (Manchester 1977), *Speculum* 54 (1979) 338-342.
7. Review of *The Expansion and Transformations of Courtly Love*, ed. N. B. Smith and J. T. Snow (Athens, Ga. 1980), *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 3 (1981) 179-183.
8. Review of **J. B. Russell**, *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca 1981), *Journal of Religious History* 12 (1983) 331-333.
10. Review of **Carlo Ginzburg**, *The Night Battles*, Tr. John and Anne Tedeschi (Baltimore 1983). *Cithara*, 24.2 (May 1985) 61-63.
12. Review of **J. A. Burrow**, *The Ages of Man* (New York 1986); **Mary Dove**, *The Perfect Age of Man's Life* (Cambridge 1986); **Elizabeth Sears**, *The Ages of Man* (Princeton 1988), *Speculum* 63 (1988) 630-634.
14. Review of **Neil Forsyth**, *The Old Enemy: Satan and the Combat Myth* (Princeton 1987), *Journal of American Folklore* 102 (1989) 107-110.
15. Review of **Joseph Allen Hornsby**, *Chaucer and the Law* (Norman 1988), *Speculum* 65 (1990) 429-432.
19. Review of **Martin Camargo**, *The Middle English Verse Love Epistle* (1991), *Speculum* 68 (1993) 482-485.
20. Review of **Barbara Hanawalt**, *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context* (1992), *Envoi* 4 (1993) 51-62 (publication delayed).
21. Review of **C. W. Marx**, *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (1995), in *Speculum* 72 (1997) 859-61.
23. Review of **Neil Cartlidge**, *Medieval Marriage: Literary Approaches, 1100-1300* (1997), in *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 98 (1999) 440-43.
24. Review of **J. M. M. H. Thijssen**, *Censure and Heresy at the University of Paris, 1200-1400* (1998), in *Speculum* 75 (2000) 729-31, repr. in *Inquisitions and Other Trial Procedures in the Medieval West*.
31. Review of *Malleus maleficarum*, ed. and tr. **Christopher S. Mackay**, 2 vols. (2006), *Review of English Studies* 59 (2008) 457-59.

32. Review of **Alain Boureau**, *Satan the Heretic: The Birth of Demonology in the Medieval West* (2006), in *History of Religions* 49 (2009) 88-92.
34. Review of *To Have and to Hold: Marrying and Its Documentation in Western Christendom, 400-1600*, ed. **Philip L. Reynolds and John Witte, Jr.** (2007), *English Historical Review* 124 (2009) 1150-51.
35. Review of **Andrew Cole**, *Literature and Heresy in the Age of Chaucer* (2008), *Speculum* 85 (2010) 123-24.
37. Review of **Andrew Larsen**, *The School of Heretics: Academic Condemnation at the University of Oxford, 1277-1409* (2011), *Renaissance Quarterly* 65 (2012) 955-56.
38. Review of **Mary Dove**, *The Earliest Advocates of the English Bible: The Texts of the Medieval Debate* (2010), *Speculum* 88 (2013) 281-82.
39. Review of **Ralph Hanna and Sarah Wood**, eds., *Richard Morris's Prick of Conscience: A Corrected and Amplified Reading Text* (2013), *The Medieval Review*, 23 January 2015.
42. Review of **Derek R. Brown**, *The God of This Age: Satan in the Churches and Letters of the Apostle Paul* (2016), *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 79 (2017) 332-33.
43. Review of **Stevan Davies**, *Spirit Possession and the Origins of Christianity* (2014), *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 79 (2017) 336-37.