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General correspondence regarding *OEN* should be addressed to the Editor. Correspondence regarding *Year's Work in Old English Studies* and the Annual Bibliography should be sent to Professors Trahern and Berkhout respectively.

Scholars can assist the work of *OEN* by sending two offprints of articles to the Editor and two notices of books or monographs to him.

The *Old English Newsletter* is a refereed periodical. Solicited and unsolicited manuscripts (except for independent reports and news items) are reviewed by specialists in anonymous reports.

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NEWS

I

Old English Division Program for 1993 MLA in Toronto

Mary Blockley has organized the following sessions for the Old English Division at the 1993 MLA conference in Toronto, December 27-30. Dates and times will be announced in August.

I. *Beowulf*
    Presiding: Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico)
    Josephine Bloomfield (Univ. of California-Davis)
        "Reflections of Cultural Ideology in Textual Editing: Frederick Klaeber and Kinship"
    Peter Richardson (Univ. of North Texas)
        "Point of View and Identification in *Beowulf*"
    B.R. Hutcheson (Wesleyan Coll., Macon, Georgia)
        "The Significance of Oral-Traditional Elements of Old English Poetry: Toward an Interpretation of *Beowulf*"
    Robert E. Bjork
        "Seventeen Ways of Looking at Epic: Toward a *Beowulf* Handbook"
II. *The Language of Old English Literature*
    Presiding: Mary Blockley (Univ. of Texas-Austin)
    Hal Momma (New York Univ.)
        "Grammar as Performance for Competent Anglo-Saxon Poets"
    Edwin W. Duncan (Lamar Univ.)
        "Word Boundaries, Social Practices, and Old English Prosaic Techniques"
    Tracy A. Crouch (Stephen F. Austin St. Univ.)
        "Arguments for the Clitic Status of the Old English *ge-*"
    R.D. Fulk (Indiana Univ., Bloomington)
        "Language, Form, and Rhetoric in Old English Verse: Toward a Synthesis"
III. *Unexpressed but Understood Elements of Old English Texts*
    Presiding: Patrick Conner (West Virginia Univ.)
    Shari Horner (Univ. of Minnesota-Twin Cities)
        "En/Closed Subjects: 'The Wife's Lament' and the Culture of Early Medieval Female Monasticism"
    David F. Johnson (Cornell Univ.)
        "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters: Christian Mythology and Political Mythmaking"
    Thomas A. Bredehoft (Ohio St. Univ.)
        "The Development of Textuality and the Genealogies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*"
    Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut-Storrs)
        "Deor's Threatened Blame Poem"

The 1994 MLA meeting will take place in San Diego.

II

International Symposium:
"Frisian Runes and Neighbouring Traditions"
Leeuwarden, 26-28/29 January 1994

The central concern of this symposium will be the issue of the Frisian runic inscriptions: on the one hand their positioning in the West and North Germanic runic traditions and on the other the establishing of their specifically "Frisian" nature--hence the theme "Isolation or Cross-Roads." The symposium is intended to continue the dialogue that was initiated in Eichstätt in 1989 with the symposium "English Runes and their Continental Background." Thus Alfred Bammesberger (Catholic Univ. of Eichstätt) and H.A. Heidinga (Univ. of Amsterdam) have been invited as keynote speakers to introduce the issues of the linguistic aspects of runology and the archaeological and historical aspects of the North Sea Germanic culture of 400-600 AD.

Papers of particular interest to scholars of Anglo-Saxon include the following: Alfred Bammesberger, "Frisian and Anglo-Saxon Runes: The Linguistic Angle"; Christine Fell (Univ. of Nottingham), "Enigmatic Runic Inscriptions and the Riddle-Culture in Anglo-Saxon England"; Catherine Hills (Cambridge Univ.), "Frisia and England (400-800 AD) from the Archaeological Point of View"; David Parsons (Cambridge Univ.), "Anglo-Saxon Literature and Frisia"; Patrick Stiles (London Univ.), "The Positioning of Frisian Inscriptions with Regard to the English Inscriptions: The Linguistic Approach."

Some twenty speakers have been invited to present papers, which will be given in both English and German. The symposium is otherwise open to anyone who may be interested, the estimated number of participants being 40 to 50. Abstracts of papers to be presented will be distributed beforehand to all participants. J.M. Bos and J.H. and T. Looijenga (Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut, Univ. of Groningen) have arranged the technical organization of the symposium, while R.H. Bremmer, Jr. (Univ. of Leiden) and the Looijengas have arranged its scholarly organization.

There will be an excursion on Saturday, 29 January, that includes visits to a number of terps in Friesland and Groningen, e.g., Britsum, Hoogebeintum, Janum, Dokkum, Ezinge, Oostum, Rasquert and Westeremden. Prof. Dr. H.T. Waterbolk will be the guide.

The fee is Dfl. 50.00 without the excursion; Dfl. 75.00 including the excursion.
For general and registration information contact:

Tineke Looijenga
Biologisch-Archaeologisch Instituut
Poststraat 6
NL-9712 ER Groningen
The Netherlands

Phone: 31-50-635269/182550
Telefax: 31-50-637362

III

Hagiography Society Newsletter

The following summarizes the March 1993 (Volume III, no. 2) issue of the *Hagiography Society Newsletter*:

The annual directory of researchers in hagiography is now available for US $5.00, Cdn. $6.00, and £4.50 sterling from Sherry Reames, English Dept., Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, WI 53706. This year's directory is both larger and more international than previous editions-- over 300 scholars.

The Society sponsored three sessions again this year at the International Medieval Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, MI: Session 133, "Second Lives of Saints: Cults Revived and Redefined in Later Periods"; Session 171, "Popular Religion in Miracles and Miracle Collections"; Session 225, "The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography." Session 133 included a paper relevant to Old English Studies: Virginia Blanton-Whetsell (SUNY-Binghamton), "The Cult(s) of Æthelthryth: Visual Imagery as Source."

The Society will be sponsoring several sessions at the International Medieval Congress to be held at the Univ. of Leeds from 4-7 July 1994. In addition to regular paper sessions, the Society will host an international round table on recent developments in hagiographical studies. For information contact George Ferzoco at 6185 Hudson, #15, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3S 2G9; e-mail: ferzocog@ere. montreal.ca; FAX: 514-343-2347.

The Centre for Medieval Studies at the Univ. of York is sponsoring a conference on Post-Conquest Hagiography and Saints' Cults, to be held 15-13 July 1993. The cost will be around £50.00 including registration. For information, write the Centre attn. Felicity Riddy: King's Manor, York YO1 2EP, England.

IV

Society for Germanic Philology Newsletter

The following information appears in Volume 5 (Spring 1993) of the Society for Germanic Philology *Newsletter*, published at California State Univ. at Sacramento:

Annual membership dues for SGP include subscriptions to the *American Journal of Germanic Languages and Literatures* as well as the SGP *Newsletter*. Dues per calendar year are $25.00 for regular members, $15.00 for student members. To request an application for membership to the Society, contact Edward G. Fichtner, P.O. Box 020225, Brooklyn, NY 11202-0005. Libraries and other institutions may subscribe to the journal without membership in the Society.

The *Journal* invites contributions in the form of original articles on all aspects of the Germanic languages (including English and Scandanavian) from the earliest phases to the present. All inquiries regarding the *Journal* should be directed to the editor: Richard K. Seymour, Univ. of Hawaii, 2528 The Mall, Webster 202, Honolulu, HI 96822. The SPG *Newsletter* welcomes items of interest to Germanic linguists and philologists. Send items dealing with recent publications, study and fellowship opportunities, honors and awards, and other notices of interest to Gerald F. Carr, Dept. of Foreign Languages, California State Univ., 6000 J St., Sacramento, CA 95819.

V

Conferences--Past and Future

Sponsored by the Pierpont Morgan Library, the Univ. of South Carolina, New York Univ., Fordham Univ., and the CUNY Graduate School and Univ. Center, the Seventh International Interdisciplinary Conference of the Society for Textual Scholarship took place **15-17 April 1993** at the CUNY Graduate Center and Pierpont Morgan Library. During a session titled "Editing Oral Tradition I" (Chair: John Miles Foley, Univ. of Missouri), A.N. Doane (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison) gave a paper titled "Performance as a Determinative Category in the Editing of Old English Texts."

The year 1993 is the 900th anniversary of work beginning on the construction of the Norman cathedral at Durham. To contribute to the celebrations of this occasion, the Univ. of Durham has organized an international conference from **13-17 September 1993** to focus attention on the historical, artistic, and architectural riches of Durham in the century or so after the Norman Conquest. For information write David Rollason, Dept. of History, 43 North Bailey, Durham DH1 3EX, UK. FAX: 091-374-4754.

The Southeastern Medieval Association is joining with the Medieval Academy of America as a cooperating organization for the annual meeting of the Academy in 1994. This meeting does not take the place of the annual meetings of SEMA in 1993 and 1994. The 1993 meeting will be in New Orleans from **23-25 September 1993**. For information concerning the New Orleans meeting, contact Julian Wasserman, Dept. of English, Loyola Univ. at New Orleans, New Orleans, LA 70118.

The **1994** annual meeting of the Medieval Academy will be held in Knoxville from **14-16 April.** The Univ. of Tennessee is the host institution, and the meeting is being planned with the cooperation of the Sewanee Mediaeval Colloquium and the Southeastern Medieval Association. Questions about sessions should be addressed to the Chair of the Program Committee, Paul Barrette, Dept. of Romance Languages, 606A McClung Tower, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996, or to the Executive Director, Luke Wenger, Medieval Academy, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02138.

Manuscripta announces the Twentieth Saint Louis Conference on Manuscript Studies to be held on **8-9 October 1993** at Saint Louis Univ. Presentation time for papers must not exceed twenty minutes, to allow discussion time. Abstracts of proposed papers, up to 200 words in length, must reach the Conference Committee by 15 July 1993. Final versions of proposed papers (not exceeding nine double-spaced typewritten pages) must reach the Committee by 16 August 1993 to allow preparation of the formal Conference program early mailing. For information write to the Conference Committee, *Manuscripta*, Pius XII Memorial Library, Saint Louis Univ., 3650 Lindell Blvd., Saint Louis, MO 63108.

The twenty-fourth annual Interdisciplinary Conference of the Committee for the Advancement of Early Studies will be held at Ball State Univ. on **15-16 October 1993**. Many areas of Classical, Early, Medieval and Renaissance Studies will be included in the papers given, and in conjunction with the editors of *Classical and Modern Literature: A Quarterly* the Committee will present a $1,000 Incentive Award for outstanding scholarly work in the combined fields of Classical and Modern Literature or Culture. There will be small monetary prizes awarded to papers given in competition by emerging scholars who do not have their doctorate or who have received it in the past seven years. In addition, there will also be a competition for superior undergraduate students, who will also receive small monetary prizes for the best research presented. For information write Bruce W. Hozeski, Convener, CAES Conference of 1993, Dept. of English, Ball St. Univ., Muncie, IN 47306-4060. Tel: 317-285-8456 or 317-285-8580; FAX: 317-285-3765.

The eleventh annual meeting of the Illinois Medieval Association will be held at Loyola Univ. of Chicago's Lake Shore Campus from **18-19 February 1994**. The theme of the conference is "Figures of Speech: The Body in Medieval Art, History, and Literature." Featured speakers include David Aers (Univ. of East Anglia), Kathleen Biddick (Univ. of Notre Dame), and James A. Marrow (Princeton Univ.). One-page abstracts are due 1 October 1993. Abstracts and requests for registration materials should be sent to Allen J. Frantzen, Dept. of English, Loyola Univ. of Chicago, 6525 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago, IL 60626. Tel: 312-508-2240. E-mail: YLA0AJF@LUCCPUA.

The Southern African Society of Medieval and Renaissance Studies and UNISA Medieval Association announce their combined conference theme for 1994: "Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone': Change and Medieval and Renaissance Studies." One morning/afternoon session will be devoted to a discussion called "Accountability: the Continuing Value, Purpose, and Character of Medieval Studies." The conference will take place from **7-9 April 1994** at the Univ. of Pretoria. Submit titles, topics, and/or papers to The Secretary UNISA Medieval Association: Gary Frank, Church History UNISA, P.O. Box 392, 0001 Pretoria. E-mail: Glynn.Meter@f20.n7101.zfidonet.org. OR The Secretary SASMARS, Mrs. Idette Noomé, Dept. of English, Univ. of Pretoria, 0002 Pretoria. E-mail: harris@libarts.up.ac.za.

IV

Brief Notices on Publications

AMS Press announces Number 27 of the Univ. of Toronto *Conference on Editorial Problems*: *The Politics of Editing Medieval Texts* (from the November 1991 Conference), edited by Roberta Frank. The Contents include the following: Nancy F. Partner, "Notes on the Margins: Editors, Editing, and Sliding Definitions"; Ross G. Arthur, "On Editing Sexually Offensive Old Frence Texts"; Russell G. Poole, "Variants and Variability in the Text of Egill's *Hofuðlausn*"; David Townsend, "Alcuin's Willibrord, Wilhelm Levison, and the MGH"; Michael Lapidge, "The Edition, Ememdation, and Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Texts"; Allen J. Frantzen, "The Living and the Dead: Responses to the Papers." Price (per vol.): $29.50. ISBN 0-404-63650-0; ISSN 0891-1908.

Also avaliable from AMS Press is *Aspectus et Affectus: Essays and Editions in Grosseteste and Medieval Intellectual Life in Honor of Richard C. Dales* (1993), edited by Gunar Freiburgs. The book includes an Introduction by Sir Richard W. Southern and essays by Servus Gieben, O.F.M., James McEvoy, Elwood E. Mather III, Glenn M. Edwards, R. James Long, James K. Otte, and Leland E. Wilshire. Pp. 137, with index. Price: $36.00. ISBN 0-04-6413-6. To order, contact AMS Press, Inc., 56 East 13th St., New York, NY 10003. Tel. 212-777-4700; FAX: 212-995-5413.

The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image, and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury (1992), edited by Margaret Gibson, T.A. Helsop and Richard W. Pfaff, is Volume 14 in the series Publications of the Modern Humanities Research Association and is now available from The Pennsylvania State Univ. Press. The book is divided into the following chapters: "Codicology and Paleography," Nicholas Pickwoad and Teresa Webber; "Decoration and Illustration," George Henderson and T.A. Heslop; "The Calendar" (Chapter 3) and "The *Tituli*" (Chapter 4) Richard W. Pfaff; "The Latin Apparatus," Margaret Gibson, "The English Version," Patrick O'Neill; "The Anglo-Norman Version," Dominique Markey; "The Comet in the Eadwine Psalter," Simon Keynes; "The Prognostications of the Eadwine Psalter," Charles Burnett; "The Waterworks Drawings of the Eadwine Psalter," Francis Woodman; "Eadwine and his Portrait," T.A. Heslop; "Paris, BN, MS lat. 8846 and the Eadwine Psalter," Patricia Stirnemann; "The History of the Eadwine Psalter," David McKitterick. Included are numerous plates (some illustrated), bibliography, and separate indexes of manuscripts, psalms, and feasts in addition to the general index. Pp. xvii + 227. Price: $99.50. UK ISBN 0-947623-46-9; USA ISBN 0-271-00837-7. To order, write Penn State Press, Suite C, Barbara Building, 820 North University Dr., The Pennsylvania St. Univ., University Park, PA 16802.

To order either, or to request a full list of publications, write Anglo-Saxon Books: 25 Malpas Drive, Pinner, Middlesex, England HA5 1DQ. Tel. 081-868-1564.

The Mediæval Chronicle, a newsletter devoted to medieval romances, is published bi-monthly by Linda Abel. The price for a subscription to this newsletter, whose aim is "to entertain as well as inform," is $10.00 per year (for 6 issues), and $14.00 outside the U.S. For information, write P.O. Box 1663, Carlsbad, CA 92018-1663.

The Odense Univ. Press announces the publication of the latest NOWELE (North-Western European Language Evolution) Supplement Volume 9, titled *Prepositions in Old and Middle English: A Study of Prepositional Syntax and the Semantics of* At, In *and* On *in Some Old and Middle English Texts* (1993), by Tom Lundskær-Nielson. The book examines word order and explores the possible connection between the position of prepositions and changes in clausal word order. Pp. x + 203, with bibliography. Price: Dkr. 200 (in Denmark plus VAT 25%). ISBN 87-7492-922-4. To order, write or call: Odense Univ. Press, Campusvej 55, DK-5230 Odense M. Tel. +45 66157999. FAX: +45 66158126.

The following are avaliable from Oxbow Books:

Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History (1992), Volume 5, published by the Oxford Committee for Archaeology is edited by William Filmer-Sankey (General Editor) as well as Sonia Chadwick Hawkes, James Campell and David Brown. The book includes the following essays: Joachim Werner, Hon. FSA, "A Review of The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial Volume 3"; Hilda Ellis Davidson, "Royal Graves as Religious Symbols;" R.H. White, "The Badley (Needham Market Bowl;" Jeremy Haslam, "*Dommoc* and Dunwich: A Reappraisal"; Della Hooke, "Early Units of Government in Herefordshire and Shropshire"; Michael Costen, "Huish and Worth: Old English Survivals in a later Landscape"; Richard Gameson, "Ælfric and the Perception of Script and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England"; Audrey L. Meaney, "Anglo-Saxon Idolators and Ecclesiasts from Theodore to Alcuin"; Eric John, "The Point of Woden." In his Foreword William Filmer-Sankey calls for "more short or interim reports on particularly interesting sites or objects, together with papers on aspects of Anglo-Saxon landscape studies." Send papers or comments to the General Editor at 71 Southfield Road, Oxford OX4 1NY. Pp. 134. Price: $42.00 (Subscribers $29.50) ISBN 0-947816-97-6; ISSN 0264-5254.

Volume 110 of Archaeologia, *Early Anglo-Saxon Shields* (Society of Antiquaries of London), by Tania Dickinson and Heinrich Härke, examines the technology of shields and their function in burial rites. Graphs, illustrations, and plates are included throughout, as well as six appendices, bibliography, source list, and general index. Pp. 94. Price: $42.50. ISBN 0-85431-260-9.

The Early Church in Wales and the West: Recent Work in Early Christian Archaeology, History and Place Names (1992), edited by Nancy Edwards and Alan Lane, is Oxbow Monograph 16 and contains fifteen essays, some containing illustrations, photographs, maps, and various graphs, as well as a general bibliography and index. The book developed out of a conference held at the Univ. of Wales College of Cardiff in April 1989 and brings together the results of recent archaeological work on the early Welsh church. Pp. 168. Price: $35.00 ISBN 0-946897-37-9.

Farm Abandonment in Medieval and Post-Medieval Iceland: an Interdisciplinary Study (1992), edited by Guðrùn Sveinbjarnardóttir, is Oxbow Monograph 17 and contains many photographs, maps, tables, figures, and plates, as well as a glossary and general bibliography. This study deals with the nature and distribution of habitation in Iceland since its earliest settlement in the ninth century, and the extent and causes of early farm abandonment. Three areas in different parts of the country are documented in terms of archaeology and existing literature. Pp. 192. Price: $42.00. ISBN 0-946897-28 X.

To order Oxbow Books in England, contact Park End Place, Oxford OX1 1HN. Tel. 0-865-241249; FAX: 0-865-794449. In America: The David Brown Book Company, P.O. Box 5605, Bloomington, IN 47407. Tel. 812-331-0266; FAX: 812-331-0277.

The third H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture

"Anglo-Saxon Ireland: The Evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght"

by Padraig O'Riain

is now available from the department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at Cambridge Univ. The cost is $4.00 US (including postage). To order, contact the department at 9 West Rd., Cambridge, CB3 9DP, England.

Anglo-Saxon Books offers its two latest publications:

1. *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food Processing and Consumption* (1992), by Ann Hagen. This book brings together information from various sources both literary and archaeological in order to present a picture about how food was grown, conserved, prepared and eaten during the period from the beginning of the fifth century to the eleventh century. Recipes and a bibliography are included. In addition to Anglo-Saxon England the Celtic west of Britain is also covered. Pp. vii + 171. Price: UK £7.95 net. ISBN 0-9516209-8-3.

2. *Spellcraft: Old English Heroic Legends* (1993), by Kathleen Herbert. The book is divided into two parts and begins with the original stories brought to England from the Continent; a selection of source material and information about how to locate it comprises the second part. Pp. 283, with illustrations. Price: UK £6.95 net. ISBN 0-9516209-9-1.

VII

Late to *OEN*:

A Palaeographer's View: Selected Writings of Julian Brown

edited by Janet Bately, Michelle Brown, and Jane Roberts

This book contains published and unpublished papers by Julian Brown which present a study of script, parchment, and illumination, as well as wider contexts of early medieval history and art. The papers discuss how Julian Brown's work influences recent palaeography and the study of Insular and Early English manuscripts.

The Editors have arranged the papers in a thematic sequence with brief introductions to each section. The content has been left unchanged, and bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

The papers in this volume include the following: Latin Palaeography Since Traube; Names of Scripts--A Plea to all Medievalists; Aspects of Palaeography; Northumbria and the Book of Kells; The Distribution and Significance of Membrane Prepared in the Insular Manner; An Historical Introduction to the Use of Classical Latin Authors in the British Isles from the 5th to the 11th Century; Tradition, Imitation and Invention in Insular Handwriting of the 7th and 8th Centuries; The Oldest Irish Manuscripts and their Late Antique Background; The Irish Element in the Insular System of Scripts to c. AD 850; The St. Ninian's Isle Silver Hoard; The Inscriptions; The Detection of Faked Literary Manuscripts.

Pp. 376, with general index, index of manuscripts, CLA concordance, 85 illustrations, 60 text figures. Price: £48. ISBN: 0905203208. To order, contact Harvey Miller Publishers, 20 Marryat Road, Wimbledon, London SW19 5BD. Phone: +44-081-946-4426; FAX: +44-081-944-6082.

Sources at Kalamazoo

The continuing Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture will offer its twelfth program in connection with the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan Univ., May 5-8, 1994. Jointly sponsored by the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan and the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at the State Univ. of New York at Binghamton, the interdisciplinary program will once again focus on verbal, visual, and material sources in and for the study of Anglo-Saxon England. The theory and practice of study in sources has remained an integral part of session planning since the First Symposium in 1983. As in the past, the Symposium fosters international perspectives and supports directly and indirectly several major projects, which include Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture, *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* (see the report below and Appendix B of this issue), Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile.

These sessions are planned:

I and II	Literary Sources, **TWO SESSIONS**. Organizer: Thomas D. Hill; Dept. of English; Rockefeller Hall; Cornell Univ.; Ithaca, NY, 14853.
III	Women in Anglo-Saxon England, **ONE OPEN SESSION**. Organizer: Helen Damico; Dept. of English Language and Literature; Humanities Building 217; Univ. of New Mexico; Albuquerque, NM 87131.
IV	Iberian Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Source Studies. Organizer: Maria Jose Mora; Avda. Republica Argentina 7; Apt. 5D; 41011 Seville, Spain. E-Mail: SENA@CICA.ES.
V	Studies from SASLC: The "A-Minors." Organizer: Paul E. Szarmach; CEMERS, SUNY-Binghamton; P.O. Box 6000; Binghamton, NY 13902-6000.
VI	Codex and Contexts: Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and History. Organizer: Martin Irvine; Dept. of English; Georgetown Univ.; Washington, DC 20057.
VII	Objects of Discourse: Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology in its International Context. Organizer, John Ruffing; Dept. of English; Goldwin Smith Hall; Cornell Univ.; Ithaca, NY 14853.
VIII	Imaging Manuscripts from the 21st Century: Photographs and Beyond. Organizer, Thomas Ohlgren; 136 Sumac Drive; West Lafayette, IN 47906.

Fontes Anglo-Saxonici

A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England

Eighth Progress Report

Joyce Hill

Univ. of Leeds

[Editor's note: see Appendix B of this issue for a full description of Fontes Anglo-Saxonici.*]*

When the Seventh Progress Report was issued in March, 1992, Joan Hart had been working for *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* as a full-time Research Assistant for just over three months. At that stage we were already able to report that her work on the Old English Bede and Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* was producing striking results, and we looked forward to further qualitative progress. The British Academy grant which financed the Research Assistantship was sufficient for Joan to be employed for eleven months in all (to 13 November 1992). By that time our expectations had been fully met. The work done on the Old English Bede, which amounts to 351 entries, is reported in the bibliography of *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992). Her work on the *Pastoral Care* has likewise resulted in more than 300 entries and she has also undertaken detailed source studies of Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* and the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*, all of which will be listed in forthcoming bibliographies of *Anglo-Saxon England*. Thus by laying out for the first time in detail complete and textually up-to-date continuous comparisons between large vernacular works and their sources, when those sources were in general already well known, the project has begun to build up a valuable new resource for basic research in various fields such as word, syntactic, conceptual, and translational studies.

We were also able to note last year that the sourcing of Anglo-Latin texts had begun. The result so far is the complete set of entries for Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica* I-IV by Andrew Orchard, listed in the bibliography of *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992). Orchard is now collaborating with Neil Wright in extending this treatment to all other extant early Anglo-Latin poetry whose authorship is known. When this record is complete it will constitute a radical revision of published identifications over this entire field, especially valuable because this poetry is highly inter-referential.

We should also like to record our thanks to our other contributors. The bibliography in *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 lists over 150 entries from four of them (in addition to those from Joan Hart and Andrew Orchard). The texts analyzed are anonymous and Ælfrician homilies, *On Alleluia*, Creeds, Bidding Prayers and other prayers.

The Executive Committee met at Pembroke College Oxford in November 1992, when Professor Szarmach reported on the continuing progress of *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (*SASLC*). The Committee was also pleased to learn from Professor Lapidge that the additional funding for the bibliography of Anglo-Latin texts (noted in the Seventh Progress Report) made it possible for Dr. Corrêa to continue working as a full-time Research Assistant until December 1993. The present plan is that the first publication will be a bibliographical guide to Anglo-Latin liturgical sources, to be followed by bibliographies of Anglo-Latin poetry and letters.

We are grateful to King's College London for hosting the annual one-day open meeting on 24 March 1992, and for offering to host the 1993 meeting to be held on March 23. We are also grateful for having had the opportunity to discuss progress at Kalamazoo in May 1992 and liasing with the team working on *SASLC*.

It is to be regretted that the British Academy was unable to provide us with any financial support for 1992-93. We have, however, managed to employ Wendy Collier for sufficient hours per week to maintain her invaluable editorial processing of incoming contributions. The applications which we well be submitting this year on both sides of the Atlantic will be for three purposes: to continue her duties, to engage further research assistance on the vernacular side to undertake more sourcing of the sort Joan Hart has accomplished, and to engage research help on the Anglo-Latin side too in order to open up sourcing of prose complementary to Orchard's and Wright's treatment of the poetry. But, above all, it needs to be emphasized that constant additions of fresh entries by various scholars worldwide remains the backbone of the project. Their cumulative work froms, and will continue to form, the essential component of the database. Anyone who is interested in contributing either on Old English or Anglo-Latin texts and who has not yet contacted Donald Scragg or Michael Lapidge is warmly invited to write them at the Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, Univ. of Manchester, Manchester England M13 9PL, or the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, Univ. of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge, England CB3 9DP, respectively.

Peter Clemoes	Director
Joyce Hill	General Secretary
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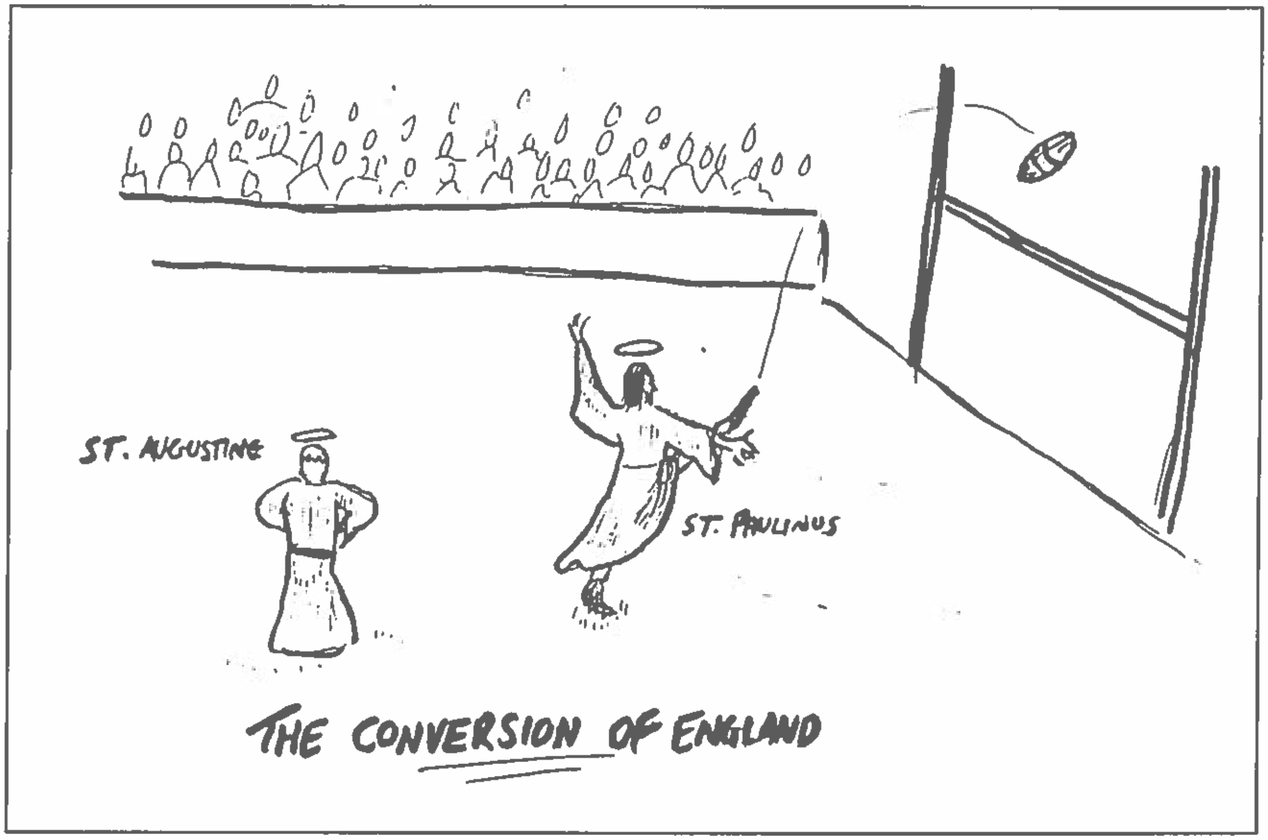
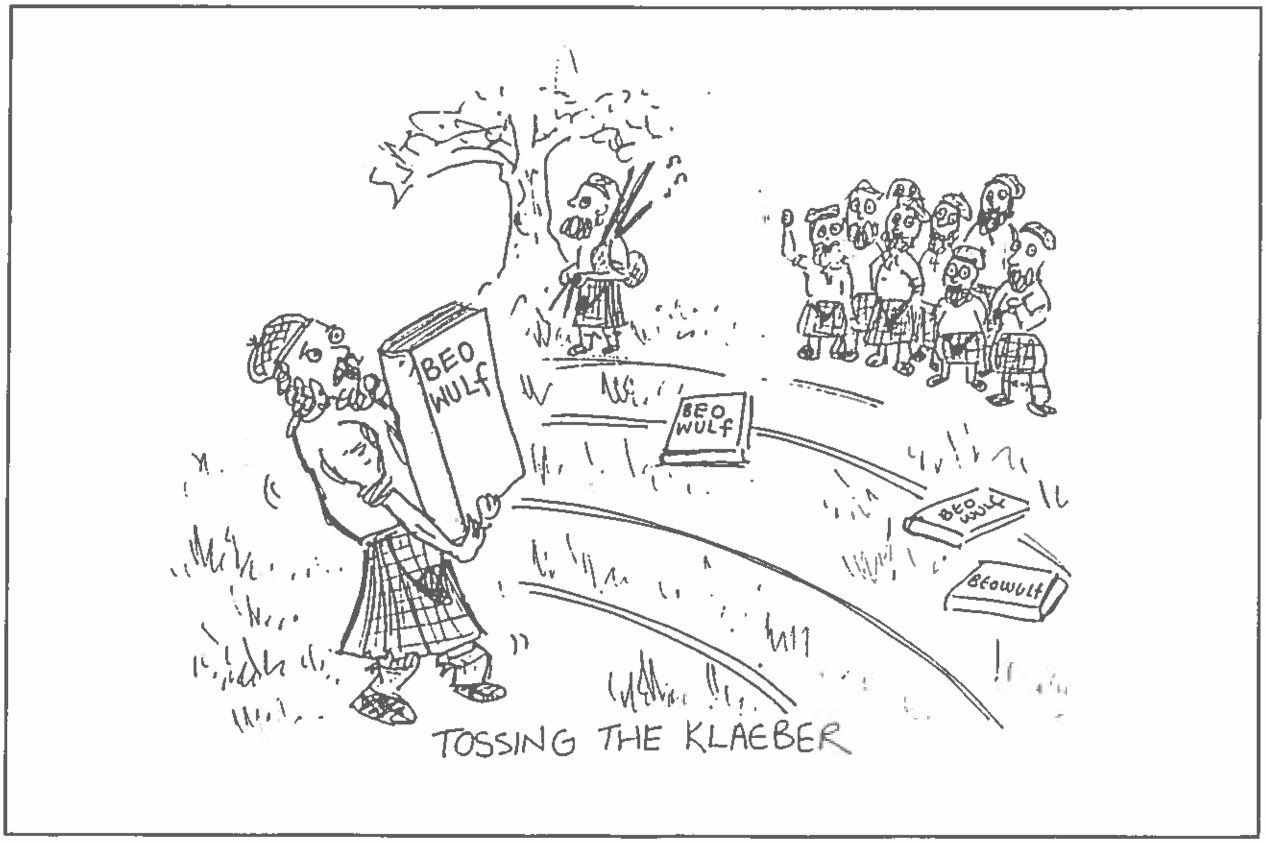

ST. AUGUSTINE
ST. PAULINUS
THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND


BEO WULF
BEO WULF
BEO WULF
BEOWULF
TOSSING THE KLAEBER

From the pages of ***Gesta Asnacorum (1992)****, a publication of the Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Univ. of Cambridge*

Professor Kenneth Cameron, C.B.E., F.B.A. Retires: A Tribute

Barrie Cox

The Univ. of Nottingham

In July of 1993 Professor Kenneth Cameron will retire as Honorary Director of the English Place-Name Survey after a quarter of a century's dedication to this demanding and important role. His contribution to medieval scholarship has been and continues to be impressive.

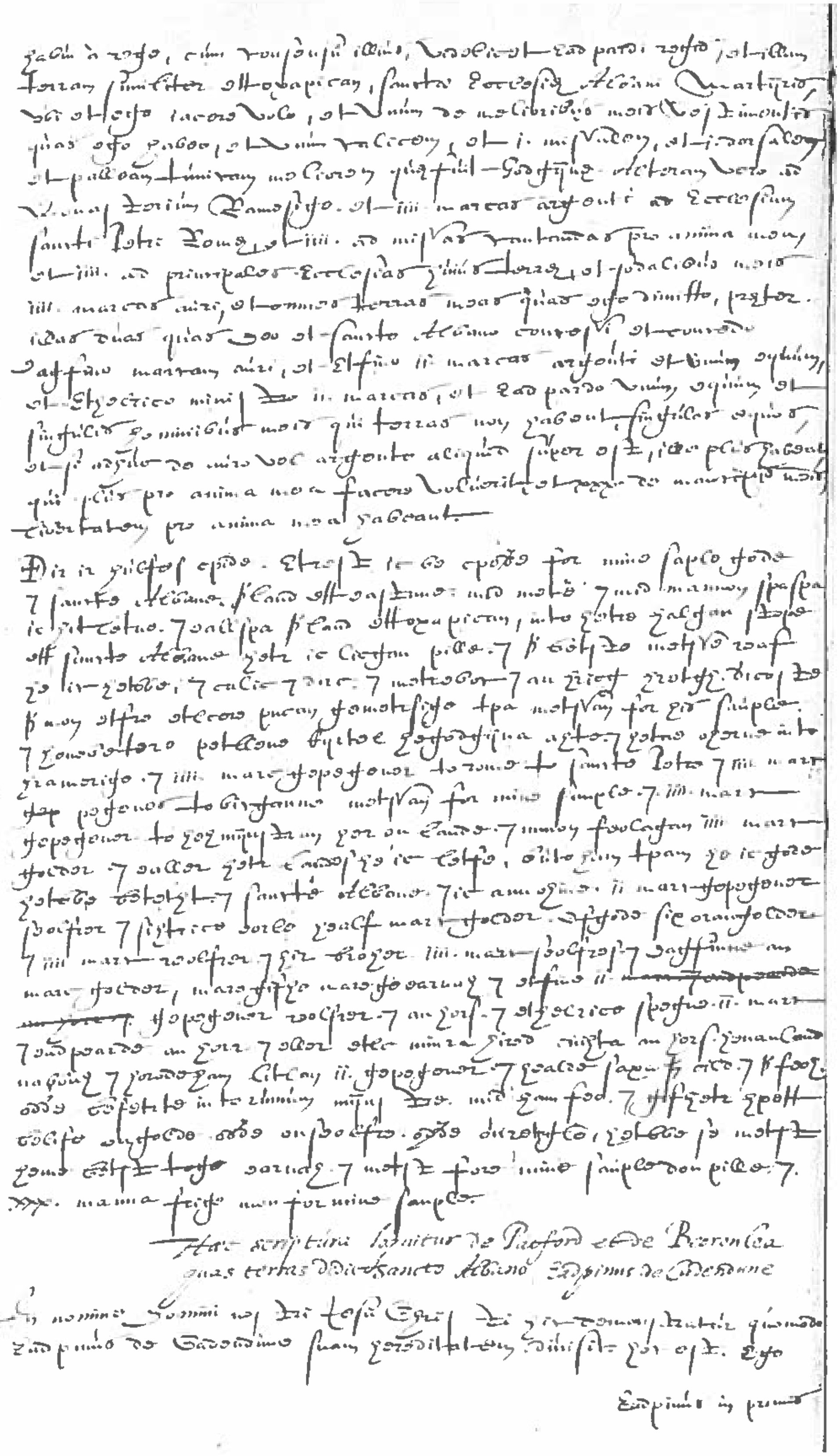
Since overseeing as General Editor of the English Place-Name Survey the publication in 1970 of the first volume of *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, he has been responsible for guiding the publication of no fewer than twenty-three county volumes, for Cheshire, Berkshire, Dorset, Cornwall, Staffordshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Shropshire, as well as two more for Rutland, currently at press. It was under his aegis, also, that the English Place-Name Society established its annual *Journal* in 1969, which continues to be a focus for the publication of much that is new and challenging in place-name studies.

For the English Place-Name Survey, Kenneth Cameron has himself researched and written *The Place-Names of Derbyshire* (3 vols., 1959), and to date three volumes of *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire* (1985, 1991, and 1992). These first three volumes of the latter county survey already offer materials for an important region of the earliest English settlement, as well as that of the Scandinavians at a later period.

Perhaps his best-known work has been in the field of place-name evidence for Scandinavian settlement in England, with three major studies produced between 1965 and 1971. The issues raised by Cameron's seminal "theory of secondary migration" still reverberate and continue to stimulate studies concerning the nature and density of Scandinavian settlement in the Danelaw. Less well-known but equally significant have been his contributions to the problem of British survival in Anglo-Saxon England.

Kenneth Cameron's achievements in place-name scholarship were given recognition by his election as Fellow of the British Academy in 1977, and in 1986 he was honored as a Commander of the British Empire for his services to English place-name studies.

Students of Anglo-Saxon England will look forward to his ensuing volumes of the survey of Lincolnshire place-names and wish him continuing robust good health to complete what for less experienced and committed hands would be an awesome task indeed.



By permission: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7965-73 (3723), 164v.

The Will of Wulf

Simon Keynes

Trinity College, Cambridge

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7965-73 (3723), comprises a collection of transcripts of historical texts relating to a number of English Benedictine abbeys, assembled by a Bollandist scholar in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The most interesting of the items in this collection is a transcript of what would appear to have been a twelfth-century cartulary of St. Albans abbey; the cartulary was formerly " MS 73" in the library of the Bollandists at Antwerp, but unfortunately it did not survive the dispersal of the library in the late eighteenth century. The pre-Conquest charters of St. Albans have long been familiar in the form in which they occur in Matthew Paris' *Liber Additamentorum* (BL Cotton Nero D. i), compiled towards the middle of the thirteenth century; but Matthew appears to have omitted any passages in the vernacular (including boundary-clauses) from his texts of the royal diplomas, and gave only Latin abstracts of six "private" documents.[1] The Brussels transcript of the lost cartulary contains the texts of all of the royal diplomas, complete with their vernacular boundary-clauses, as well as the original vernacular texts behind the Latin abstracts of the six "private" documents. A preliminary account of the lost cartulary will appear in *Anglo-Saxon England* 22 (1993), with a text and translation of the will of Eadwine of Caddington (S 1517).[2]

The Latin abstract of the will of Wulf (S 1532) was printed by John Mitchell Kemble in 1846, from Matthew Paris' *Liber Additamentorum*.[3] The document does not appear to have attracted much attention in this form, beyond Margaret Gelling's entirely reasonable suggestion that it was "possibly translated from OE."[4] Wulf himself is mentioned in the fourteenth-century St. Albans *Liber Benefactorum* as "quidam Danus præpotens, minister Sancti Edwardi regis," who gave land at Aston and Oxwick, in Hertfordshire, to the abbey;[5] though one might have guessed from the nature of his other bequests that Wulf was not in fact a king's thegn, but rather a man of some standing in the Church. Whatever the case, the original vernacular text of the will which can now be recovered from the Brussels transcript of the lost cartulary of St. Albans helps to re-establish Wulf's credentials as a most intriguing figure in the landscape of Hertfordshire towards the middle of the eleventh century.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(a) *Latin abstract*

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7965-73 (3723), 164rv
London, British Library, Cotton Nero D. i, 151v

Hæc carta loquitur de terris quas Thulf dedit Sancto Albano. Eastun et Oxawica.

In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Ego Wulf inprimis concedo pro anima mea Deo et Sancto Albano, terram quæ vocatur Eastun, cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus; sicuti eam habui a rege, cum consensu illius, videlicet Eadwardi regis, et illam terram similiter æt Oxawican, sanctæ ecclesiæ Albani martyris, ubi et ego iacere volo, et unum de melioribus meis vestimentis quas ego habeo, et unum calicem, et i. missalem, et i. dorsalem, et palleam tunicam meliorem quæ fuit Godgyue, alteram vero ad monasterium Ramesige, et iiii. marcas argenti ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri Romæ, et iiii. ad missas cantandas pro anima mea, et iiii. ad principales ecclesias huius terræ, et sodalibus meis iiii. marcas auri, et omnes terras meas quas ego dimitto, præter illas duas quas Deo et Sancto Albano concessi, et concedo Dagfino marcam auri, et Æfino ii. marcas argenti et unum equum, et Æþelrico ministro ii. marcas, et Eadwardo unum equum et singulis hominibus meis qui terras non habent, singulos equos, et si adhuc de auro vel argento aliquid superest, ille plus habeat, qui plus pro anima mea facere voluerit, et xxx. de mancipiis meis libertatem pro anima mea habeant.

(b) *Original vernacular text*

Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 7965-73 (3723), 164v

Ðis is Wulfes cwide. Ærest ic becweðe for mine sawle Gode 7 sancte Albane þ[æt] land æt Eastune mid mete 7 mid mannon swa swa ic hit læne, 7 eallswa þ[æt] land æt Oxawican, into þære halgan stowe æt sancte Albane þær ic licgan wille, 7 þ[æt] betste mæssereaf þe ic hæbbe, 7 calic 7 disc 7 mæseboc 7 an hricghrægl ðicoste þ[æt] mon æfre ælcere wucan gemærsige twa mæssan for his sauwle 7 þone betere pællene cyrtel þe Godgyua ahte 7 þæne oþerne into Hramesige, 7 iiii. marc gewegenes to Rome to sancte Petre 7 iiii marc wegenes to bicganne mæssan for mine sauwle, 7 .iiii. marc gewegenes to heh mynstran her on lande, 7 minon feolagan iiii marc goldes, 7 ealles þæs landes þe ic læfe, buto[n] þam twam þe ic Gode hæbbe betæht 7 sancte Albane. 7 ic ann Oþine ii marc gewegenes seolfres 7 Sihtrice eorle healf marc goldes, Osgode six oran goldes 7 iiii marc seolfres, 7 his broþer .iiii. marc seolfres, 7 Dagfinne an marc goldes, marc gif he marc geearnaþ, 7 Æfine ii. [marc] gewegenes seolfres, 7 an hors, 7 Æþelrice Swegne .ii. marc 7 Eadwearde an hors 7 elles ælc minra hiredcnihta an hors þe nan land nabbaþ 7 Þorode þam litlan ii. gewegenes 7 healde Saxa þ[æt] cild, 7 þ[æt] feoh oððe befæste into sumum mynstre mid þam feo 7 gif þær hwæt belife on golde oððe on seolfre oððe on rægle, hæbbe se mæst þe me betst to geearnaþ 7 mæst fore mine sauwle don wille, 7 .xxx. manna frige mon for mine sauwle.

(c) *Translation*

This is Wulf's will. In the first place, I bequeath for my soul to God and St. Alban the land at Aston, with produce and with men just as I lease it, and also the land at Oxwick, to the holy place at St. Albans where I wish to be buried; and the best set of mass-vestments that I have, and chalice, dish and mass-book, and the thickest dorsal, so that for ever, every week, two masses may be celebrated for his soul; and the better costly cloak, which Godgifu owned, and the other one to Ramsey. And 4 marks of weighed (silver) to Rome for St. Peter, and 4 marks of weighed (silver) for the procuring of masses for my soul, and 4 marks of weighed (silver) for the principal minsters in this country, and to my associates 4 marks of gold and (?) all the land which I leave, except for the two (estates) which I have bequeathed to God and to St. Alban. And I grant to Othin 2 marks of weighed silver, and to Earl Sihtric half a mark of gold, (and) to Osgod 6 ores of gold and 4 marks of silver, and to his brother 4 marks of silver; and to Dagfinn a mark of gold, more if he should deserve more, and to Æfin two (marks) of weighed silver and a horse, and to Æthelric Swegn 2 marks, and to Edward a horse; and otherwise a horse to each of my household servants who have no land, and to Thorod the Little 2 (marks) of weighed (silver), and Saxa is to look after the child and the money, or entrust him to a minster with the money. And if there should be anything left over, in gold or in silver or in vestments, the person who best deserves it from me and who wishes to do the most for my soul is to have the most; and 30 men are to be freed for my soul.

COMMENTARY

The Latin abstract contains a reference to King Edward, and on this basis the will is presumed to date from the period 1042-66. It should be noted, however, that there is no equivalent passage in the vernacular text, and it is quite possible that the reference was inserted by the translator merely for the sake of appearances; the date of the will must therefore remain an open question. The name "Wulf" is presumably an Anglicized form of Úlfr, though one could not infer from this fact alone that the testator was necessarily of Scandinavian extraction. Yet there is no mistaking that Wulf moved in the Anglo-Scandinavian environment of the southern Danelaw. The bequest to his "associates" (*feolagan*) supplies a "new" instance of a Scandinavian term (cf. ON *felagi*) which occurs elsewhere, for example, in the will of Thurstan;[6] and though widespread by the eleventh century, the use of "marks" and "ores" to express weights of gold and silver points in the same general direction.[7] One should add that the majority of the persons named in the will also have Scandinavian names:[8] Othin appears to represent a form of the name Auðun; Sihtric (Sigtryggr) is presumably the earl of that name who attested charters of King Cnut in the late 1020s;[9] Osgod, Dagfinn, Æfin, Thorod and Saxa represent Ásgautr, Dagfinnr, (?) Auðfinnr or Eyvindr, þóroddr and Saxi;[10] and "Æthelric Swegn," if not to be interpreted as "Æthelric the young man (or retainer)" (cf. ON *sveinn*), seems to be an instance of a double name incorporating the Anglicized form of Scandinavian "Sveinn."[11] Wulf's ownership of various items of ecclesiastical equipment, and his bequests of silver to St. Peter's, Rome, and to the "principal minsters" in England, constitute the basis for the supposition that he was perhaps in holy orders; the bequest of a horse to each of his household servants (*hiredcnihta*) can be paralleled in the will of Bishop Ælfwold of Crediton (1008 x 1012);[12] and the amount of wealth at his disposal might further indicate that Wulf should be sought among the higher ranks of the clergy. One thinks immediately of the notorious Bishop Ulf, a Norman who had served Edward the Confessor as a royal priest in the 1040s, who was appointed bishop of Dorchester in 1049 ("a bad appointment," according to the C manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), who attended a papal synod at Vercelli in 1050, and who was among the "Frenchmen" expelled in the wake of Earl Godwine's restoration in 1052. For in his capacity as bishop of Dorchester, Ulf might well have formed an attachment to St. Albans,[13] while the association between the bishopric of Dorchester and Ramsey abbey, so pronounced in the period before Ulf's own appointment,[14] might provide a context for (W)ulf's bequest to Ramsey of a *cyrtel*.[15] This identification is, however, no more than a wishful thought; and it remains quite possible, and perhaps more likely, that Wulf was actually a prosperous layman (with his wealth more in money than in land), deeply concerned for the welfare of his soul and eager to lay up at least some part of his treasure in heaven. A man of his resources and inclinations would presumably have retained the services of a priest in his own household; and in view of the fact that Wulfwaru, a noble woman in Somerset during the reign of King Æthelred the Unready, had bequeathed to Bath abbey "a set of mass-vestments with everything that belongs to it, and the best dorsal that I have" ("anes mæssereafes mid eallum þam ðe ðærto gebyreð. 7 anes hricghrægles þæs selestan þe ic hæbbe"),[16] one might well suppose that the equipment of a private priest would be at his master's disposal. It would be impossible to identify the testator among the several thegns called Ulf known to have flourished during the reigns of Cnut and Edward the Confessor;[17] but to regard him as one or other of these men would be to include his name among those members of the Anglo-Scandinavian nobility of eleventh-century England who were keen to be seen doing the right things for the good of their souls.

Notes

1. For the "private" documents in question, see P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) [hereafter S], nos. 1228, 1235, 1425, 1497, 1517, and 1532.

2. The accompanying plate is published with the permission of the Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels. In the text above, the copyist's more or less obvious misreadings (e.g. et for æ, and h for þ or wynn) have been silently corrected. The charters of St. Albans will be edited in due course by Dr. Julia Crick, for the series published under the auspices of the British Academy--Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters. I am grateful to Joy Jenkyns, Peter Kitson and Kathryn Lowe for their contributions to the process of establishing the texts of the documents in the vernacular. I am also grateful to Paul E. Szarmach for giving me this opportunity to provide a text and translation of the will of Wulf.

3. J.M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839-48) IV, no. 954.

4. Margaret Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* (Leicester, 1979), no. 187 (p. 93).

5. *Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde ... Chronica et Annales*, ed. H.T. Riley, Rolls ser. (London, 1866), p. 444. At the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, the land at Aston was in the hands of three men of Archbishop Stigand (Great Domesday Book [hereafter GDB] 134v; *Domesday Book*, ed. J. Morris, 35 vols. (Chichester, 1975-86) [hereafter *DB*, with county abbreviation] *Herts.* 5.8); the land at Oxwick belonged to St. Albans abbey (GDB 138r (*DB Herts.* 22.2)).

6. S 1531 (*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. Dorothy Whitelock [Cambridge, 1930], no. 31).

7. See P. Nightingale, "The Ora, the Mark, and the Mancus: Weight-Standards and the Coinage in Eleventh-Century England. Parts 1-2," *Numismatic Chronicle*, 143 (1983), 248-57, and 144 (1984), 234-48.

8. E. Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittel-englischer Zeit*, Studien zur englischen Philologie 37 (Halle, 1910); O. von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Nomina Germanica 3 (Uppsala, 1937).

9. See Simon Keynes, "Cnut's Earls," in *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander Rumble (Leicester, forthcoming).

10. Osgod may (or may not) have been the Osgod Clape prominent at court from 1026 to 1046; Saxa may (or may not) have been the Sexi, *huscarle* of King Edward, who held land in Hertfordshire (GDB 138r (*DB Herts.* 22.2)).

11. Cf. Osgot Swegn, named as a witness in the will of Thurstan (S 1531), and in the *Liber Benefactorum* of Ramsey abbey, ch. 80 [90] (*Chronicon Abbatiæ Rameseiensis*, ed. W.D. Macray, Rolls ser. (London, 1886), pp. 145-46); a certain Thurgisel Swegn attests S1228.

12. Bishop Ælfwold bequeathed "to each retainer (*hiredmen*) his steed, which he had lent him; and to all his household servants (*hiredcnihton*) five pounds for distribution, to each according to what his due proportion might be" (S 1492: *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents now in the Bodleian Library*, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), no. 10).

13. He is named as a witness in S 1425.

14. See Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), pp. 215-16; see also S 1107 (F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* [Manchester, 1952], no. 59).

15. For Wulf's bequest of the "better costly cloak (*betere pællene cyrtel*)," cf. Wulfgyth's bequest to Ely abbey of *ane pellene kertel* (S 1535: *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. Whitelock, no. 32, and K.A. Lowe, "A New Edition of the Will of Wulfgyth," *Notes and Queries*, 234 (1989), 295-98).

16. S 1538 (*Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. Whitelock, no. 21). See also M. McC. Gatch, "Piety and Liturgy in the Old English *Version of Leofric*," in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Sutdies in Anglo-Saxon Culture presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Korhammer (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 159-79, at 174-75.

17. A certain Ulf attested a charter of Cnut in 1033 (S 967); see also the list of names in the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney abbey (J. Gerchow, "Prayers for King Cnut: the Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror," in *England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), pp. 219-38, at 236-37, and pl. 18). A man, or men, called Ulf attested charters of Edward the Confessor in 1059 (S 1028), 1060 (S 1029) and 1065 (Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus* IV, no. 815).

Worcester Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: A Report on Recent Research

Mildred Budny
The Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

In February 1993, Malcolm Godden invited the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence to hold a seminar at Pembroke College, Oxford, on "Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts from Worcester." The Research Group is based at the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with Associates worldwide, including North America and Japan. The Research Group is devoted to examining, recording, and analyzing manuscript evidence. The seminar gave the opportunity to draw together many strands of th Research Group's work related to Worcester.

Four Members of the Group spoke at the seminar, for which Mildred Budny and Leslie French prepared a photographic exhibition. Budny surveyed the work of the Group as a whole, and other members discussed specific aspects. R.I. Page considered the glossing habits of the thirteenth-century "Tremulous Worcester Hand" in manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; Tim Graham reported on new research on the work that John Joscelyn carried out on manuscripts both at and from Worcester; and Catherine Hall considered the Samson Pontifical. Also at the seminar, Richard Gameson of the Courtauld Institute, London, surveyed the art of Worcester manuscripts; Wendy Collier of the Univ. of Manchester assessed the annotations of the Tremulous Worcester Hand; and David Howlett, Director of the Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, Oxford, examined the text of a late eleventh-century Anglo-Latin lament for St. Wulfstan. These subjects relate to the on-going work on a wide range of themes, interests, and problems being explored by the Research Group and others.

1) Worcester Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

In his "Preliminary List of Manuscripts Made or Owned in England up to 1100," published in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 9 (1981), Helmut Gneuss lists twelve manuscripts or fragments at Corpus Christi College made or owned at Worcester. Of these, one is a ninth-century manuscript from France (MS 279). The others are Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman, with texts in Latin, Old English or both; some have a few elements of Greek. They include the Corpus *Alfredian Pastoral Care* (MS 12), an imposing large-format copy; the *Portiforium* of St. Wulfstan (MS 391), a liturgical miscellany comprising a prototype breviary; the Samson Pontifical (MS 146); a copy of the bilingual *Rule of St. Benedict* (MS 178, Part II); a copy of Bishop Wærferth's translation of Pope Gregory's *Dialogues* (MS 322); one of the several extant witnesses to "Archbishop Wulfstan's so-called Commonplace Book," comprising an ecclesiastical handbook (MS 265, Part I); a fragment with both the Old English *Vision of Leofric* and a list of books probably belonging to Worcester (MS 367, Part II); and two homiliaries with works by or mostly by Ælfric of Eynsham (MS 198 and MS 178 Part, I). Two manuscripts have detached leaves or portions elsewhere: MSS 9 and 557. MS 9 is the Corpus portion of a massive legendary or collection of saints' lives, with another portion preserved in London (BL, Cotton MS Nero E.i); the London-Cambridge Legendary comprises the earliest surviving witness to the "Cotton-Corpus Legendary." The two fragments of one leaf in MS 557 have a fellow leaf in Kansas (Lawrence, Univ. of Kansas, Kenneth Spencer Research

Library, Pryce MS C2:1). The Kansas-Corpus leaves come from a copy of an Old English homily on the "Legend of the Cross," from either a larger homiliary or a single homily that circulated on its own.

Some of the manuscripts were made or were probably made at Worcester; others came from elsewhere, as with the Samson Pontifical, which started life at Winchester, and received supplements and alterations at Worcester. Some carry direct signs of Worcester origin or use, as with the ecclesiastical handbook in MS 265 and the *Portiforium* of St. Wulfstan (Plate 1), while others are attributed to Worcester only by conjecture, as with the copy of the Old English *Dialogues of Gregory*. All the Worcester manuscripts or fragments passed to Corpus Christi College from the collection of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury (1559-75), after his death. Most of them contain entries by Parker or members of his circle, notably his Latin secretary John Joscelyn (1529-1603).

2) The Research Group and the Leverhulme Trust Research Project

Recent work on Worcester manuscripts forms part of several projects involving the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. These center upon the full-time research on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts there, now in its sixth year, and a five-year Research Project funded by the Leverhulme Trust, now in its fourth year. The research partly draws upon the major conservation program at Corpus, also fully funded by outside sources and now in its eighth year. Important contributions to the work are made by the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence and by other projects based jointly in England and America. Notable examples are the Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, and the CORPUS of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts.

The Leverhulme Trust Research Project concentrates upon a broad group of twenty-one Anglo-Saxon and related manuscripts that we chose for detailed study. The Project list includes three Worcester manuscripts: Parts I and II of MS 178; the detached portion of the former in MS 162, Part II; and MS 557. The Research Project focuses upon a selected group of manuscripts undergoing or needing conservation, but-like the work of the Research Group as a whole-it takes into account other manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, as well as relatives elsewhere.

3) Linking Conservation and Research: MS 557

Among the manuscripts so far covered by the conservation program, only one belongs to the Worcester group: MS 557, containing two fragments of a single leaf (Plate 2), was recovered from the bindings of two sixteenth-century printed books. (The Kansas leaf was recovered from a seventeenth-century printed book purchased in Cambridge in 1957.) To judge by its original script and its glosses by the Tremulous Worcester Hand, the manuscript apparently passed through Worcester, where it may have been made in the first half of the eleventh century. The conservation was completed last year and the report of our detailed research is nearly ready for publication.

The conservation of MS 557 was carried out by Nicholas Hadgraft, Conservation Officer to the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College. He removed the two vellum fragments from the paper surround which had framed them since 1952 in a binding on their own. The frame not only hid parts along the edges of the fragments, but also introduced cockling, with creased and undulating surfaces.

Before conservation, various methods of mounting were considered, taking into account the character of the fragments as well as the environment within the nineteenth-century building of the Parker Library. The chosen method uses a three-way "butterfly" pressure mount tailored to fit the fragments. Windows cut in the central board are matched by pieces of board laminated to the inside front cover, which apply a light pressure on the vellum when the covers are closed. The covers, made from six-ply acid-free mounting boards, prevent cockling and provide a buffer against outside conditions.

Working with cold fiber-optic light and strong magnification, Hadgraft cleaned the fragments with dental tools and cotton-wool swabs, and removed the paste and paper tissue from their edges with an aqueous solution of 25% ethanol. This reveals more details of text as well as a fragmentary sketch of a geometric motif on the recto of Fragment 1.

While the fragments were disbound, Budny photographed them, and she and Page studied them in detail. Disbinding provides an ideal state for photography and examination under binocular microscope. The examination made it possible, for example, to ascertain the disposition of hair and flesh sides--resolving an earlier dispute between members of the Research Group during the preliminary investigation.

The fragments were then encapsulated in transparent plastic (melanex), permitting them to be studied safely by readers. When required, the seals can be easily broken and afterwards quickly resealed. The method of mounting is an elegant solution to the challenges of preserving the fragments and yet making them accessible to scholars.

The conservation report forms part of our joint study of the fragments, which will appear as: Page, Budny, and Hadgraft, "Two Fragments of an Old English Manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge." The work includes an account of the library history of the fragments, an analysis of their decoration and script, and editions of their text and glosses, which enables them to take their place alongside the better-known Kansas leaf. A shorter account is being prepared to accompany the reproduction of the Kansas-Corpus fragments together in the first issue devoted to Corpus Christi College manuscripts in the Microfiche Facsimile series.

Our treatment of MS 557 demonstrates the way in which, when timing and conditions permit the linking of conservation and research, the Research Group can combine relevant skills to address a particular manuscript or group of manuscripts. The report on MS 557 takes the form of an article, while other manuscripts call for larger studies.

4) The *Palaeographical and Textual Handbook*: MSS 12 and 178, Part II

Over the last four years the Research Team has been preparing a *Palaeographical and Textual Handbook* using selected pages from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts at Corpus Christi College. The *Handbook* presents an in-depth treatment of manuscripts by demonstrating how an integrated approach that draws upon skills in various disciplines produces results for a wide range of Anglo-Saxon and other manuscripts. The sixteen case-studies chosen for the *Handbook* comprise pages (or openings with facing pages from manuscripts with) a wide range of dates, places of origin, texts, scripts, and layout. The chosen pages are examined in stages through photographic facsimile, computerized depiction of the layout, semi-diplomatic edition, normalized edition, translation or variant translations, and commentary.

The case-studies of the *Handbook* include two from Worcester: a page from MS 12 (Plate 3) and an opening from MS 178, Part II. The page in MS 12 is the penultimate in Alfred's prose preface to his translation of the *Pastoral Care*, which includes his reference to an *æstel* and his account of his translation methods. The opening from the bilingual *Rule of St. Benedict* contains the end of the chapter-list and the text of Chapter 1 in Latin, and is followed by the beginning of the same chapter in Old English. Both cases carry glosses by the Tremulous Worcester Hand; in MS 12 they demonstrate repeated consultation at various stages, with increasing degrees of "tremble" in the script and command of Old English. Both cases have entries by Joscelyn: these include the variant reading *-preoste* that he added to the text of MS 12 (at the end of line 18) when comparing it with the *Hatton Alfredian Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton MS 20), and, in MS 178, the chapter-numbers added to the chapter-list and underlines of Old English words. Both cases have entries by Matthew Parker or an unknown Parkerian hand: MS 12 has a note about Alfred; and MS 178 has Parker's endearing observation that this is a book in which it is "rather easy" (*facilius*) to learn Old English.

For the *Handbook*, in an effort to decipher their features as fully as possible, the team closely scrutinizes the chosen pages over an extended period. For MS 12, by comparison with habits attested in manuscripts annotated by only one or the other, Budny was able to isolate the original punctuation and attribute added strokes specifically to either the Tremulous Worcester Hand or Joscelyn. Joscelyn's habits on his own can be seen in manuscripts from Exeter (as with CCCC MS 191) contrasting with those of the Tremulous Worcester Hand in various Worcester manuscripts (as in MS 198). Such an examination makes it possible to distinguish Joscelyn's long vertical strokes to set off one element from another, as against the Tremulous Worcester Hand's broken and sometimes tilted lines serving similar purposes. This is also the case with other marks, such as the Tremulous Worcester Hand's double or triple horizontals that link elements, and his single or double dot-like or comma-shaped marks that add or revise the punctuation. This enables us to recognize as Joscelyn's the vertical dividing strokes in MS 12, and various marks as the Tremulous Worcester Hand's, ranging from the triple linking horizontals and the broken dividing lines (as surround *æstel*), to the numerous added or revised marks of punctuation. Thus we can distinguish the layers of accretion in MS 12 and reconstruct its original state.

The process of recognition is not only interesting in its own right. Moreover, it can help the student or editor recognize historically different forms of marks in the quest to understand the intended text, so as to avoid interpretations based upon interventions of later periods. The growing interest among Anglo-Saxonists worldwide in manuscript layout and punctuation makes such evidence all the more important. Much of the evidence embedded in subtle changes in the color of inks upon a page is lost in black-and-white reproduction--not to mention in many editions. As the *Handbook* aims to demonstrate, it is important to examine the manuscript pages themselves.

5) The *Illustrated Catalog*

Our greatest attention so far on the whole group of Worcester manuscripts at Corpus Christi College has come with work on Budny's illustrated catalog of *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College*, to be published soon by Medieval Institute Publications in association with the Research Group. The publication started as a volume of plates, but grew into a full-fledged catalog to incorporate developments in a wide range of fields, so as to approach the manuscripts as integrated objects: carriers of text, works of art, archaeological objects, layers of history, and monuments of culture. The work took several years, with assistance from Graham, French, Page, Hall, Hadgraft, and others.

At first, the aim was to reproduce in a volume of plates all illustration and major decoration at Corpus Christi College made in the British Isles before about 1100. The volume was to complement the publication of manuscripts from other collections by the CORPUS of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts. The CORPUS Project, now in its eleventh year, aims to reproduce photographically and document verbally all such manuscript art (as reported in the *Old English Newsletter*, Volume 26.1). Among its publications are Thomas H. Ohlgren's *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (1992) and the database *Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: Inventory of Manuscripts* (1991).

A survey of the collection for the volume of plates showed that much more decoration survives at Corpus Christi College than previously believed. Moreover, to include as many of the manuscripts as possible, Budny widened the range to encompass practically all forms of decoration, so that the catalog extends the scope of the CORPUS Project well beyond the so-called "major" elements. Thus the catalog contains not only the major art-historical monuments, like the illustrated Corpus Prudentius (MS 23, Part I), but also many little-known works, like MS 9. The range extends from monumental illustrations and major initials as in the former, to modestly embellished initials and running-title motifs as in the latter--not forgetting scribbles and sketches in margins or on endleaves.

The catalog covers fifty-six manuscripts or fragments. Its volume of plates--nearly 750 in black-and-white and eighteen in color--reproduce most of these elements. Almost all the plates show whole pages, not just decorated elements, so they can be seen in their setting. The plates do not crop the pages, but show the full extent which history has left to us after trimmings, rotting from damp or mold, and nibbling by rodents. All the photography was carried out expressly for the publication, ensuring a measure of consistency rarely possible for a large number of manuscripts.

The catalog entry includes an inventory that lists all the elements of decoration and illustration, identifies their position within or around the text, and describes their features (as with the thirty-one decorated initials in MS 198). The approach can inform art-historians of the specific locations which decorated elements occupy within the text, and help textual scholars recognize which passages received decoration, and of what grades, of which styles, and by which hands, either original or subsequent.

The entry gives reasons for attributions of date, place of origin, and provenance, rather than issuing assertions. After all in studying manuscripts, it can be crucial to know whether an attribution to a particular center rests upon a colophon, an *ex-libris* inscription, textual contents, the hands of scribes identified elsewhere, stylistic resemblance in script or decoration, or wishful thinking. The catalog describes the degree of confidence that the evidence permits in assigning provenance, origin, and date, so that assessments can be revised or refined when more evidence comes to light or as further research directs.

The catalog includes most of the Worcester manuscripts at Corpus Christi College: that is, all but MS 557, MS 367, Part II, and the homiliary divided between MS 178, Part I + MS 162, Part II (Matthew Parker often divided his manuscripts and combined them with others--like reshuffled packs of cards!). The excluded books contain no decorated elements except for one later medieval or early modern sketch added apiece to MS 557 (Plate 2) and MS 178. The included Worcester manuscripts date from the tenth and eleventh centuries; there are no manuscripts from the early Anglo-Saxon period. Some are imposing liturgical books; some are textbooks with varied degrees of formality. They contain a wide range of styles of script and decoration. Most have decorated initials or other textual elements; some manuscripts have, or also have, added sketches. There are only a few illustrations; these occur in MSS 9, 198, and 391.

MS 9 has a small interlinear drawing (Plate 4). The inscription accompanying it was evidently entered at the same time by the same hand, showing that both were made by the annotator responsible for many Old English directions throughout the book. The directions indicate where to omit passages and resume reading, presumably for reading aloud from this large-format collection of saints' lives in Latin. The drawing of two part-length figures represents two characters from the *Miracles of St. Salvius*: the brothers Hysimbardus and Wyngardus engaged in conversation. The right-hand figure, whom the inscription identifies as Wyngardus, has no eye. This corresponds with the text, which reports him as having been castrated and blinded for ordering Salvius's murder.

MS 9 also contains many elements of foliate or geometric decoration in or around the text. Some seem to be the habit of a particular scribe, such as the elegant foliate elements in the first scribe's portion. Others may point to the exemplar or exemplars from which this massive legendary derives--a matter of no little interest to scholars concerned with the date by which the "Cotton-Corpus Legendary," upon which Ælfric drew heavily, first came to England through one or more Northern French model(s).

MS 391, the *Portiforium of St. Wulfstan*, contains a splendid full-page framed frontispiece (Plate 1). Partly painted, its paneled frame with friezes of acanthus-type foliate ornament encloses a stylized "portrait" of the presumed author of the Psalms, King David, crowned, seated on a backless throne, and playing a harp. Also partly painted, the decorated initial of Psalm 1 on the facing page contains panels, foliate ornament, interlace terminals, and animal heads either frontal or in profile (Plate 1). The initial is a skillful example of a Late Anglo-Saxon Type II*b* (in Francis Wormald's term), containing a combination of foliate ornament, animal heads, and interlace in band-like strands. The book also has a decorated computistical table at the front and many modestly decorated initials throughout the text.

Part of the art-historical importance of MS 391 is the ability to localize and date it within fairly close limits. The contents demonstrate intentions for use by someone at Worcester, or by someone with Worcester connections, and some of the scribes contributed to other manuscripts made or owned by Worcester, including the Samson Pontifical; one scribe was the Worcester scribe Hemming. In his catalog of illuminated *English Romanesque Manuscripts*, C.M. Kauffmann dates MS 391 to *circa* 1080, but it is datable at least in part between 1064 and 1069. In her *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, Pamela Robinson includes the portions written by Hemming among the "additions in Latin and Old English," but they apparently constitute an integral part of the original manuscript. The Worcester symptoms and the probable date makes Wulfstan II (bishop from 1062-95) a likely candidate, but there are no explicit signs of his ownership, so that it must remain conjecture.

The ability to date MS 391 entails revising perceptions of the art in the book. Usually the frontispiece and Psalm initial are regarded as displaying some Norman influences within Anglo-Saxon traditions surviving well after the Conquest. Such cases are known, as with the David portrait in a late eleventh-century Canterbury manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B. 5. 26 [172]). Wormald and Kauffmann point to relatives for MS 391 among various Anglo-Norman manuscripts, but its narrow date-range around the Conquest suggests appropriate relatives among approximate contemporaries of the mid-eleventh century, like an author portrait from Canterbury in the collection of saints' lives in Corpus Christi College MS 389. The survival of Anglo-Saxon traditions of many kinds, from architecture to embroidery, at Worcester long after the Conquest is well known. Yet the case of MS 391 calls for a redirection in approach from hunting a Post-Conquest Snark: it is not the original production of the book, but its many signs of continued use, that ought to be regarded as eloquent testimony of such survival.

The manuscript also contains a skillful late medieval pencil drawing of a tonsured male head in the lower margin of one page. The drawing serves as a useful reminder of what other forms of entries early manuscripts might acquire later at Worcester besides the many glosses and annotations by the Tremulous Worcester Hand. The same applies to the extensive alterations made to both MS 9 and its London companion portion. Some of their twelfth-century additions are probably in the hand of John of Worcester (active before 1092 to at least 1140), showing that this copy of the legendary--and not, say, its exemplar--served as one of his specific sources, from which derive numerous passages in his *Chronicon ex Chronicis*.

MS 12 merited entry in the catalog by virtue of a set of added drypoint sketches, probably Late Anglo-Saxon. The overlapping sketches, made by two different implements, stand in the upper margin of the page ending the metrical preface and beginning the chapter-list of the *Pastoral Care*. Qualification for the catalog gave the chance to examine the book afresh. Among other things, it revealed some unexpected results from a form of evidence generally ignored in Anglo-Saxon manuscript studies: the evidence of vanished bindings.

Corpus Christi College over the centuries has rebound its manuscripts, so that it retains few medieval bindings; none earlier than the twelfth century. It even retains few of the bindings made for Parker: only one on a manuscript (MS 582, his presentation copy of the revised College statues), with others on printed books. But many Corpus Christi College manuscripts retain endleaves, endpapers, and former pastedowns bearing signs of mounts, leather turn-ins, and worm-holes from lost covers. Some of these leaves comprise reused fragments of late medieval or early modern documents. Graham's deciphering of their texts, combined with Hall's archival work, and Budny's knowledge of the archaeology of books made it possible to reconstruct stages in the history of some manuscripts, including some from Worcester.

The front and back endleaves in MS 12 that served as the pastedowns in the sixteenth-century binding, came from a single sixteenth-century document, probably a large sheet or roll. The surviving text contains references identifiable with the Dean and Chapter of Worcester and Bishop Hugh (bishop from 1535-39). The Worcester bias of the text contrasts with other reused documents in books rebound for Parker; mostly they have Cambridge or London symptoms, corresponding with his known links. The contrast suggests that the document in MS 12 came to Parker with the manuscript. It perhaps formed the wrapper for transit, like another sheet (a fragment of a papal bull) that reached Parker from Durham, perhaps as the wrapping of Corpus Christi College MS 183, containing King Athelstan's presentation copy of Bede's *Life of St. Cuthbert* and other works. As a wrapper, the document would have been readily available for cutting up into pastedowns when Parker had MS 12 rebound. Similarly, the probable London provenance of the documents reused as endleaves in both MSS 162 and 178 points to a Parkerian rebinding in London of those reshuffled manuscripts.

The reused document in MS 198 yields especially significant results. The leaf, a fragment of a fifteenth-century kitchen-account, is now found between two paper leaves. Their paper does not resemble the sixteenth-century paper used in other rebindings made or probably made for Parker, nor does the type of document correspond with those normally reused in such bindings. The paper leaves may be fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century. These additions provide a key to problematic clues within the manuscript itself that imply more than one *re*ordering of the leaves. It strengthens the case that Joscelyn saw the volume in a binding that intervened between the one in which the Tremulous Worcester Hand examined the book and the Parkerian binding. Because Joscelyn probably used MS 198 at or partly at Worcester, this rebinding would have taken place there. It seems curious that Worcester would have seen fit to rebind an Old English homiliary in the fifteenth or early sixteenth century. The process probably belonged to a larger campaign of rebinding and refurbishing books at the Cathedral Priory, of which traces survive in other books, albeit in or mainly in Latin, as with the volumes of the London-Cambridge Legendary.

Examining MS 198 afresh gives some other valuable results centered upon its frontispiece or flyleaf sketch (Plate 5). The full-page, unframed image of six apostles stands on the recto of a front flyleaf. In his *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, N.R. Ker states that "the leaf has no necessary connection with the rest of the manuscript and may have been inserted here by Parker, who liked frontispieces, from some other manuscript." Parker frequently had frontispieces inserted into his manuscripts, including collections of homilies. For example, MS 162 has a reused woodcut frontispiece from an ealy sixteenth-century Missal, and MS 421 has a leaf taken from a thirteenth-century Psalter that yielded frontispieces for various small-format manuscripts owned by Parker (including MS 452). In MS 419 this treatment even meant moving the original Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion frontispiece into the companion volume MS 421.

Yet the materials, character, and condition of the leaf in MS 198 demonstrate otherwise. It is a single leaf that stands separate from the first quire, but its appearance, weight, and texture do not differ greatly from the leaves of the manuscript. It formed one of the endleaves from an early date, perhaps the beginning. It shares the same pattern of wormholes as the following leaves; it is similarly heavily soiled; and there are--apparently previously unnoticed--a few sprawling and faint notes entered by the Tremulous Worcester Hand on its verso, partly underlying the Parkerian contents-list. This leaf and its frontispiece apparently formed part of the volume already in the thirteenth century.

The pigment provides another clue. The vegetable red pigment in the frontispiece differs from the metallic red lead pigment used for rubrication in most of the manuscript. Nor does it resemble the red pigment used in either the Parkerian titles or the thirteenth-century titles and annotations. But it closely resembles the pigment used in Part III, comprising three miscellaneous homilies added to the earlier Parts I and II. This pigment is used for its initials, a title, and fillings in some text-initials. The resemblance suggests that the image, or at least its elements in red, belong to the stage of accretions associated with Part III. If so, the image can be attributable, like it, to the West of England, perhaps Worcester.

The image has the character of a flyleaf sketch, unpolished and perhaps unfinished. As such, of course, it need have no "necessary connexion with the rest of the manuscript," as Ker declared, and still be an integral part of the volume. Yet its position also makes it appear as a frontispiece. As such it would belong among a select group of added flyleaf images which double as frontispieces, of which the most famous is the Anglo-Saxon image in "St. Dunstan's Classbook" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F. 4. 32), added to a blank recto at the front of a grammatical text.

Establishing the image in MS 198 as an intended element within this very book gives it a specific context. MS 198 is one of the few surviving collections of Anglo-Saxon homilies to possess a frontispiece image. The one in MS 421 is another, albeit much smaller in format. This element imparts an aura of monumentality to the opening of the book. Moreover, despite Ker's disclaimer, some homilies in the manuscript are devoted to apostle's feast days. It could be significant that two of the three homilies of Part III concern apostles: St. Bartholomew and St. John. The demonstrable link between the image and the text in the book opens the way for re-assessing the character, intentions, and use of the homiliary in MS 198 as a whole.

The catalog formed the subject of a session sponsored by the Research Group at the Twenty-Eighth International Congress on Medieval Studies held by the Medieval Institute of Western Michigan Univ. at Kalamazoo in May 1993. French and Graham gave papers reporting on the results of detailed study of particular manuscripts for the catalog. During the panel discussion, Robert Mathiesen of Brown Univ. and James P. Carley of York Univ., Toronto, emphasized the value of approaching the manuscripts in the catalog within a wider context by considering not only other manuscripts in the collection at Corpus Christi College, but also other collections and catalogs, both medieval and modern.

6) The Future

Detailed scrutiny of a single manuscript that treats the object or monument as a whole will not answer all questions. Yet it may resolve some problems, eliminate some conjectures, and refine or redefine the questions. By such means, increasing knowledge of individual manuscripts and centers of production can cast much light on other surviving manuscripts and their centers. The future lies in looking beyond one collection to combine our detailed knowledge with the broader context of other studies across all the related fields. We hope that the fruits of the work on Worcester manuscripts might offer case-studies upon which to apply this broader approach, so as to contribute to Anglo-Saxon studies as a whole.

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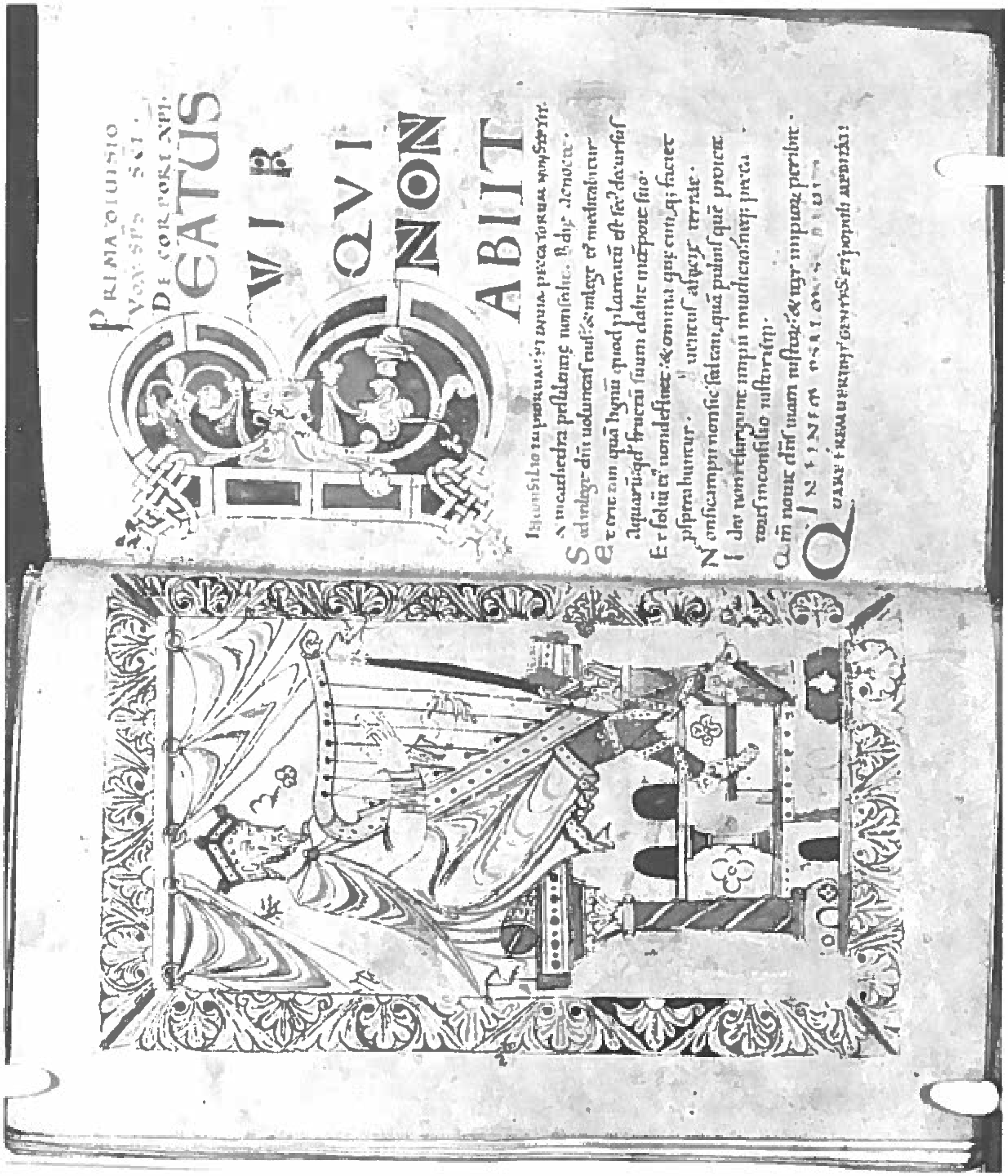


Plate 1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, pp. 24-25. The *Portiforium of St. Wulfstan*: framed Psalter frontispiece with King David harping; and opening of Psalm 1 in the Gallican Version.

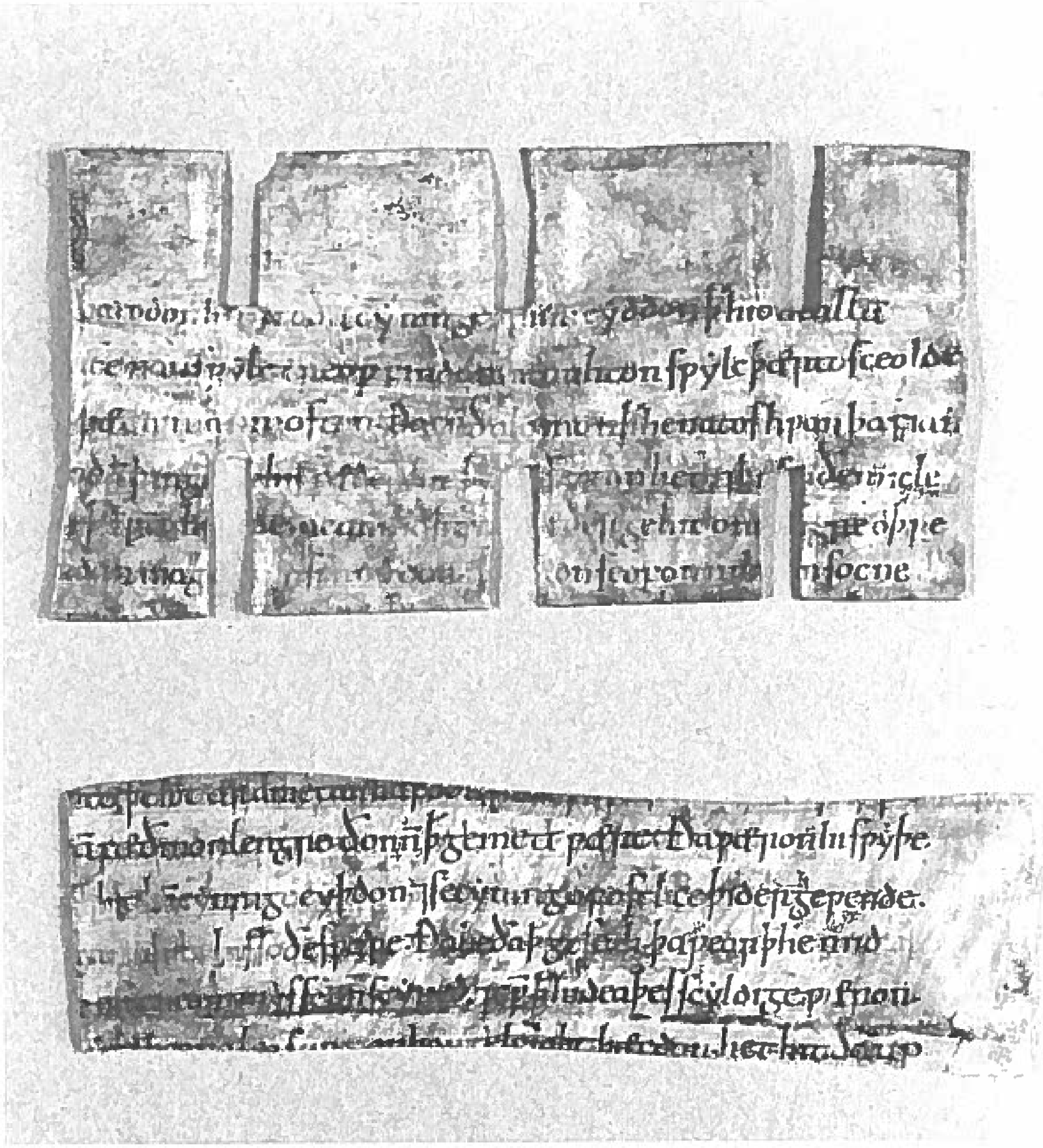
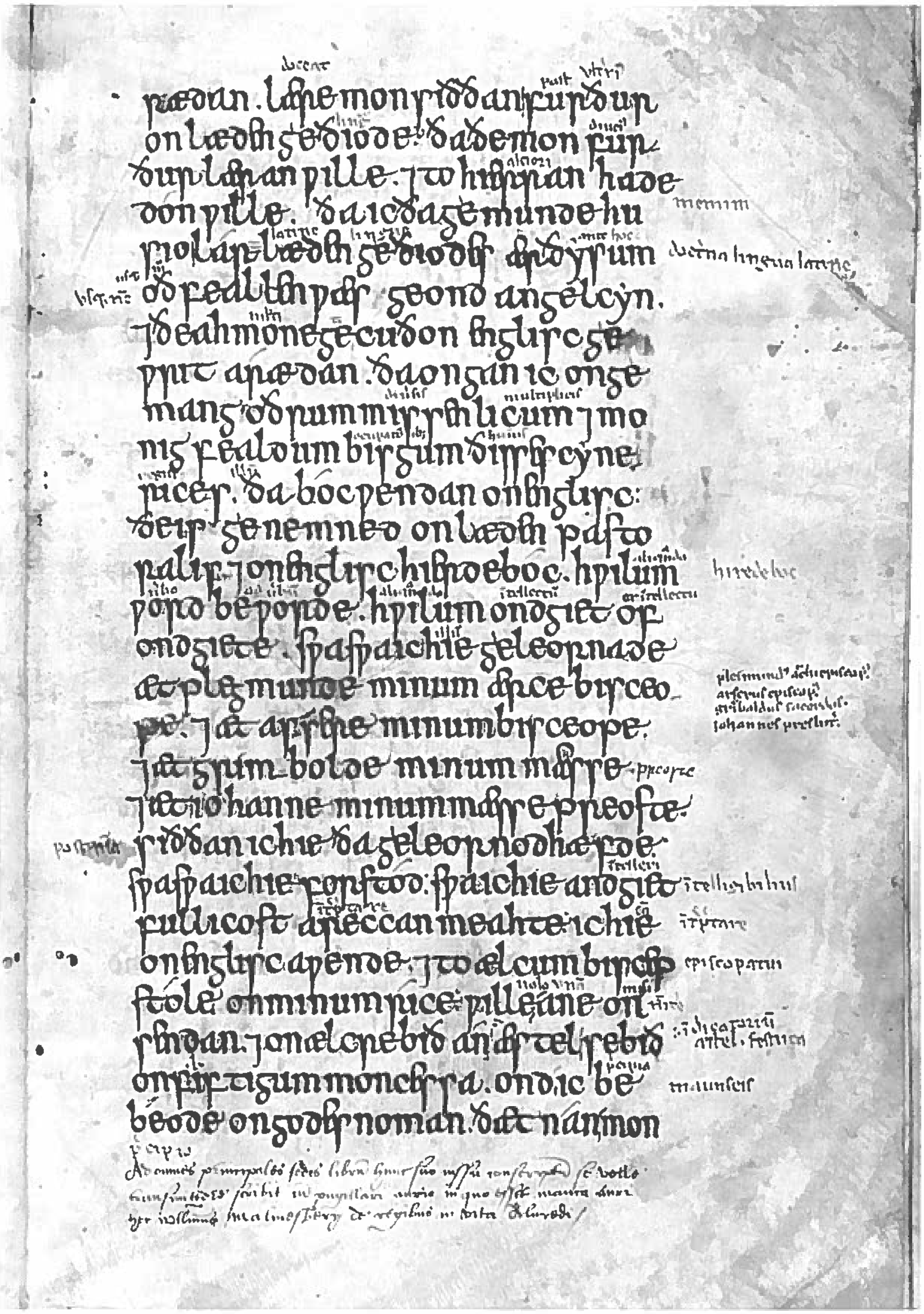
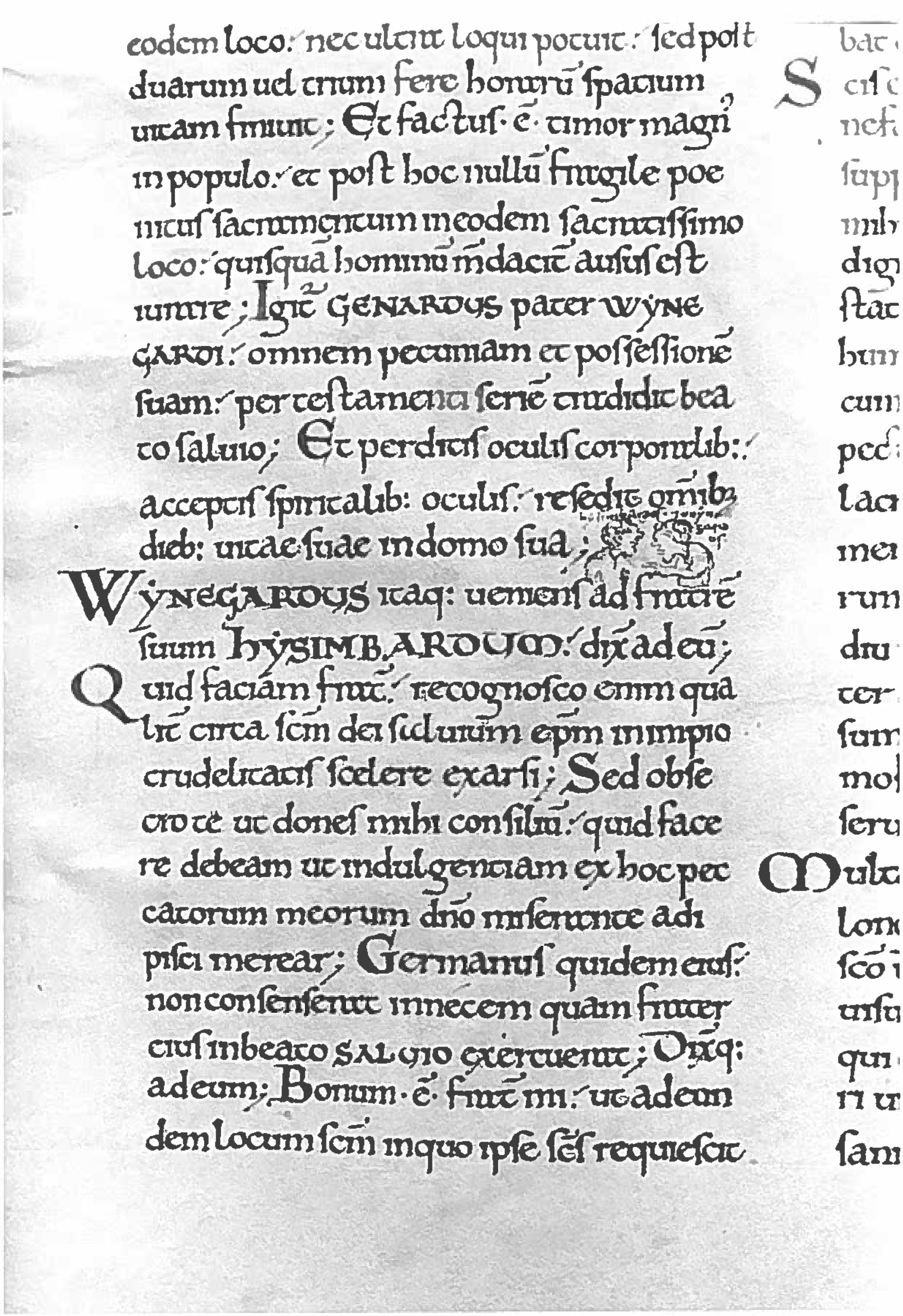


Plate 2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 557, recto of frags. 1 and 2. Portions of the Old English "Legend of the Cross," with glosses by the Tremulous Worcester Hand.



ƿændan. Lære mon siððan furður
on lædengeðiode ða ðe mon fur-
ður læran ƿille ⁊ to hieran hade
don ƿille. Ða ic ða gemunde hu
sio lar lædengeðiodes ær ðyssum
oðfeallen ƿæs geond angelcyn.
⁊ ðeah monege cuðon englisc ge-
ƿrit arædan. ða ongan ic onge-
mang oðrum mistlicum ⁊ mo-
nigfealdum bisgum ðisses cyne-
rices. ða boc ƿendan on englisc:
ðe is genemned on lædin pasto-
ralis. ⁊ on englisc hirdeboc. hƿilum
ƿord be ƿorde. hƿilum ondgit of
ondgite. sƿa sƿa ic hie geleornade
æt plegmunde minum arcebisceo-
pe. ⁊ æt assere minum bisceope.
⁊ æt grimbolde minum mæsse
⁊ æt iohanne minum mæsse preoste.
siððan ic hie ða geleornod hæfde.
sƿa sƿa ic hie forstod: sƿa ic hie andgit-
fullicost areccan meahte ic hie
on englisc aƿende. ⁊ to ælcum bisceop-
stole on minum rice ƿille ane on-
sendan. ⁊ on ælcre bið an æstel. se bið
on fif tigum moncessa. ond ic be-
beode on godes noman. ðæt nan mon

Plate 3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 12, fol. 3r. The Corpus *Alfredian Pastoral Care*: King Alfred's Prose Preface, penultimate page, with glosses by the Tremulous Worcester Hand and additions by John Joscelyn and another Parkerian hand.



eodem loco: nec ultra loqui potuit: sed post
duarum uel trium fere horarū spatium
uitam finiuit; Et factus ē timor magn̄
in populo: et post hoc nullū fragile poe
nitus sacramentum in eodem sacratissimo
loco: quisquā hominū m̄dacit̄ ausus est
iurare; Igit̄ GENARDUS pater WYNE
GARDI: omnem pecuniam et possessionē
suam: per testamenta seriē tradidit bea
to saluio; Et perditis oculis corporalib;
acceptis spiritalib; oculis: resedit omib;
dieb; uitae suae in domo sua;
WYNEGARDUS itaq; ueniens ad fratrē
suum HYSIMBARDUM: dix ad eū;
Quid faciam frat: recognosco enim qua
lit circa scm dei saluium epm in impio
crudelitatis scelere exarsi; Sed obse
cro te ut dones mihi consiliū: quid face
re debeam ut indulgentiam ex hoc pec
catorum meorum dn̄o miserente adi
pisci merear; Germanus quidem eius:
non consenserat innecem quam frater
eius in beato SALUIO exercuerat; Dixq:
ad eum; Bonum ē frat mi: ut ad eun
dem locum scm inquo ipse scs requiescit.

bat
S cis
nes
supp
mih
dig
stat
hun
cum
pec
lac
me
run
du
ter
sun
mo
seru
Mult
Lon
sco
unſ
qui
ni
sam

Plate 4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9, fol. 13r (detail). The London-Cambridge Legendary: *De miraculis Sancti Salvii*, with an interlinear drawing of the brothers Hysimbardus and Wyngardus.

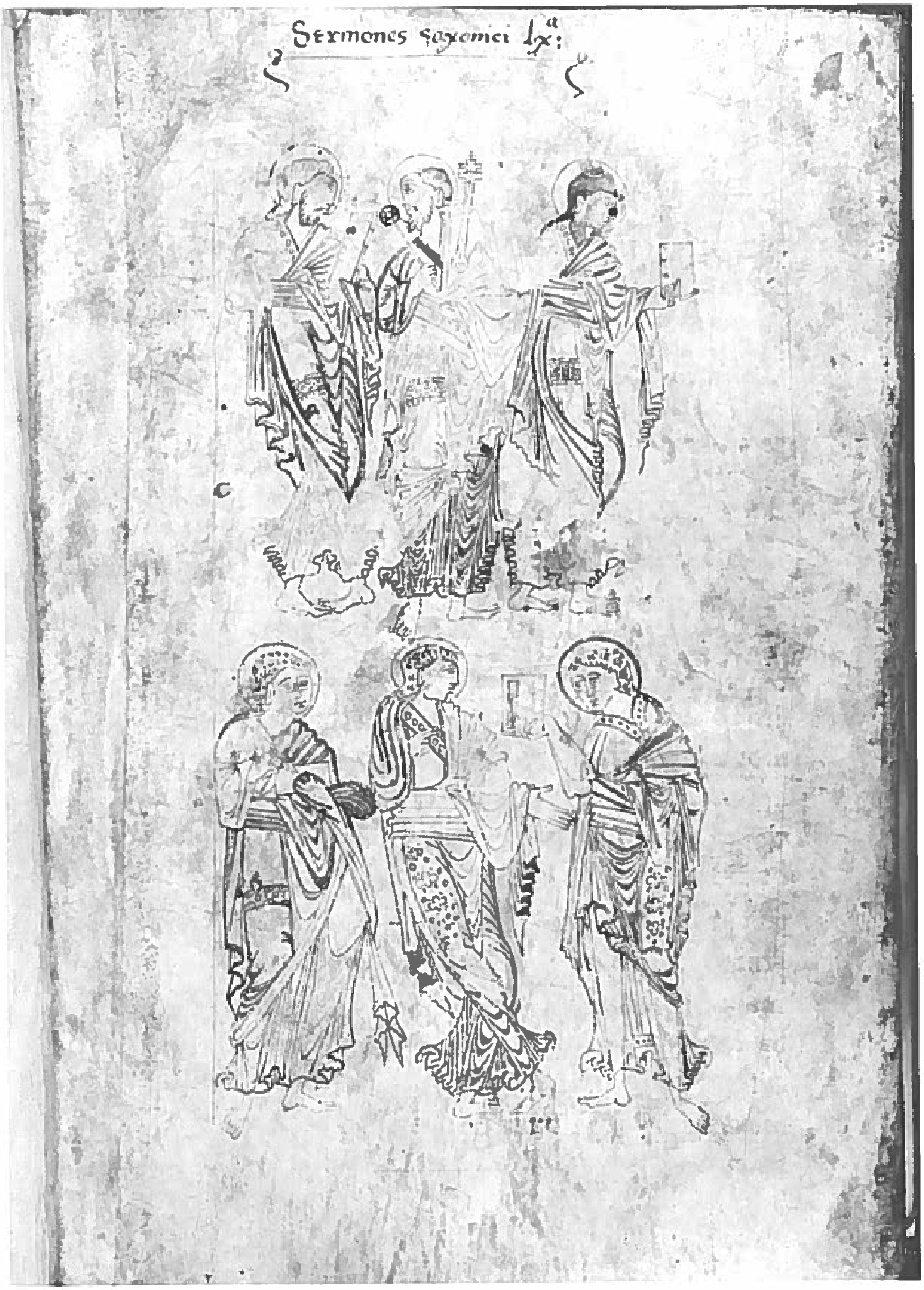
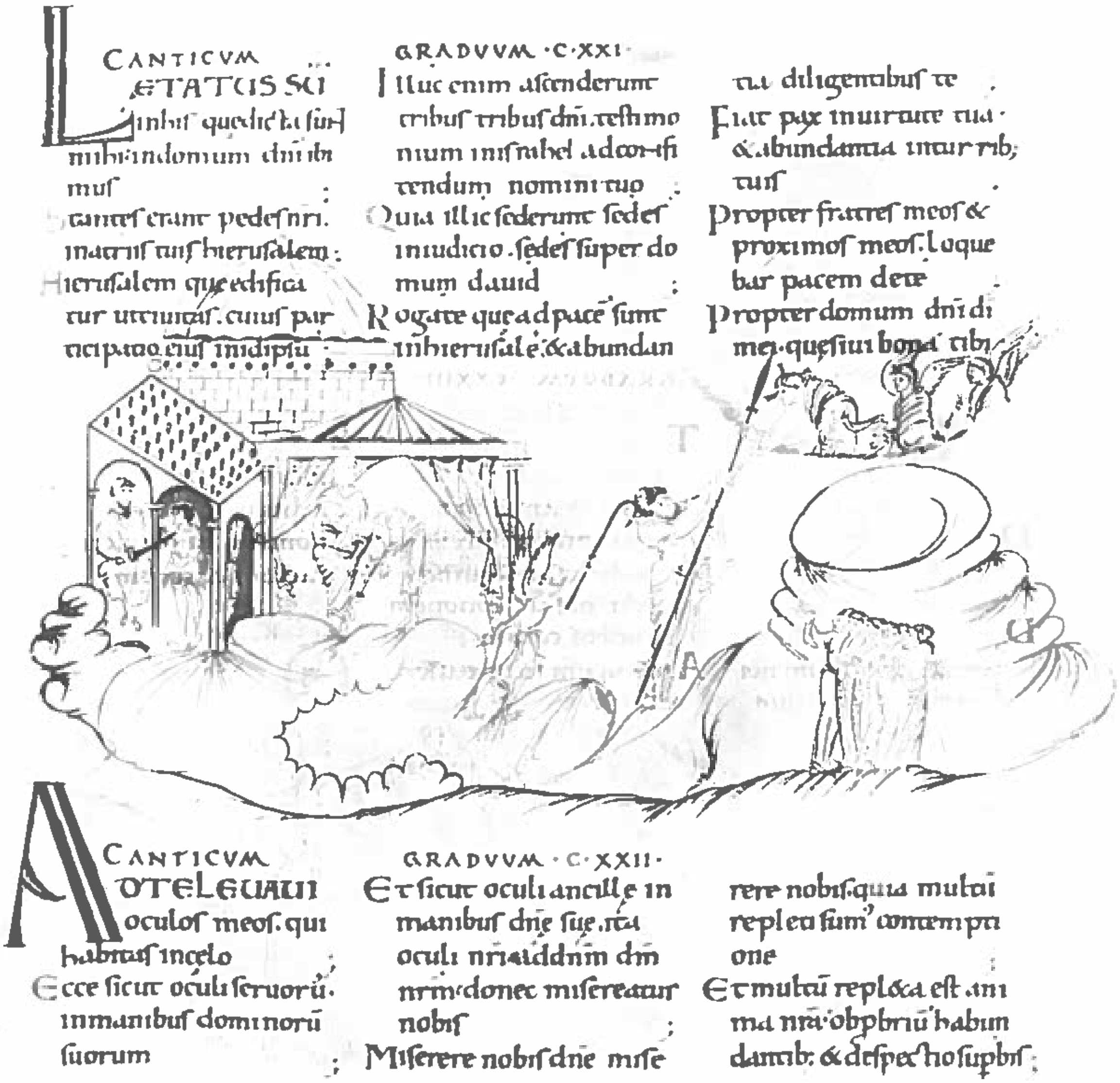

Sermones saxonici lx

Plate 5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 198, fol.ii*r. Old English Homilies by Ælfric and others: added frontispiece or flyleaf sketch, with six apostles.



CANTICUM GRADUUM · C·XXI·

LETATUS SUM
in his quae dicta ſunt
mihi in domum dñi ibi
muſ :
Stantes erant pedeſ nři
in atriis tuis hieruſalem :
Hieruſalem quae edifica
tur ut ciuitaſ. cuiuſ par
ticipatio eiuſ in idipſu :

Illuc enim aſcenderunt
tribuſ tribuſ dñi. teſtimo
nium iſrahel ad confi
tendum nomini tuo :
Quia illic ſederunt ſedeſ
in iudicio. ſedeſ ſuper do
mum dauid :
Rogate quae ad pacẽ ſunt
in hieruſalẽ. & abundan

tia diligentibuſ te .
Fiat pax in uirtute tua .
& abundantia in turrib;
tuiſ .
Propter fratreſ meoſ &
proximoſ meoſ. loque
bar pacem de te .
Propter domum dñi di
mei. quęſiui bona tibi

CANTICUM GRADUUM · C·XXII·

AD TE LEUAUI
oculoſ meoſ. qui
habitaſ in cęlo :
Ecce ſicut oculi ſeruorũ.
in manibuſ dominorũ
ſuorum ;

Et ſicut oculi ancillę in
manibuſ dñę ſuę. ita
oculi nři ad dñm dm
nřm. donec miſereatur
nobiſ ;
Miſerere nobiſ dñe miſe

rere nobiſ. quia multũ
repleti ſum' contemptu
one ;
Et multũ repleta eſt ani
ma nřa. obpbriũ habun
dantib; & deſpectio ſupbiſ ;

London, British Library, MS Harley 603, fol. 65r

By permission of the Warburg Institute

Martial Iconography in the *Harley Psalter*: Dubbing or Drubbing?

Thomas H. Ohlgren
Purdue Univ.

Fol. 65r of the *Harley Psalter* (British Library, MS Harley 603) contains a colored-ink drawing of Psalm 122 (123). Produced at Christ Church, Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century, the manuscript is the earliest of three English copies of the ninth-century Carolingian masterpiece, the *Utrecht Psalter.*[1] According to Judith E. Duffey, the miniature on fol. 65r is by one of the six artists who worked in the first half of the eleventh century (p. 21).[2] The sixth hand, called artist F, was responsible for the drawings on ff. 58r-73v, which Duffey aptly names the "inventive" group because they exhibit references to contemporary Anglo-Saxon royal, religious, and ceremonial events (p. 106).

Description: in the center, the bearded Psalmist receives a long spear from God, wearing a cross as a nimbus, who leans out the cloudy arc of heaven; two angels stand on God's left (v. 1: *Ad te levavi oculos meos, / Qui habitas in caelis*). A winged demon, wearing a loincloth, seizes the Psalmist with a hook (v. 3: *Miserere nostri, Domine, miserere nostri, / Quia multum repleti sumus despectione*). In the portico of an elaborate domed building, a seated, veiled woman holds another woman's head in her hands and lap. In the side porch, a seated, bearded man extends (points?) a sword to the shoulder of a standing male in a short tunic. Standing behind and partially hidden by the first figure is a second male, whose facial profile is barely discernible. The latter two scenes illustrate v. 2 (*Ecce sicut oculi servorum / In manibus dominorum suorum; / Sicut oculi ancillae / In manibus dominae suae: / Ita oculi nostri as Dominum Deum nostrum, / Donec misereatur nostri)* and, as we will see, v. 4 (*Quia multum repleta est anima nostra. Opprobrium abundantibus, et despectio superbis).*

Discussion: Judith Duffey has observed that the Harley drawing differs greatly from the miniature on fol. 72v of the *Utrecht Psalter*: "Unique to the Harley illustration are the image of servants and masters within a house, the relationship between the master and servant (or servants) defined and formalized by the gesture of the sword, Christ handing a spear to the central figure, and the demon attacking the central figure with a hook" (p. 54). Of special interest is the scene in which the master appears to touch the blade of a sword to the shoulder of the servant. Duffey claims that it depicts the accolade of dubbing to knighthood with a sword (pp. 129-30). To support this identification she cites Léon Gautier, who states that the accolade was in existence in the eleventh century.[3] The ritual that Gautier was referring to is, however, not the *coup de plat d'épée*, but the *colée* or blow on the nape of the neck with the hand.[4] The sword accolade is in fact a later development, the earliest examples of which date from the middle of the twelfth century.[5]

If we no longer have a sword dubbing, what do we have instead? We could, first of all, have a visual reference to the Germanic custom of the delivery of arms to a young warrior, a secular ceremony with a lengthy pedigree, examples of which range from Tacitus's *Germania* and *Beowulf* to the Bayeux Tapestry.[6] The giving of arms marked the youth's coming of age or his entry into the war-band. Upon the presentation of arms and armor, the retainer swore an oath of allegiance, and then he was girded or belted with the sword.[7] In another variation the retainer touched the *hilt* of the sword while swearing loyalty to the lord. Or the sword was presented *hilt* first to the youth.[8] In not one of these examples is the sword extended *point* first. H.R. Aulas Davidson cites an example of a warrior who "refused the point and asked for the hilt" because that was the custom (p. 185). Unless the artist made a mistake, which of course is yet another possibility, the scene does not accurately depict the delivery of arms.

The scene can best be understood, I believe, by placing it into the fuller context of the Psalm. It records the prayer of an individual suffering acts of hostility from his enemies, who are identified in verse 4 as the rich and the proud. Lifting his eyes to heaven, the prophet petitions God to show mercy to him and to his community. Although the prayer is unanswered in the Psalm, there is an air of patient and hopeful expectation. In the drawing, however, the artist not only provides God's answer to the prophet's prayer but offers a striking visual contrast to divine mercy. On the right, the Psalmist, who is being attacked by a demon, receives a spear from God. The prophet's community, standing in reverential awe, is on the lower right. The left half of the drawing illustrates verses 2 and 4. In the side porch the seated man (the master) points the blade of the sword *at* the two standing male servants.[9] The artist is clearly contrasting the two masters: the earthly master, rich and proud, uses the sword to threaten and punish his servants, while God, the divine master, rewards his servants with protective mercy. The artist, then, has correlated the earthly master with the forces of evil, like the demon, who threaten God's servants.

Notes

Thanks are due to Michael Halter, a Freshman Scholar in the School of Liberal Arts at Purdue, for his assistance. Ann W. Astell offered some helpful suggestions.

1. All of the miniatures are reproduced in Thomas H. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index* (Kalamazoo, 1992).

2. Judith E. Duffey, "The Inventive Group of Illustrations in the Harley Psalter" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California Berkeley, 1977).

3. Duffey cites the English translation of *La Chevalerie* by D.C. Dunning (New York, 1959). This abridged edition reduces the original French text by two-thirds.

4. Léon Gautier, *La Chevalerie* (Paris, 1895), p. 282.

5. Marc Bloch (*Feudal Society*) offers only one example of dubbing with the sword, and it is dated AD 1213 (p. 316). In *Chivalry* (New Haven, 1984), Maurice Keen cites dozens of examples of girding and the *colée* but not one instance of the *coup de plat d'épée* (pp. 64-82).

6. J.G.C. Anderson, ed., *Cornelii Taciti: De Origine et Situ Germanorum* (Oxford, 1938), Bk. 1: Chap. 13. Fr. Klaeber, *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950), lines 1020 ff. and 2190 ff. For the panel in the Bayeux Tapestry in which Duke William gives arms to Earl Harold, see pl. xxv in *English Historical Documents 1042-1189* (New York, 1953), ed. David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway.

7. Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 72-73. For an eleventh-century illustration showing sword girding, see fol. 32r of the *Bury Psalter* (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12); Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, pl. 3.11.

8. H.R. Aulas Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 76 and 188.

9. The artist may have been aware of the patristic tradition in which the master's hand deals out both reward and punishment; Cassiodorus, in *Expositio in Psalmum CXXII*, emphasizes the dual functions: *Attendunt serui ad manus dominorum suorum, siue quando per eos desiderant enutiri, ut totius indigentiae necessitates euadant; siue quando pro culpis suis uapulare iubentur, donec audiant, parce* [Cassiodorus, *Expositio Psalmorum* (*Corpus Christianorum*, *Series Latina* 98, 1155-59)]. In *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, Augustine stresses the punitive hand of the master, but, unlike the artist, he correlates the master with God and the servants with fallen man and Adam [*Corpus Christianorum*, *Series Latina* 40, 1819-20].

APPENDIX A

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Robert L. Schichler
with the assistance of Carol L. Wiles

In each Spring issue the editors of *OEN* publish abstracts of papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies given at the various conferences and meetings in the previous year, i.e., June to May. The success or value of this feature depends on the cooperation of conference organizers and session chairmen, from whom the editors hope to receive conference information, abstracts, and confirmation that papers were given as announced. Since the editors cannot publish what they do not receive and publication requirements preclude any attempts to look back beyond the year immediately preceding, the editors ask for the cooperation of all concerned to ensure the flow of information to all Anglo-Saxonists. For this appendix of abstracts, the editors issue the *caveat* that not all abstracts of papers given at the conferences mentioned below were available. Typically, *OEN* covers the meetings listed here by soliciting abstracts, but for other meetings *OEN* must rely on the organizers. Abstracts should not exceed one page, double-spaced; the editors will shorten abstracts longer than one page.

For future issues of this feature, organizers and conference coordinators should send abstracts to the feature editor:

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An Author-Index follows.

I. The Annual Conference of the Texas Medieval Association, Dallas, September 11-12, 1992:

Session 4: "Warfare and Religion in the Central Middle Ages"

Kent Hare (Louisiana State University)

"Apparitions and Warfare in Anglo-Saxon England"

Escalating bellicosity exhibited by apparitional beings, culminating with the explicit aid in battle reported from the First Crusade, reflects the shifting attitude of Christianity toward the practice of war both before and in light of the events of the Crusade. With the exception of a brief treatment by Christopher Tyerman, historians have for too long neglected early medieval English antecedents to crusading ideology. This study examines a series of apparitions as they appear in selected sources from Anglo-Saxon and Norman England, a milieu parallel to but separate from Carl Erdmann's Continental field of study.

Erdmann's fundamental point was that the Crusade climaxed a long development in the idea of holy war in which the significant formation occurred in ninth-century Carolingian Francia. Tyerman asserts that the Viking invasions of the ninth century were also decisive in igniting development of a holy war idea in Anglo-Saxon England. While earlier Anglo-Saxon sources, from roughly the time of Bede in the early eighth century, portrayed celestial beings acting generally in accordance with hagiographic conventions established early in the Middle Ages, two of the three militaristic apparitions documented in late tenth-century Anglo-Saxon sources were set during King Alfred's conflict with the Vikings in the ninth century. By the twelfth century, the Viking Wars were perceived even more explicitly as involving direct offensive aid from heaven. The early twelfth century witnessed a flowering of medieval historiography in England which, based on a dearth of sources, attempted to retrieve and in some ways succeeded rather in recreating England's pre-Norman history. The Anglo-Norman historians William of Malmesbury and Simeon of Durham viewed the wars of their Anglo-Saxon past through the lens of the widely recounted martial apparitions of the First Crusade.

Session 19: "Small Persons, Big Feet, and the Psyche in the Darker Ages"

Edwin Duncan (Lamar University)

"Was Grendel A Bigfoot?"

Richard Bernheimer's failure to discuss Grendel in *Wild Men of the Middle Ages* may stem from his focus on a later tradition in which wild men were meant to be understood in allegorical or romantic terms. Certainly, Grendel belongs to a separate tradition from the wild men portrayed as guardians of the forest, symbols of man's unruly sexual passions, or noble savages of the golden age.

In fact, Hrothgar's description (*Beowulf* 1345-54) of Danish sightings of Grendel and his mother crossing the moors curiously resembles more recent accounts of that wild, manlike creature known variously as bigfoot, sasquatch, yeti, and abominable snowman. In both cases, the subjects are wild, bipedal, anthropomorphic creatures who roam the uninhabited wilderness.

Further investigation provides even more similarities, suggesting a fundamental relationship between the two. Both Grendel and the bigfoot are reportedly nocturnal, larger than man, and capable of a dreadful cry which profoundly frightens its human listeners. Both have fanglike teeth, prominent arms, and extraordinary strength. Like Grendel, the bigfoot is also sometimes said to have gleaming, demoniacal, yellow eyes. Further, although most bigfoot sightings report a shy, retiring type of beast, there are exceptions. Accounts of murderous violence committed by wild manlike creatures in California in 1890, in Guatemala in 1915, and in Guiana, Burma, and China in more recent times, bring to mind Grendel's vicious attack on the Danes in Heorot.

Grendel's obvious links with the Scandinavian troll tradition also underscore this relationship. Names and descriptions of some *jotunns* in Icelandic literature suggest their resemblances to bigfeet as well as to Grendel.

In short, whether Grendel was a fictionalized exaggeration of actual encounters with some type of hominid or an imagined externalization of man's subconscious fears, his resemblance to descriptions of the bigfoot invites speculation about the relationship between the two.

II. Twenty-Sixth Annual Conference, "The Roles of Women in the Middle Ages: A Reassessment," Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, Binghamton University, October 15-17, 1992:

Session 5: "Archaeology, Art History/Text Study: Interwoven Sources in the Study of Anglo-Saxon Women"

Kelley Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown University)

"'They Must Be Ritual Objects': Women and Magic in the Texts and Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Period"

Archaeology provides the only texts possible for women of the oral, pre-Christian, pre-literate period of Anglo-Saxon history. I am interested in examining how archaeology gives us clues to early practical belief in supernatural power and the ability to manipulate or summon it, looking at what are typically considered magical amulets as well as such perplexing objects as the "chatelaine keys," crystal spheres, and jewelry with precious stones. I want to match the physical record against how that evidence may enlighten later textual evidence for supernatural power often associated with magic and women, whether positive or negative. Though all of us are familiar with the misconception that the Middle Ages killed the most witches, many of us are uncomfortable with examining the elements of magic, ritual, and the non-Christian because of the scholarly stigma attached to such "New Age" obsessions or the lack of seriousness in the subject. We have the additional difficulty of identifying magical or ritual objects, as the timeworn joke about archaeologists labelling anything misunderstood as "ritual" testifies.

Yet in part we have denied that much of what we call orthodox belief in fact possessed and acknowledged a magical aspect, as recent work by Flint demonstrates, and that women were often connected to that magic in both the Christian and pre-Christian periods (indeed, the distinction between belief systems is not as neat as generally presented). Miracles were seen as linked to good magic, and as such, any later questioning of magic called miracles into question as well. The Anglo-Saxon period was especially rich in its early appreciation for, and recording of, miracles and saintly women; it also preserves a wealth of material on remedies that combine the Christian and the less orthodox supernatural (as in the *Lacnunga).* The texts of the later Continental abbess Hildegard of Bingen, for example, confirm that holy women and medicinal cures went together with invocations of supernatural power. I am also interested that the earliest condemnations of witches come from periods of religious reform: With the reduction of female religious houses, what happens to female potential after these reforms and the age of saints? Is the collapse of female authority due in part to a new perception of female guilt and threat of power beyond what Christianity accepts as permissible? By working from early archaeological material and Anglo-Saxon texts in combination with select comparative material, I would like to survey the range of magic and women, and their interrelationship in empowering women spiritually and practically. From everyday objects to perceptions of female ability and power, to revelations of extraordinary occurrences (miracles), the linking of artifacts and texts can provide clues to the possible survival of the religious women in Christian Anglo-Saxon tradition.

Catherine Karkov (Miami University, Ohio)

"Æthelflæd of Mercia: A Reassessment of Her Role"

It has been thirty-three years since F. T. Wainwright first published his ground-breaking study, "Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians," but since then very little work has been done on this remarkable late ninth- to early tenth-century Anglo-Saxon ruler. Scholarly neglect of Æthelflæd is, to a degree, understandable, as both the documentary and material evidence for the period is scarce and scattered. Nonetheless, the evidence is there, and this paper brings together sources from the various fields in an attempt to shed new light on Æthelflæd's role in Merica and the perception of that role both by her contemporaries and by later historians. Particular focus is given to the material record: the burghs either founded or fortified by Æthelflæd; the churches and monasteries she built and endowed; and the interesting new evidence provided by coinage from Mercian mints. Specific questions that this paper addresses include: What was the expected role of an Anglo-Saxon ruler in the tenth century, and how do Æthelflæd's actions as ruler conform to expectations? How do the historical accounts of Æthelflæd, her military campaigns, and her public works compare with those of her father, Alfred the Great, and her brother, Edward the Elder? How might we explain Edward's swift claim to Mercian territory and severe treatment of the Mercians (particularly Æthelflæd's daughter) at her death? All in all, the evidence does suggest that it is time for a reassessment of Æthelflæd and her role in the formation of Anglo-Saxon England.

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"The Darkened Mirror: The Use and Abuse of Art History in Documenting Anglo-Saxon Women"

The use of images from the past to illustrate and correlate the writing of history is nothing new, nor is it the exclusive foible of publications on women's history. The use of art historical imagery as illustration in such groundbreaking works as Christine Fell's *Women in Anglo-Saxon England* (Bloomington, 1984) is shared with numerous other publications concerning the same period; a particularly beautifully presented example is Marijane Osborn's *Beowulf: A Verse Translation with Treasures of the Ancient North* (Berkeley, 1983), where the lines of the poem are paralleled by wide margins in which archaeological finds are illustrated. Fell does integrate her illustrations into her text by means of carefully worded descriptive captions; Osborn provides information about her plates only in an appendix at the end; otherwise the reader is left to draw whatever imaginative or fantastic conclusions she may like from the unlabelled plates in conjunction with the poem itself.

Art history is, however, not so infinitely flexible a resource. Medieval images are rarely invented *ad hoc;* medieval books often copy models in imagery as closely as in texts. For example, the *Harley Psalter* (British Library MS Harley 603) contains an illustration of midwives assisting a woman in labor (fol. 27v). However, the scene cannot be construed as based upon the actualities of Anglo-Saxon women's lives: it is copied from the primary model, the *Utrecht Psalter*, where it is derived from a tradition of illustrated texts of the *Gynecology* of Soranus, which was itself not known in England. However, consciousness of models can often provide more information than the image alone, as the selection or alteration of the model can often be revealing. The selection of model type in the frontispiece of the *Encomium of Emma* and the introduction of female hostages in the Titus panel of the Franks Casket are two examples in which the selection or alteration of models may reflect on historical realities and/or desires. I suggest that authors interested in art history as a resource for illustrating historical or textual criticism might be well served to read the images themselves more critically.

Session 8: "Models of Power"

Virginia Blanton-Whetsell (Binghamton Univ.)

"Constructions of an Anglo-Saxon Woman: Æthelthryth as Queen, Abbess, Virgin, and Saint"

In Anglo-Saxon England, many women, by law and by social custom, held positions of power, maintaining and expanding their own material wealth. Ecclesiastical hagiographers often selectively represent historical and social realities of women's power by focusing minutely on representations of women in the Church, favoring depictions of women within monastic communities in leadership roles. Constructions of history and constructions of hagiography in the life of the English saint, Æthelthryth, as recorded first by Bede in the eighth century and later by Ælfric in the eleventh, emphasize this woman's role in the monastery over her secular roles as an influential woman. By focusing on Æthelthryth's renowned virginity, her strength and piety as abbess, and the miracles she performed after death, Bede and Ælfric effectively represent her power and agency as limited within the ecclesiastical sphere of an abbey — the Church's acceptable and approved place for women. In this space, they erase the multiple facets of Æthelthryth as woman, as queen of Northumbria, as landowner of Hexham and Ely, and as benefactress and founder of the monastery at Ely. In effect the two men construct a new Æthelthryth, a masculine, asexual woman, who maintains and controls not only her own sexuality, but insists on chastity within her two marriages, thus controlling, to a certain degree, her marriages. In their constructions of various women, Bede and Ælfric follow traditional thought and insist on the necessity of patriarchal, ecclesiastical authority (citing Jerome and Aldhelm among others) and impose a hierarchy of women's roles, rigid classifications, within which they place women. In this structure the Virginal Woman is elevated to the highest position, followed by the Chaste Married Woman, the Widowed Woman, and last, the Sexual Married Woman. With this formation, the Church Fathers create impermeable categories for women. To understand these depictions of woman in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical history, one must question the constructions, contextually define them, and illuminate that which justifies the position of the hagiographer as historian and as representative of the social aspects of women, and finally reveal what lies behind male-authorized hagiographic depictions of women.

E. Tomlinson Fort (Pennsylvania State Univ.)

"The Position and Authority of Æthelflæd of Merica: The Charter Evidence"

In 1959 the late F. T. Wainwright published his ground-breaking study of the career of Æthelflæd of Mercia (d.918). Unfortunately, since this study Æthelflæd has attracted little attention from historians. This seems a rather strange situation since Æthelflæd was the daughter of King Alfred the Great of Wessex (871-899), the sister of King Edward the Elder (899-924), and, most importantly, a dominant figure in Mercian politics during the lifetime of her husband Ealdorman Æthelred (ca. 879?-911), ruling the province in her own right after his death.

While Wainwright's study concentrated upon Æthelflæd's role in the reconquest of northern and central England, this present study focuses on the evidence for Æthelflæd's involvement in the governance of Merica. The principal source is the charter evidence. While the number of surviving diplomas is small, they provide important information for the functioning of the Mercian government and they also provide the crucial evidence for the make-up of the Mercian court. Most importantly they furnish information about the constitutional position of Æthelflæd during the period in which Mercia was coming increasingly under West Saxon control.

This paper argues that during her husband's lifetime Æthelflæd's position at the Mercian court was similar to that of the Mercian queens of the eighth and ninth centuries. Towards the end of Æthelred's lifetime, when the ealdorman became incapacitated because of illness, Æthelflæd seems to have taken up the reigns of power in her own right and after his death was able to make grants as Lady of the Mercians. What is even more interesting is that she was able to make these grants without the approval of her brother King Edward. This is a different situation from that of her husband whose grants were often made with the consent of the West Saxon king. This almost certainly suggests that Æthelflæd's position in Mercia was unique and greater than that of the other English ealdormen.

Laura Renick (University of Pennsylvania)

"Heedful Woman and Headless Man in the Old English *Judith*"

This paper examines how the epithets and namings in the Old English *Judith* establish a gendered power dynamic; the power and authority of the human figures, Judith and Holofernes, are determined by how they position themselves in relation to divine authority and by how they fulfill the gender roles their respective epithets imply. Holofernes fails to subject himself to God's dominion and thus forfeits what the poem identifies as masculine goals of military prowess, political influence, and social stature. Judith, on the other hand, acts with proper religious submission, thereby gaining power in an explicitly female paradigm. As hero, she embodies the Anglo-Saxon convention that R. E. Kaske calls "sapientia et fortitudo"; as woman, however, she is not allowed unconditional "fortitudo." Although the poem provides ample evidence of her independent courage and daring, both its epithets and its careful pacing *always* position this female bravery as an instrument of divine (read: male) sanction. Thus, Judith becomes the center of a complex subject/object dynamic. In one sense she has power and agency in her own right: she is the one who brings the sword down on Holofernes' neck, who sends the Hebrews into battle, and to whom they bring their booty. In another sense, however, especially in the poem's deliberate language of naming, she does not. Although her leadership has been expanded from the poem's source, nowhere is she called by any of the many words for "leader" that the poem showers on Holofernes and God. She is, in fact, not the Hebrews' true military or spiritual leader but rather a medium for the will of their true head, God. The poem downplays her actions as a flesh-and-blood woman (and commander) while stressing her exemplary devotion and submission to God, which stand in stark contrast to Holofernes' defiance. Both of these portraits depend on a careful scheme of naming and positioning by which the poem simultaneously maps gender and prescribes sanctity.

Christopher Fee (University of Connecticut)

"The Appropriation of Heroism in the Old English *Judith* Poem"

The Old English *Judith* differs from the *Liber Iudith* of the Vulgate at several points, and in one particularly important way. In the Vulgate version of the story, Judith is a heroine in every sense of the word: She is a tropological symbol of Chastity at battle with Licentiousness, an allegorical symbol of the Church in its constant and eventually triumphant battle with Satan, and an inspirational figure who infuses her warriors with much needed courage and confidence; but the Vulgate Judith is also, in a very real sense, the agent by which God's will is executed and the Hebrews are saved. In the Vulgate version, the children of Israel could not possibly defeat the vast and mighty armies of the Assyrians without such divine intervention, and it is because of the role which Judith plays that they do triumph. Judith is central to the victory of the Jews, not only in a symbolic sense, but also in a practical one: She devises a plan, she implements it, and she, displaying the severed head of Holofernes to her people, explains just how they might achieve the impossible. It is according to her plan that the Assyrian generals discover their leader's headless body before the battle, and the pandemonium and disarray which ensues as a result of this discovery is central to that plan, and to the Hebrew victory.

In the Old English *Judith*, however, this central role is, in effect, marginalized to the detriment of Judith's personal importance to the Hebrew victory, but to the benefit of the valor and ability of her warriors. In contrast to the Vulgate heroine, the Old English Judith acts more in the capacity of a noble figurehead whose audacious behavior shames and inspires her warriors into similar feats of courage, than in that of a war-chief whose daring plan offers a slim chance for survival. Though her role as an intermediary acting on God's behalf is in no way questioned, this role is severely diminished: It is no longer her action which ensures the victory of the Bethulians, but rather the reaction inspired by it. Judith does, in the Old English poem, devise the strategy, she does behead Holofernes, and she does exhort her people to battle; their victory, however, seems entirely possible long before the Assyrians discover the headless body, a discovery which is not made, in this version, until the outcome of the battle is already a foregone conclusion. There is implicit in this poem the distinct probability that the Jews had in them all along the ability to succeed, and that all that they needed was a prod from Judith to overcome their enemies. This is a distinct alteration of the Vulgate.

In my paper I examine in detail the altered passages of this text in the context of the original source counterparts; I determine that this alteration was deliberate and systematic, a determination which I reach because of the regular way throughout the work that it has been modified coherently according to the needs of the poet. I attempt to determine the nature of the needs which would necessitate such a regularized process of modification by examining the expectations of the poem's audience and exploring how such expectations might not be adequately fulfilled by the original source text. Specifically, I look at gender roles and the perceptions of women in Anglo-Saxon society, and I discuss how the modifications found in the portrayal of Judith in the Old English poem manifest such roles and perceptions. In my attempt to outline this societal context, I touch, in part, upon the works of Jane Chance, Helen Damico, Alexandra Hennessy Olsen, John P. Hermann, and others. My purpose is to illustrate that the appropriation of Judith's heroism in the Old English text, which is the result of a deliberate alteration of the source material, reflects a very real concern regarding the role of women leaders in Anglo-Saxon society.

Session 10: "Feminist Editing and (Re)Reading"

Lara R. Farina (Fordham University)

"Creators, Creations and Others: An Examination of Gender and Production in *Beowulf*"

This paper discusses the construction of creativity in *Beowulf* and its role in the inscription of sexual difference in the poem and its criticism. I am interested in how textual moments of productivity and of generation shape the way we read the "place" of women and men in this canonized epic.

The paper first examines how the text and its critics encourage us to read the creative process in terms of a gendered binary structure of creator/creation, wherein the maker is male and females are consigned to the position of made object. I pay special attention here to the mapping of generative processes in the poem's introduction (which posits men as the producers of genealogies, culture, language and meaning) and to the subsequent relegation of women to the role of use-objects, incapable of effecting meaningful production. Next, the paper discusses the limitations of this binary interpretive model, regarding: (1) its inability to accommodate some of the poem's most provocative figures (especially the hysteric Modthryth and Grendel's monstrous mother), (2) its erasure of significant functional differences between women and artifacts in the poem, and (3) its re-inscription of masculinist notions of what "productive" behavior is. Finally, the essay attempts a revaluation of female productivity in the poem, in which I suggest a new position for *Beowulf's* women as models of creative power.

I thus argue for a recuperation of *Beowulf's* female figures from the margins of creativity and agency, while at the same time acknowledging the political need to keep textual and critical structures of marginalization in view. Toward this end, the essay explores conceptual models provided by feminist theory (particularly notions of parody, mimicry, and subversion) and discusses the work of *Beowulf* scholars such as Jane Chance and Gillian Overing.

Session 20: "The Position of Women in Cultural Production"

Clare A. Lees (Fordham University) and
Gillian R. Overing (Wake Forest University)

"Birthing Bishops and Fathering Poets: Bede, Hild, and the Relations of Cultural Production, I and II"

Our title refers to two events in Old English literary history, both of which were originally fashioned by Bede in his celebrated *Historia Ecclesiastica*. According to Bede, Hild is worthy of memory at least in part because, as celebrated Abbess and Mother of the dual foundation of Streonaeshalch or Whitby, she created an environment of spiritual instruction that produced five bishops. Twentieth-century historians, following Bede, also like to remember Whitby as a virtual "nursery of bishops." The second event recalls an even better known literary moment when Bede bequeaths his society, and subsequent scholarly readers, the account of the so-called first English poet, Cædmon, often known as the Father of English poetry and described by Allen J. Frantzen in an equally evocative phrase as a "birth" of Christian Anglo-Saxon poetry.

The two events are, of course, connected in this trio of names — Bede, Hild, and Cædmon — but their connections reveal an unequal hierarchy. Bede authors and creates these events, but Hild is the abbess of the monastery that not only produces five bishops but Cædmon as well. And yet scholarship tends to remember these two events separately. Putting Bede's two moments side-by-side (as they appear in *HE* IV, 23-24), we examine the cultural activities represented in the two accounts, and re-presented by the institution of Anglo-Saxon scholarship, as gendered ones. We might express this as follows: Bede (the man) fathers Cædmon (poets/poetry/sons) while Hild (the woman) mothers bishops/men.

The gender asymmetry suggested by the events of Hild's life and Cædmon's miracle is a familiar binarism of patriarchy; that is to say, women reproduce, men produce. This fundamental binarism, moreover, still informs much OE scholarship. At moments when literary history remembers Cædmon as the originary event of English poetry, it forgets Hild — as direct consequence of Bede's structuring of the event.

Our point is that it is not necessary to choose between silencing Hild and hearing Bede, or vice versa; we seek to avoid a duplication of binary choices which would set critical paradigms in a competitive relationship to each other. We are not concerned here to chastise Bede or successive critics and historians for selective amnesia, nor are we interested in chiding others for only partial recall. What our papers attempt to do is re-investigate the dynamic of Bede and Hild by connecting these two figures within the larger framework of their relation to cultural production. We aim to remember what conventional (i.e., non-feminist) scholarship and patriarchal authors (i.e., Bede) forget, silence, or erase and, at the same time, suggest a different model for future feminist scholarship.

Lees begins with an examination of how women are represented in originary moments of cultural production, using Bede, Hild, and Cædmon as a test case, and raising some theoretical questions and issues prompted by the specifics of this historicized instance. Overing then uses our reconstruction of these literary events as paradigmatic narratives that offer the possibility of theorizing the relations of gender in the production of culture in Anglo-Saxon society overall, and of discovering new questions and directions for future research. We historicize such originary narratives in order to rob them of their power *and* theorize the continued production of their meaning in contemporary critical discourse. In other words, we have one eye firmly on the past and the other firmly in the present: our interests are twofold in that we wish to appropriate the patriarchal myth of the origins of Old English poetry and suggest alternative ways of understanding this origin. Our emphasis is therefore not so much on new information (the stories of Bede, Hild, and Cædmon are, after all, often rehearsed by Anglo-Saxon scholars) but on new ways of interpreting it.

Judith A. Ellis (Western Michigan University)

"Assessing the Role of Women as Patrons and Producers of the Arts in England to 1300 A.D.: Trends and Questions"

What role did women play in the production of art in early medieval England? Past and even recent scholarship, citing such authorities as Bede and Boniface, often argues that the Anglo-Saxon period was perhaps the greatest period, not only in terms of prestige and power, but art production (particularly manuscripts). However, in our enthusiasm to reconstruct an illustrious past, have we been too quick to assume too much, based on too little evidence? Does the meager documentary evidence really sustain our modern concepts, in particular, of Anglo-Saxon women as creators of deluxe manuscripts?

In fact, the evidence is stronger that women were more dynamically involved with art production beginning in the late Anglo-Saxon period in the case of secular women (Margaret of Scotland and Judith of Flanders), and in the twelfth century in the case of religious women (Christina of Markyate, and the nuns of Shaftesbury and Wilton). During the Gothic period, secular women patrons commissioned a dazzling array of deluxe manuscripts, while female textile producers gained world renown with their *opus anglicanum*.

In this paper I propose to identify possible trends, question some assumptions, and hopefully excite interest in under-investigated material.

Session 25: "The Feminine Lyric Voice"

Anne L. Klinck (New Brunswick University)

"Lyric Voice and the Feminine in Some Classical and Medieval Poems"

This paper takes up the notion of the *Frauenlied* developed by Frings, Spitzer, Malone, and others, and applied to medieval poetry of the ninth to thirteenth centuries. The *Frauenlied* or woman's song is a love lyric with a female speaker. Comparing the form as it appears in medieval poems, Latin and vernacular, with a similar form preserved in the remains of archaic Greek poetry enables us to define the medieval genre more sharply. In both cases, the femininity of the poems is constituted by the speaking voice, not by the gender of the author. The Greek woman's song is illustrated by the lyric monody of Sappho and also by the choral *paratheneia* performed — in dance accompanied by song — by young girls at religious festivals. The Sapphic poems and the *paratheneia* are the product of women's groups and celebrate homoerotic love. Both the classical and the medieval poems create a feminine voice which is distinctively other than the voice of male lyric. But woman's song can be appropriated to a male voice, and vice versa — as we see in Catullus' translation of Sappho's *Phainetai moi kēnos isos theoisin* ("That man seems to me like a god") and in the Anglo-Saxon poets' adaptation of the exile theme to the situation of abandoned women. Both the ancient and the medieval poems are characterized by urgency of feeling, narrowness of focus, and sharpness of image, by an utterance which is personal rather than tribal, expressive rather than hortative. However, the classical poems display a voluptuousness and a self-sufficiency; they recreate presence (even when the beloved has gone), whereas the medieval poems are typified by longing and absence. These differences can be attributed to a different social background in the two cases. Greek society — though in many ways restrictive to women — gave them an honored public place in religious celebration and sanctioned homoerotic love. Medieval woman's song essentially works against the confines of organized society, privileging the "weaker" sex, and asserting it by the power of words.

Session 28: "Women's Handiwork"

Gerald Bond (University of Rochester)

"Arresting the Subject: Ælfgiva and the Coloring of History in the Bayeaux Tapestry"

The Bayeaux Tapestry's narrative of the Norman Conquest includes an enigmatic scene of encounter between an English woman, Ælfgiva, and an unidentified *clericus*. Attention to the overt political program of the tapestry overlooks the potential for resistance and subversion in this encounter between genders, nationalities, and visual regimes. A rich literature of "women's songs" related to sewing circles, like the group of women embroiderers who produced the tapestry, suggests a mode of reading against the ideological grain of the Bayeaux Tapestry. Whereas the narrative scenes and captions guide the reader/viewer through a pre-established political program, the material surface of the embroidery and the potential for an eroticized reading of the encounter of Ælfgiva and the *clericus* allow for another interpretive register. Does the Bayeaux Tapestry present Ælfgiva as alien, enemy, and eroticized other, or as a chaste victim? How is the political meaning of this encounter altered by the materiality of embroidery and by the reading/singing habits of these women needleworkers?

Session 32: "Archetypal Patterns and Topoi"

Marian Aitches (University of North Texas)

"The Slaying of the Mother Goddess in *Beowulf*"

The purpose of this paper is to illustrate that the significance of the monsters for the audience of *Beowulf* was deepened by connotations related to pre-Christian, pagan religion. In essence, the conflict between Beowulf and what is actually a three-headed monster represents on the mythic level the conflict between the male and female principles and also the conflict between the male-centered Christian religion and the female-centered ancient pagan religion.

Grendel's mother, who has no name, at the very least seems to represent the negative female principle. Other critics, such as Helen Damico and Jane Chance, have connected this monster with a valkyrie, a pagan priestess, "a monstrous mother and queen." All of these designations are clearly aspects of the destructive hag side of the mother or earth goddess who is nurturing in her positive face.

She and her son are representations of the mother-son pairs so frequently seen in ancient Indo-European mythology. Such pairs are part of the Mother Goddess cult which emphasizes the child as son of the mother. Like the sons of ancient goddesses, Grendel's power is less than that of his mother. There is considerable evidence in support of the worship of the Earth Mother, the moon, and her husband, son, or lover, the sun, as one of the oldest and most enduring beliefs in Britain. It is perhaps, then, not so incredible that Grendel and his mother would have been seen by the Anglo-Saxon audience as types of the Earth Mother goddess and her son. They are both giants, an attribute of ancient gods, and the poet specifically calls them both devils — what happened to all the gods of pagan mythology when passed through the Christian sieve.

The dragon, the last of the three monsters, also associated with the devil, is closely connected with Grendel's mother as well as with her son. The poet says a great deal about fire in relation to both the dragon and Grendel's mother, for example, and they are both guardians and hoarders who dwell in caves near the sea. The *Beowulf* dragon's physical connection with the serpent-demon group of mythological figures is specified in the text. The similarities between what Adrien Bonjour calls the demoniac and draconic monsters are undoubtedly much more important than the differences. This is because, from a Christian point of view, the devil (Satan) and the dragon-serpent (Leviathan) are the same.

Clearly, the "three-headed" monster represents the forces of evil and destruction pitted against the forces of good and creation. And this destructive force is contained by the creative force of the archetypal figure of the dying god, the hero who sacrifices himself so that his world can be resurrected. Thus, Beowulf, the Christian king, the masculine force with whom light is associated, subdues the pagan forces of chaotic darkness, which are closely related in the poem to the negative female principle. In the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon world, this powerful female principle had been replaced with the Virgin Mary, who had been put in her place in a patriarchal religion — revered, to be sure, but subjugated to the power of the Father and the Son. This fact constitutes a total reversal of power from the ancient Indo-European pattern in which the mother dominated the husband/son. It further reflects the relative passivity of the ideal woman in the age of *Beowulf*.

Session 36: "Woman's Discourse and Silence"

Lisa M. C. Weston (Cal. State Univ., Fresno)

"Speaking Wisdom as a Woman: The Old English *Wife's Lament*"

Of women as characters in Old English literature we have a small but significant number: Juliana, Elene, and Judith as the heroines of the poems devoted to their lives; Mary in the *Advent Lyrics;* Eve in *Genesis;* as well as Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Modthryth, and Grendel's Mother among the women of *Beowulf*. But in featuring women as the controlling voices — the speaking subjects rather than the material of poetry — the so-called *Wife's Lament*, along with another poem in the Exeter Book, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, is a rarity. It seems to offer us the true and accurate voice of the women's bowers rather than the men's hall; previous readings have, in fact, stressed the poem's expression of female experience. This paper discusses the way the *Wife's Lament* challenges, temporarily appropriates, and ironically transforms the gendered roles offered by the Anglo-Saxon world for public speech, the male elegiac poet as well as the keening or lamenting woman. In doing so, the poem interrogates the culture's assumptions about gender as well as about silence and speech, poetry and wisdom.

The language of the *Wife's Lament* revels in discordances and contradictions as it details the experiences of a woman ostensibly betrayed and abandoned by her husband, exiled far from human habitations to an earth-cave under an oak tree. There she must bewail her fate and there, she claims, she acquires a power to speak the wisdom gained through her initiation into suffering. The poem tests the limits of traditional poetic roles and initiatory narratives. It engages the culturally assigned and fixed significations which carry the gendered ideology of the men's hall.

How does a woman — indeed, can a woman — acquire the right to speak when the men's hall alone supplies the proper place for public speech? Especially in so far as the elegiac poet, or *wodbora*, is related to other normatively male roles like the warrior and the shaman, how can the Wife appropriate the poet's power to define and give voice to wisdom? What other culturally defined metaphors and archetypes invoked by the *wodbora* — exile, suffering, fate *(wyrd)*, the hall and the wilderness — does the Wife's interrogation reveal to be implicitly gendered? What kind of mythic figures can she invoke, what kind of shamanism can she adopt? How does she construct from her ironic transformations of the paradigms of the men's hall a specifically female wisdom and an alternate type of power for the women's bowers?

Session 38: "Women and the Nation"

Patricia Ingham (Univ. of Cal., Santa Barbara)

"Containing Foreign Queens: The Domestic Cosmology of *Beowulf* and *Judith*"

The Nowell Codex of Cotton Vitellius A.xv contains two texts which depict provocatively the power of foreign women in court cultures. While a variety of scholars have recently attended to the representations of the queen as freoðuwebbe, "peace-weaver," within the text of *Beowulf*, much less attention has been directed toward the figure of Judith from the Anglo-Saxon text of the same name. In this paper I examine the figure of Judith in the context of the depictions of queenship offered by the *Beowulf*-poet(s). More precisely, I suggest that, when read together, these two texts inscribe what I call a domestic cosmology for foreign queenship; that is, each text depicts a scene of domestic relation that has fluid political implications and presumes extension along cosmological lines. The conjunction of the term "domestic" with the term "cosmology" brings together two arenas usually held to be distinct: cosmological universality and domestic particularity. I want to suggest that in these texts the foregrounding of the personal and domestic is always already a construction of how the world (and ultimately the cosmos) works. Moreover, this construction functions as a politics; political and social realities lie at the heart of the textual confluence of domestic constructions with cosmological ones.

The texts of *Beowulf* and *Judith*, in my reading of them, argue for a particular political ideology of domestic and cosmological ordering which narrates both the proper use of violence and anxieties of the foreign in specifically gendered terms. In *Beowulf*, figures of powerful, foreign women (Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Freawaru) in court cultures raise issues of domestic power and problems of succession; figures of powerful, violent women (Modthryth, and, I would argue, Grendel's mother) express anxieties of female governance and foreign violence. These two trajectories converge in the figure of Judith who, as foreign woman beheading court sovereign, embodies both the foreign and the violent, powerful female. Judith's containment within the desires of the Lord God, the cosmological sovereign, allows for the exploration of her access to violent power. Female power here is didactically connected to the transcendental desires of the male deity; her actions within the domestic sphere are governed by the cosmological sovereign. But implicit within the structuring of the relationship of this text is the danger inherent in inviting a foreign woman into one's bed chamber. Judith's construction, from one perspective, embodies the sovereign's worst nightmare and, in the historical context of the practice of "peace-weaving" alliance building, enacts a displacement of the fear of violent, foreign invasion.

In identifying the problem of female foreign power and violence as an undercurrent of these two works, I have been influenced by Frederic Jameson's discussion of the "Political Unconscious" of texts. Jameson understands literary texts not as individualized, idiosyncratic creations, but as artifacts of an historical social order enacting social, cultural, and political agendas. With this in mind, I begin by contextualizing the two texts of *Beowulf* and *Judith* within the historical narrative of female power offered by historians on the early medieval period. Once contextualized, I analyze the construction of queenship first in Beowulf, paying close attention to issues of loss and succession as they relate to questions of foreign violence mentioned above. Finally, I explore Judith as a more explicit meditation on these same issues. By way of conclusion I suggest the kinds of cultural work such constructions of powerful women might enact, especially for a society forced to accommodate itself to increasing realities of foreign alliance. Specifically, I argue that these representations of foreign women manage anxiety of female governance, serve as socially coercive ideologies of "right" queenship, suggest the dangers inherent in exogamous marriage alliances, and argue against a naive reliance on the particularities of kinship relationships vis-a-vis more transcendental constructions of clan identity.

III. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, New York, December 27-30, 1992:

Session 19: "Orality and Literacy in Old English Verse and Prose"

John Niles (University of California, Berkeley)

"Oral Poetry Acts"

How and why was the material text of *Beowulf* written down? I present a new theory of the making of this text based on the concept of the "oral poetry act," a staged event that aims to generate a text of an oral poem for the benefit of a textual community. This kind of event comes about when outsiders who are familiar with the uses of literacy, and who have the technology and resources of text-making at their disposal, come to interest themselves in the textual possibilities of poems that normally are only performed aloud. In form and also to some degree in content, the texts that result from this intervention into an oral tradition do not exactly fulfill the expectations of either ordinary literature or ordinary oral performance. They represent a *tertium quid*, a "third culture" that emerges at the interface of orality and literacy. The patrons and scribes who record these texts could be considered their co-authors, for by initiating a process of textualization, they help to create long, complex, artful, "readerly" poems that display a variety of oral-traditional features but that would not otherwise exist.

The theory of "oral poetry acts" that I present here is consistent with what is based on comparative, evidence from Northern Europe (the *Kalevala)*, Southern Europe (the epic songs recorded by Parry and Lord), and Africa (the *Mwindo Epic)*, and it is consistent with what is known of the arts of dictation in the Middle Ages. If valid, the theory has implications for understanding the nature of not only *Beowulf*, but also a number of other archaic works that show features of an oral-traditional style.

Deborah VanderBilt (St. John Fisher College)

"Bilingualism in *Orosius*"

Old English poetry was a specialized idiom which came out of an oral culture, but both the poetry and prose are marked by the same conceptions about language which would give rise to that specialized poetic form in the first place. In a translation such as the *OE Orosius*, the text becomes a bilingual document, marked by an interaction of both language systems, the Latin and the vernacular. The interaction is crucial for the dual approach toward authority in the *Orosius*; the translator draws on both the classical *auctoritas* and the authority of presence from an oral culture. Translation into the vernacular also draws into the text elements foreign to the literate tradition of the Latin source, including places of active interrelation between translator and author, references to and terms from the oral milieu of the vernacular community, and a tolerance for the resulting disjunction.

On the other hand, the translator is in a complicitous relationship with the *auctoritas* represented by the Latin author, and uses it as a mantle under which he can then communicate his own message to an audience. Translation represents for the vernacular author a position of double strength. The Latin text affords a ready-made authority, and he is able to draw on another through the position in which he is placed as translator and through the power offered by the traditions of orality inherent in the vernacular itself.

Session 166: "Texts for Teaching: Canonical, Pedagogical, Textual, and Theoretical Issues"

Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton University)

"Anglo-Saxonist Attitudes (and Dilemmas): School Texts in the Current Debates"

After some 150 years of an active and directed tradition of editing texts that has produced such estimable scholarship as Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf* and Pope's magisterial two-volume edition of the *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, not to mention such school texts as Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Primer* and the Mitchell-Robinson *Guide*, Anglo-Saxonists find themselves in a position much like Kafka's country doctor: beset by a blizzard of opinions and views, and almost paralyzed by the elements that have killed off the faithful horse and rendered the carriage useless in the attempt to save the maybe dying young patient. Much of the current swirl may owe its power to the introduction of "theory" within the last decade, but, truth be known, even before *adventus theoriae* there was a continual grumbling that a given introductory school text had not gotten it "right," generally because it muddled the language information or forgot its student audience. But it is clear that theoretical challenges have given the old complaining a newer key. Recent and future conferences have been the sites of much of the discussion, notably the 1990 Manchester conference on OE editing in general, the 1991 Toronto conference on the politics of editing, the 1992 Kalamazoo sessions on problems in editing, and this year's Oxford ISAS conference. Accompanying all this talk, much of it soon to be published, there have been the bang, woof, and tweet of the computer. This sketch of the current attitudes and dilemmas facing editors of OE school texts thus necessarily begins with a consideration of scholarly theory and the framework(s) for editing it provides, but of course the classroom text and its intended student audience are the required focus of this paper and this session. The major topics are the New Philology vs. the Old Philology, the lack of student sophistication in language study, and the apparent promise of the computer.

Session 192: "Creating the Medieval Text: Readers Reading, Writers Writing, Listeners Listening"

Eugene Green (Boston University)

"The Old English Homily as Semiotic Performance"

An analysis of homiletic texts — those of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and those in the Blickling and Vercelli collections — provides a basis for a coherent, semiotic model of performance. The assumption guiding this model is that homilists, addressing the clergy or the laity, met their resistances with similar patterns of speech acts focused on good works and self-awareness. The similarities in these acts of exhortation and admonishment reveal a common fund of linguistic properties indicative of a shared sense of how to use the vernacular for moral suasion. As for speech acts directed at a concern for self-awareness, the aims of the homilists were to displace the foibles of mind with patience, meditation, attentiveness, steadfastness, retentiveness, and wariness. Aware of the difficulties such an exercise in self-awareness presents, the homilists, in speech acts, exhorted their auditors to look to God. Repeatedly, a name for God appears in speech acts urging prayers or hope for His intercession, or in admonishments against forgetting God's access to one's thoughts.

So consistently do these semiotic patterns addressed toward resistance occur that they raise a question of cultural awareness. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* are responsive to this question, for in his first collection he urges a resemblance between the faculties of mind and the Trinity. For him, if the faithful are to recognize that their minds reflect the threefold nature of the divine, they must not neglect God. The second collection offers a politics of good works, each estate responsive to its proper calling.

Session 378: "Comparative Contexts for Old English Literature"

Clare A. Lees (Fordham University)

"Preaching and Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England"

Anglo-Saxon sermons are often held to be traditional texts, as is suggested both by their use of patristic sources and by their translations of conventional theology. They are also rarely read, or rather they are read but only in one particular way and by only a small group of scholars: this genre is hardly a canonical best-seller. In this paper, I argue that the relative critical distaste for sermons is related to their perception as "traditional" texts, but that what "tradition" means is seldom explored.

Central to our understanding of tradition in literary discourse is an over-used yet little understood binarism: tradition and modernity, the old and the new. What is "new" is always, it seems, more vital, more important (less conservative?) than what is old, with the result that the first part of this binarism — the concept of tradition — is often shielded from analysis. We use this binarism in at least three different ways. In literary history, the old and the new is a means of distinguishing periods and canonical texts (which are never, it appears, "traditional"), as well as a means of describing the reception of genres (traditional texts are never "new"). By contrast, history in its socio-cultural sense valuably uses the term "tradition" to link texts and events. In this third sense, sermons, for example, can be related to their institutional practices: Christianity is, after all, a religion of inherited traditions. Far from simply offering evidence of textual traditions, Anglo-Saxon preaching texts, with their emphasis on the reception and encouragement of specific practices of belief, provide material for a study of the relationship between culture and belief.

Craig R. Davis (Smith College)

"The Preservation and Decay of Germanic Tradition in *Beowulf*"

The type of heroic figure from Germanic tradition which we find in *Beowulf* continued to enjoy some importance in Anglo-Saxon England, especially in the construction of royal genealogies. But the stories of such heroes themselves were drifting downscale, becoming antiquarian rather than authoritative, "popular" rather than official. A key factor in the declining prestige of traditional narratives was that their formulaic plot-structures, characterized by the temporary success but ultimate defeat of their protagonists, could not compete in a narrative milieu which was increasingly dominated by biblical expectations of eventuality. In spite of several accommodations to Christian sacred history on the part of the poet, his hero's career still recapitulates on a secular, political level the movement of late pagan myth from the divine creation of order out of primeval chaos to an apocalyptic collapse of that order back into chaos. Just as Thor falls in disastrous victory against the universal serpent of chaos which holds middle-earth in its embrace, so Beowulf is forced to defend his kingdom from the depredations of a chthonic worm and dies in pyrrhic conquest of the same. The hero's partial success, but final failure, in protecting his people reveals the failure of the poet himself to adapt the deep structure of pagan heroic legend to a providential plot of history. *Beowulf* thus epitomizes the decay rather than the reinvigoration of its tradition. Like the hero himself in his attempt to save his people, the *Beowulf*-poet's efforts proved temporary and expedient: he half succeeds but ultimately fails to find the formula which would save the old stories in the new world.

Session 500: "Critical Approaches to Old English Literature"

Carol Braun Pasternack (University of California, Santa Barbara)

"Sex, Death, and Anglo-Saxon Texts"

This paper discusses the representation of feminine sexuality in Anglo-Saxon texts. It tries out Kristeva's ideas about psycho-biology and culture as she expresses them in her essay "Stabat Mater" to discover whether they have explanatory power for Anglo-Saxon texts, specifically the *Advent Lyrics*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Asser's account of Eadburh in his *Life of King Alfred*, and Modthryth's story in *Beowulf*. These texts show attempts to contain *jouissance* or feminine power within the masculine-controlled world; that is, within the symbolic or the law. *The Advent Lyrics* and the *Ecclesiastical History* illustrate in a straightforward way Kristeva's theories because "Stabat Mater" is about the function of Mary as Virgin Mother in coping with irrational fear of the feminine (she draws heavily on Marina Warner's *Alone of All Her Sex);* thus, her analysis is drawn out of the history in which these texts participate. The Eadburh and Modthryth stories differ from these because of the political power these women wield. In these, anxiety about the nonsymbolic combines with fear that women with political power might overwhelm even for a moment the patrilinear power that Christianity held so important. In sum, according to these several representations, the feminine is associated with the nonsymbolic, very physical forces of sexuality and death, as well as maternity. The feminine is used to represent fears of those forces as well as the desire for shelter from them. And while maternity is allowed to flourish within the Anglo-Saxon Christian culture, the masculine side attempts to control the nonsymbolic in its other forms. And even maternity, as can be seen in the *Advent Lyrics*, is sanitized through metaphor and allegory.

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University, Chicago)

"Writing on Old English"

This paper continues the discussion begun at an Old English division meeting in 1991 entitled "Recent Writing on Old English" at which Thomas Shippey reviewed an article by Kevin Kiernan and books by Gillian Overing, John P. Hermann, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and myself. Kiernan, Overing, and O'Brien O'Keeffe were invited to join Shippey on the panel and to respond to his commentary on their work. It was kind of John Foley to invite me to speak at the 1992 session in order to offer my response. Writing on Old English, recent and not so recent, is a motif I use in three ways. First, I have reservations about Shippey's view of new developments in Anglo-Saxon studies and how they relate to tradition. Tradition has always been diverse, not monolithic, and innovation is usually pluralistic rather than singular in its aims. Second, I examine a small section of the Old English tradition that, in *Desire for Origins*, I call "not Old English." I look at writing on Old English manuscripts in the post-Conquest period, in particular manuscripts of the penitentials discussed by Christine Franzen in *The Tremulous Worcester Glossator* (1992). What do the Middle English glosses on the penitentials tell us about the place of the Anglo-Saxon handbooks in England in the period after the Lateran Council of 1215? Third and finally, I urge support for a very important kind of writing on Old English, the *Dictionary of Old English*, by writing out a check. A committee is soliciting contributions for the *DOE* from private scholars as a way of obtaining more long-term corporate and foundation support. We've contacted the membership of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists worldwide; if we've missed you, please let us know; if you haven't contributed yet, please do. The Committee to Support the *Dictionary of Old English* needs your support.

Anita R. Reidinger (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale)

"'Home' in Old English Poetry"

The importance of the hall in Anglo-Saxon poetry and culture has been long and extensively noted, but other, more common, structures have been all but overlooked by scholars: everywhere in the background of most Old English poems — even in those that vividly depict war and warriors, whose cultural center *is* the hall — there lies, in often the most profound kinds of ways, the concept of "home." This paper examines that concept in Old English poetry, especially as it expresses itself in Old English poetic formulas and themes. The critical approach herein thus derives from both philological and oral-traditional theories.

There are at least fourteen synonyms for "home" in OE poetry: *eðel*, *eard*, *geard*, *ærn*, *bold*, *reced*, *cnosl*, *cyþþ*, *worðig*, *wic*, *eodor*, *hof*, *hus*, and *ham*. Some — like *eðel*, *eard*, and *geard* — are often associated with a geographical setting, a home-*land*. Others refer primarily to an actual building — like *ærn*, *bold*, and *reced* — or to a simple enclosure — as in *eodor*, *hof*, and *hus*. And a few specifically associate themselves with family, as do *cnosl*, *cyþþ*, and *eðel*. These fourteen synonyms recur as simplexes about 650 times; they also recur as elements in 116 *different* compounds. To the characters of Anglo-Saxon poetry, all could — and usually did — mean "home," whether that home was on earth, in heaven, or in hell. The concept was used to define some of life's most important moments: marriage, birth, death, victory and defeat. This ubiquitous concept was often addressed formulaically.

IV. A Conference in Honor of Constance B. Hieatt, Univ. of Western Ontario, March 4-6, 1993:

Richard Firth Green (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"Ring-Givers and Peace-Makers"

While everyone recognizes that wealth was one of the greatest assets of the Germanic king and generosity one of his greatest virtues, it is sometimes too readily assumed that the only honorable subject of royal expenditure was warfare:

> Swa manlice mære þeoden,
> hordweard hæleþa heaþoræsas geald
> mearum ond madmum ...

Just as the prominence of the blood-feud in imaginative literature may have obscured for us the important role of peaceful settlement in actual practice (see Wallace-Hadrill), so too poetic evocations of open-handed warrior-lords may have blinded us to a less glamorous use to which the ring-giver's wealth might be put. Using narrative sources, such as Gregory of Tours, as well as accounts of actual lawsuits, I suggest that one of the duties of the just king was to placate his feuding subjects, if need be by paying them off from his own coffers. Some such practice seems to lie behind Hrothgar's payment of Heatholaf's wergild on Ecgtheow's behalf:

> Siððan þa fæhðe feo ðingode;
> sende ic Wylfingum ofer wæteres hrycg
> ealde madmas; he me aðas swor.

Douglas Moffat (Middle English Dictionary)

"Layamon Learns to Rhyme"

I approach here the prosody of Layamon's *Brut* from the perspective of intonation. Specifically I try to show that the basic pattern of intonation that underlies modern English speech also underlies most of the half-lines of the *Brut*. After a short explanation of what this pattern is, from the point-of-view of contemporary intonationists, I compare its structure to that of Old English verse. Then, after briefly considering Ælfric's rhythmical prose, I examine the *Brut*. By using the perspective of intonation, many of the basic differences between classical Old English verse and Layamon can be explained. Moreover, Layamon's reliance on certain prosodic features, specifically rhyme, can be explained to a considerable degree by the linguistic environment created by the intonation pattern he favors.

Rosalind Clark (Saint Mary's College)

"Irish Analogues of *Beowulf*"

In Garmonsway's and Simpson's *Beowulf and Its Analogues*, the possibility of Celtic influence on *Beowulf* is not even considered. Yet such scholars as Martin Puhvel, James Carney, Max Deutschbein, Heinz Dehmer, and C. W. von Sydow consider the episodes of Grendel and his mother to be definitely Celtic in origin. A search for Irish analogues produces a fascinating collection of monster lore, but no unmistakable Irish source for *Beowulf*.

Deutschbein and Carney each have a favored literary "source": *Fled Bricrenn* and *Tain Bo Fraich*, respectively. Because of their lack of understanding of the oral tradition, these scholars assume connections based on isolated motifs (hero's fight to defend a fortress from a giant, and hero's fight with a water monster), rather than considering the complete tale type. Dehmer and von Sydow effectively disprove such connections by their explanation of oral transmission methods. A true analogue must have the same motif sequence, and only a motif sequence found only in Celtic tradition can prove a tale Celtic beyond a doubt. The significant Celtic element in *Beowulf* is the "Hand and Child" motif (in *Beowulf*, the tearing off of Grendel's arm), found in connection with a sequence of two fights with monsters and a journey to the monster's (under-water) house.

The "Hand and Child" story shows enough similarity in plot sequence, specific details, and general theme and motivation, to be classed as a real analogue of *Beowulf*. An analogue, however, need not be either a direct source or a direct descendant. For instance, the Irish tale *Aided Fergus maic Leide* (ca. 1100 A.D.), shows more consistent similarities to *Beowulf* than appear in either Deutschbein or Carney's "sources," yet the difference in time and language is so great that this seemingly obvious "descendant" is an impossible one. Motifs found in that and other tales — the giant's mother, the pair of male and female giants, the hero as a swimmer, and the fight under water — may come from Celtic tradition, but may be simply Indo-European. Other similarities and parallels are intriguing, but do not constitute proof of identity.

James D. Keddie (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"Simplifying Resolution in *Beowulf*"

In most Old English metrical systems, resolution is regarded as a notation on paper without much consideration being given to how it works in practice in performance — or indeed how it is to be defined in theory. This paper attempts to do both in the light of a new theory of meter to whose operation resolution is critical.

This theory proposes to replace the Five Types of Sievers with six types quite different in that they form an ideal metrical template rather than a prescriptive metrical stress pattern: a particular verse will correspond to such a template in much the same way that a modern verse might correspond to the iambic pentameter template. Of crucial importance to the Sievers Types is one kind of "resolution" since discounted by several theorists: the running together of adjacent unstressed syllables to form a single drop. Such "resolution" rules out several theoretically possible arrangements of two lifts and two drops, and insists on an ambiguous and special status for half-stressed syllables. The templates of the new system are the six possible combinations of two lifts and two drops, five of which are roughly equivalent to the five Sievers Types.

The sixth, Type FF, consists of drop, drop, lift, lift, with the metrical stress pattern xx//. In an inflected language such as Old English, such a pattern is difficult to fill without resolution. Once the pattern is recognized, however, resolution of the final two syllables of many unsatisfactory C-Type verses converts them to FF Types. Not only single words but also the second elements of compounds and verbs may be resolved in this way, thus making determination of levels of secondary and tertiary stress irrelevant for metrical purposes.

Applying resolution in this way dramatically reduces the need for suspension of resolution, and forces a new look at what suspension is. The only possible remaining reason for suspension is the avoidance of three-position verses.

William Schipper

"Horsemeat and English Men: The Anglo-Saxon Church and Superstition"

In 786, Pope Hadrian I sent two legates to Britain to investigate certain irregularities and to bring English practices into line with Roman ones. Many of the recommendations of this delegation, preserved in a report to the pope, deal with normal ecclesiastical matters, others with English political matters. But some address other customs of the English, such as fashions and horse mutilation, that do not seem to come under the normal purview of a papal delegation.

My paper examines some of these customs and the Church's attempts to root them out in Anglo-Saxon

England. Some represent the remains of pre-Christian beliefs and practices; and almost from the time of St. Augustine the English Church was at pains to eradicate these customs, not just because they ran counter to the Church's own teachings, but also because they undermined the Church's authority in society. In this process Church authorities used every means at their disposal — penitential handbooks (e.g., Theodore of Tarsus), Church councils (e.g., the Legatine Synod of 786), ecclesiastical law, secular law (e.g., Alfred and Æthelred), preaching (e.g., Wulfstan and Ælfric) — but in this battle they seem to have been singularly unsuccessful.

Robert Emmett Finnegan (University of Manitoba)

"Christ as Narrator in the Old English *Christ and Satan*"

This paper investigates the identity, or identities, of the narrator of *Christ and Satan*. The task is complicated by the fact that the narrator tells us little about himself directly. Yet, because the total poetic discourse is mediated to us through him, the text itself tells us, however obliquely, about the voice that fictively creates it. When read against the literary and theological traditions that shape it, the poem suggests a narrator of curious capacities and wide personal experience and knowledge: to know what the poem suggests he knows, to do what the poem suggests he does, the narrator in all probability has to be Christ. Indeed, one measure of Christ's victory over Satan and his minions is a function of this narrator's ability to range through the halls of hell, eavesdropping, as it were, on the host of defeated devils. Subsequently, this narrator details the establishment of the Church militant, of which he is head, and directs us, the poem's audience, in the attitudes proper to members of that body, potential members of the Church triumphant.

Paul E. Szarmach (Binghamton University)

"Ælfric and Implied Narrative: A Second Study"

Sermons and homilies are neither short stories nor novellas, but Ælfric's *Sermones Catholici* give ample evidence that the monk of Eynsham has a narrative sense when he treats the Bible and other material that he absorbs. To be sure, Ælfric may not have quite seen the Bible as the "story" of God's people or have considered the "Bible as literature," but he could only respond to his narrative sources as a writer could. It is, of course, well known that Ælfric has a brief style where the abbreviation and concomitant shaping of sources is a hallmark. As I have suggested elsewhere, the capacity for shaping is a narrative talent when Ælfric must compress the events of Holy Week into a short compass. Ælfric also shows a sense for character and characterization when he presents the major figures of Christmastide, notably Herod, in his sermons for the season in the First Series, thus treating these sermons as "implied" narrative. But the narrative sense is working in other ways and in other places. Thus, the Second Series of the *Sermones* offers a trio of expositions on three major saints, Gregory, Cuthbert, and Benedict. In this paper I focus on these works to illustrate Ælfric's narrative sense while shaping and patterning hagiographic material to his felt needs. Perhaps Ælfric's later interest in Saints' Lives represents a progressive interest in narrative over exposition, and the pieces on the saints in the earlier *Sermones Catholici* are the harbingers of this development. However one may finally answer this question of development, it is clear that the want of narrative in the corpus of Old English literature is a function of where scholars are looking for it. Narrative does not flow out of the ground as in Old Norse; one must be ready to drill for it.

Joyce Tally Lionarons (Ursinus College)

"*'Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?'*: Double-Voiced Discourse in *Beowulf*"

In 797, in a letter to the monks of Lindisfarne, Alcuin posed his now famous question: "Quid Hinieldus cum Christo?" What has Ingeld to do with Christ? What has heroic poetry to do with Christianity? For Alcuin the question was rhetorical and contained its answer in its asking. For *Beowulf* scholars, however, the answer is more problematic. Critics have long debated the precise relationship between the Christian poet of *Beowulf* and the pagan characters and subject matter of the poem. The debate has yielded a full, and often contradictory, range of possible solutions, from the assertion that Beowulf and all his sect must inevitably be damned by the Christian poet and his audience to the idea that Beowulf is himself a Christ figure.

This paper looks at the question of the poem's Christianity in the light of the narrative theory of M. M. Bakhtin; more specifically, it seeks to apply his ideas of "double voiced" discourse and the "chronotope" in the modern novel to an interpretation of the medieval poem. It suggests that the *Beowulf*-poet resists either condemning his pagan hero outright or celebrating him uncritically by employing two sophisticated narrative strategies: first, by "double-voicing" his narrative, i.e., by bringing the language of two disparate discourses — that of orthodox Christianity and that of heroic poetry — into an unresolved semantic dialogue; and second, by manipulating the chronotopes, or time-space structures, of his poem into an analogous dialogic relationship which allows the dialogue between Christian and pagan world-views to take place simultaneously on a macro and a micro level. Because the dialogue inheres in the language and structure of the poem rather than its plot, it resists synthesis or resolution. The poet uses the dialogue not only to celebrate his audience's pagan past, but also to (re)open the disturbing question of the fate of virtuous pagans for that audience, which would originally have been made up of their Christian descendants.

David Megginson (University of Ottawa)

"The Case Against a 'General Old English Poetic Dialect'"

Editors of Old English poems often refer to Kenneth Sisam's "general Old English dialect" to explain the mixture of dialectal spellings present in their texts. Sisam's theory seems to provide a convenient explanation for a difficult problem; however, a close examination of the original article proposing the theory shows that orthography was explicitly *excluded* from the poetic dialect. This common misinterpretation of Sisam's work can be attributed, at least in part, to C. L. Wrenn and Alistair Campbell, who link Sisam's "poetic dialect" with orthography in their respective grammars. In fact, the question remains open — no adequate explanation has yet been presented for the bizarre mixture of dialect forms in Old English verse manuscripts, and the misinterpretation of Sisam has only helped editors to dodge the problem.

John Miles Foley (Univ. of Missouri, Columbia)

"The Poet's Self-Interruption in *Andreas*"

At line 1478 of the Old English poetic version of the apocryphal story of Andreas, the poet breaks into his own narrative presentation to offer an opinion on his own performance. Having gone on for some time about the praiseworthy deeds performed by the apostle, he now finds it "beyond his measure" to tell all that the holy man suffered; that account he wishes to leave to one "more learned in the law" *(æglæwra)* than he. After a few more words on the difficulty of his task, the poet affirms that "we" must carry part of the tale *(leoðworda dæl)* somewhat further, and that the sufferings of Andrew constitute an "old tradition" *(fyrnsægen)*, presumably well known by all.

Surprisingly little commented upon, especially since it is unique in Old English poetry, this passage of fourteen lines elicits only the following from Kenneth Brooks, editor of the standard edition of *Andreas:* "Here the poet interrupts his narrative with a comment of his own, which has no support from the prose versions; he seems to be making a rhetorical disclaimer that he does not know the whole story of St. Andrew, in order to condense his poem. The transition to the drowning of the Mermedonians, lines 1492ff., is certainly abrupt, but the prose versions all proceed to this without interruption of the narrative" (*Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles* [Oxford, 1961], p. 112).

In this paper, I pair an inquiry into the significance of this passage with investigation of an old problem in *Andreas* studies: the traditional, formulaic quality of the poem's diction. Works like *Andreas* and some of the other Old English poems may be what Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has termed "visible song" (*Visible Song* [Cambridge, 1990]), and may imply the kind of extratextual significative dynamics I have elaborated as "immanent art" (*Immanent Art* [Bloomington, 1991]). In either case, it is the question of *reception* rather than of *composition* that is paramount.

This study also makes use of the recent advances in folklore and anthropological linguistics, particularly the work of Dell Hymes and Richard Bauman, to underscore how crucial the poet's own notion of performance is to the understanding of his poem. The very act of employing the traditional diction, a specific and constitutive register of communication that entails a definitive mode of representation, creates an interpretive context that licenses the poet's interruption just as surely as it fills the "void" in the story. It is finally a rhetorically oral performance that the poet feels compelled to suspend, while he acknowledges the partial nature of his recounting and reminds the rhetorical audience of their interpretive responsibility.

M. Jane Toswell (University of Western Ontario)

"Style as Criterion in Old English Poetry"

In the Foreword to the fifth edition of *A Guide to Old English* (Blackwell, 1992), Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson explain their criteria for selecting the texts they offer:

> The prose and verse texts selected are on the whole those which have traditionally been offered to beginning readers to read....[S]uch passages...have been chosen by generations of teachers and scholars as the appropriate introductory texts precisely because these are the essential ones for the proper orientation of beginners towards both the literature and culture of Anglo-Saxon England. (viii)

These texts, the authors conclude, giving as examples a set of prose pieces, are "important reference points." The student who reads the selections of Mitchell and Robinson will be in no danger of misconstruing Anglo-Saxon society or of reading anything but the essential texts.

The editors do not, however, give any examples from the poetic corpus in this justification of their choices. The poems that a student should study are taken for granted. They include several short lyrics and selections from *Beowulf.* In large part (possibly more than we admit) this is because the *Battle of Maldon, Dream of the Rood, Wanderer* and *Seafarer* are the right length. But, there is more to our automatic decision to teach these works. These poems are the major works, the ones that speak to the heart, the ones "worth studying." They are the "canon" (as Mitchell and Robinson dare to call it). In recent years one change has occurred: *Wulf and Eadwacer* and the *Wife's Lament* have cracked the barrier and been added to the group, largely for ideological reasons.

Why, though, are these the works "worth studying"? They are, it is argued, the "best," the "most complex" of Old English poems. Why and how they are so much better than the rest of the corpus is never set out in detail, but it is assumed. In this paper, I try to elucidate the criteria of style by which we conclude the "appropriateness" of these poems. I do so first of all by a comparison of the poetic diction, meter, rhetorical effects, syntax, and thematic treatment of this group of poems with that in the metrical psalter — which is generally regarded as a poem unworthy of study for these purposes. Secondly, I attempt to determine why students of Old English so thoroughly avoid any acknowledgment of relative quality except that implicity in what we choose to write about and teach.

Thomas Cable (University of Texas, Austin)

"Anachronism in Misreading the Rhythms of Earlier Poetry"

The various traditions that can be identified in Old and Middle English prosody are often categorized within two or three modes of meter that make perceptual sense to the modern mind. The division between alliterative poetry and rhymed poetry seems obvious, yet these features of segmental phonology and their patterning do not go far toward adequate descriptions of the meters of *Beowulf,* Lawman's *Brut, The Destruction of Troy, Cleanness,* and Chaucer's iambic pentameter. A division into strong-stress meter and syllable-stress meter is also familiar, although it has much the same effect as the alliteration-rhyme distinction in setting Chaucer's meter apart from the meters of the other four texts. By contrast, one can argue that if the combination of phonemic length and syllable count is taken as criterial, then the highest division among the major meters of medieval English would show the classical Old English meter (as represented by *Beowulf*) on one of two main branches and the meters of *Brut, Destruction of Troy, Cleanness,* and Chaucer on the other. Alternatively, one could argue for a taxonomy with five equal-level branches, or possibly four (with *Destruction of Troy* and *Cleanness* sharing a branch, for example). The question is the hierarchy of criterial features selected from the set of possible features that produce rhythmic patterns: syllable count, phonemic length, strong stress, alternating stress, and foot meter. Different theories propose different hierarchies. The selection of the most adequate theory is an empirical question, not simply a theory-internal question of elegance.

Mark S. Griffith (New College, Oxford)

"Proper Names, Licence, and the *Battle of Maldon*"

The millenary of the historical Battle of Maldon renewed interest in the Old English poem of the same name. In particular, *The Battle of Maldon AD 991,* edited by D. Scragg, attests to the range of Modern scholarship on the subject. Nowhere in this book, however, is there a reconsideration of one of the poem's most unusual features: its alliterative and metrical abnormalities. Earlier critics, who were more interested in this subject, interpreted this stylistic strangeness as evidence of decadence in the poetic tradition: the poem was composed evidently at a time when knowledge of — and/or interest in — the old conventions was dying out. Chronological interpretations of such features have been discredited, but none has offered a satisfactory alternative explanation for these oddities of *Maldon.* This paper attempts to show that, far from being the passive victim of his poetic mode, the author manipulated his alliterative and metrical systems to create specific literary effects, for the stylistic abnormalities do not occur randomly.

Geoffrey Russom (Brown University)

"A Comparative Study of Resolution in *Beowulf* and Native Eddic *Fornyrðislag*"

Recently Robert Fulk and Jon Terasawa have narrowed the domain of metrical ambiguity in *Beowulf*. Fulk discovered that the subordinated root syllable in compounds like *Beorht-Dena* resolves only at the beginning of the verse. Terasawa discovered that no compounds like *hilde-freca* appear at the end of the verse with resolution of the secondary constituent. Because metrical rules restrict the pattern /x\ to verse-final position, putatively resolvable forms like *hilde-freca* are excluded from the poetry altogether. The poet uses forms like *hilde-rinc* and *guð-freca*, but none like *hilde-freca*. Fulk and Terasawa have surveyed the whole poetic corpus for exceptions to their constraints. In an impressively large number of crucial cases, the anomalies are susceptible of alternative scansions, often involving early metrical values of syncopated forms or forms with epenthetic (parasite) vowels.

The word-foot theory that I developed in *Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory* established metrical rules for conditions in which resolution was obligatory, but not for conditions in which it was forbidden. Fulk and Terasawa have specified the latter with such precision that rules for them can now be incorporated into the word-foot theory. As it turns out, the rules that forbid resolution are exact converses of the rules that require resolution.

V. The Second G. L. Brook Symposium, "The Bible and English Literature from the Beginning to 1500," University of Manchester, March 31-April 2, 1993:

Roy M. Luizza (Tulane University)

"Who Read the Gospels in Old English?"

Discerning the audience for a medieval literary work is one of the more difficult tasks facing the modern reader. Even if we succeed in resisting the temptation to project our own ideas and experiences onto the past, we almost inevitably tend to favor a vertical understanding, setting the works in the context of their traditions, at the expense of a horizontal one, seeing the works in the context of other works of a similar age and background. In this paper I have tried to examine the Old English version of the Gospels in relation to other sorts of Biblical translation and exposition in Anglo-Saxon society, to see it as one of several ways in which the problem of reading the Latin Bible was solved for a vernacular audience. By placing these varieties of experience against the evidence of the manuscripts of the Old English Gospels, we can gain some sense of both the purpose of this work and of the ways it was apparently adapted for a variety of audiences and uses.

VI. The Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Tucson, April 1-3, 1993:

Session: "Cultures in Tension"

John Niles (University of California, Berkeley)

"Creative Ethnicity: The *Beowulf*-Poet Looks at The Past"

Why did the phenomenon of *Beowulf* happen at all? What are the cultural questions to which *Beowulf* is an answer? Questions such as these encourage us to look upon the discourse of heroic poetry as an important means by which the Anglo-Saxons established their identity and maintained their equilibrium through strategic adaptations during a period of crisis and transformation.

By the time that this poem was put down in writing, the Angles and Saxons were using poetry in English as a vehicle for Christian doctrine and a means of reinventing the Germanic past. Not only did heroic poetry express the ideology of a ruling class, legitimizing structures of power through tales of distant ancestors; but it also satisfied the desire for origins that any members of its audience may have felt. Although the action of *Beowulf* is set in a fabulous time and place, the poem articulates a response to the two great sources of tension in English Culture during the period extending from the Conversion through the Viking wars: the synthesis of Germanic culture and Christian faith into a single system of thought, and the integration of all the peoples living south of Hadrian's Wall and east of Offa's Dyke into one nation with a common ancestry. *Beowulf* not only satisfied poetically an Anglo-Saxon taste for wild adventure; but through its narrative of "Danes" and "Geats," it also served as a vehicle for political work in a time of nation-building.

Session: "Roman and Native in Old English Texts"

Susan E. Deskis (Northern Illinois University)

"The Gnomic Woman in Old English Poetry"

Old English gnomic statements describing the activities of women have proved notoriously difficult to translate and interpret. This difficulty stems in part from the very scarcity of pronouncements on female behavior, and the resulting lack of cultural or literary background as a basis for interpretation. Thus, this paper examines the corpus of female-directed gnomes (passages from *Precepts* and *Maxims I-II)* not with respect to female characterization in other poetic genres, but as part of the complete Anglo-Saxon proverbial tradition.

Such a generic approach yields useful information. We find that the gnomes render consistent portrayals of certain female roles — wife, mother, and queen — and that only one passage is clearly based on the Latin antifeminist proverb tradition. This latter point is of particular interest in assessing the extent to which gnomic poetry may be relied upon to reflect Anglo-Saxon cultural values. Old English proverbs on other subjects exhibit frequent similarity to Latin sources or analogues, so the lack of correspondence in this case would seem to indicate strong attachment to a native cultural tradition.

Finally, the very homogeneity of the OE proverb tradition can be used to interpret textual cruces. Anglo-Saxon proverbs are remarkable for an absence of mutual contradiction, so that when two meanings have been proposed for a given passage, one interpretation may be effectively ruled out on the basis of comparison with other texts.

Carmela V. Franklin (Hill Monastic MS Lib.)

"Books known to the Anglo-Saxons: The Evidence from Codex Taurinensis F.III.16"

Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale, Cod. F.III.16 is a unique collection of Saints' Lives written at Bobbio in the late ninth or early tenth century. My paper shows that this Bobbio codex preserves in part a hagiographical collection originating in seventh-century Rome (and specifically in its Greek-speaking milieu) that also has important links to Anglo-Saxon England. My discussion includes the following points:

1. Theodore of Tarsus is responsible for the importation into England of the interlinear translation of the *Passio S. Anastasii* (BHL 410b) which survives only in this manuscript, and it is possible to argue that he may have also been its author (as I discuss more fully in "Theodore of Tarsus and the *Passio S. Anastasii*," forthcoming in *Archbishop Theodore 690-1990*, ed. Michael Lapidge [Cambridge]).

2. A large number of saints whose Lives are contained in the Bobbio codex were also known and venerated in Anglo-Saxon England, as evident in their inclusion in Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, the Old English Martyrology, liturgical calendars, and Bede's *Martyrology.* A study of the textual history of one of the rarer texts shows that the redaction which circulated in England is the same or closely related to the version of the text contained in the Bobbio manuscript. This is the *Passio Victoriae et Anatholiae*, and I illustrate through textual comparison that the source for Aldhelm's *De virginitate* (until recently considered lost) is in fact the one found in the Bobbio legendary. I argue that it was at Canterbury that Aldhelm used this source text.

These points raise the possibility — still to be investigated — that this Bobbio legendary may represent a collection which travelled from seventh-century Rome to England, and even perhaps back to the Continent.

VII. Society for Textual Scholarship, New York, April 15, 1993:

A. N. Doane (University of Wisconsin)

"Performance as a Determinative Category in the Editing of Old English Texts"

Performance is to be understood as centering on the scribe as transmitter of traditional vernacular messages; such a scribe differs in his behavior from a scribe *preserving* authoritative messages (usually ones in Latin); the performing scribe transmits a traditional gist to an audience for present use, not for future generations. As such, the scribe is part of an emergent tradition, and he is responsible to that tradition as he exercises his memory and competence to produce the tradition for a particular audience on a particular occasion. The traditional scribe also produces a wavering ad hoc textuality that is partly a set of responses to the voicings that he hears and uses as he writes. The tradition itself is the dynamic but unrealized amalgam of lore and story-frameworks, of linguistic and cultural competencies that are stored in the heads of people linked by the tradition. The performing scribe produces the text in an act of writing that evokes the tradition by a combination of eye and ear, script and memory.

VIII. The Twenty-Eighth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 6-9, 1993. As in previous years dating from 1983, the Institute and CEMERS at Binghamton University co-sponsored a Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, whose abstracts are here presented first, followed by abstracts for various other sessions as received from the participants:

Eleventh Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 49: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture I"

Gavin Richardson (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

"Narrative Focalization in the Old English *Daniel*"

The *Daniel*-poet uses shifts in narrative focalization to highlight the major theme of his work: the contrast between Daniel's divine sapience and Nebuchadnezzar's heathen nescience. Perceptual juxtapositions emphasize the disparity of authority between God the Ruler and the heathen kings; the shifts are abrupt and can make for confusing reading so the reader's interpretive powers are tested along with Nebuchadnezzar's and Belshazzar's. This paper also examines narrative focalization as a method of developing other dualisms operating in this work on thematic, stylistic, and imagistic levels.

Steven G. Wagner (University of Illinois, Chicago)

"The *Ars Moriendi* in Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* and the Old English *Guthlac B*"

A saint does not just die. In death as in life the saint imitates Christ. In the Anglo-Saxon Latin *Vita Sancti Guthlaci,* Felix devotes a chapter to the saint's death, which occurs conspicuously after a period of suffering, reprieve and prayer. This paper locates models for the saint's *ars moriendi* in biblical, patristic, and hagiographic narrative and in the liturgy. By examining Felix's chapter and the Old English verse passion, *Guthlac B* in the Exeter Book, with these contexts, this paper shows how St. Guthlac's death-scene is structured as an *ars moriendi* (art of dying). After locating the primary source of the scene in 4 Kings, this paper proceeds by identifying specific analogues in patristic sources and in saints' lives from before and during the Anglo-Saxon period. This paper thus makes it possible to read the poet's rendering of the saint's *ars moriendi* as an exemplar not only of the patristic and biblical sources, but also the liturgical sources of hagiographic narrative. The way in which the Old English poem focuses on the death-scene of the saint as a Christian event manifests not only the poet's awareness of the Christian literary tradition of hagiographic narrative, but also his appropriation of liturgical models for the saintly, Christian ritual of dying. This prototypical *ars moriendi* acted out by St. Guthlac follows the ritual positions, movements, and gestures of the Mass.

Susan E. Deskis (Northern Illinois University)

"Sentential Analogues to the Words and Works of the Coastguard's Maxim *(Beowulf* 287b-89)"

The so-called "Coastguard's Maxim" in *Beowulf* has occasioned a significant amount of scholarly disagreement with respect to both its speaker and its connotation. While the first issue has been settled in favor of the Danish coastal warden, the second problem — the intended meaning of the sentence — remains in question.

This paper approaches the interpretation of the Coastguard's Maxim within the framework provided by the disagreement between Robert Kaske and Stanley Greenfield; that is, I address the question of whether the Coastguard advocates the examination of words and works together, or whether he suggests that a distinction should be made between the two. A search for cognate *sententiae* reveals that the Coastguard's Maxim represents a single variant within a well-established tradition of proverbs treating the topic of words and works, and that Old English, Middle English, and Medieval Latin proverbial analogues consistently contrast the activities of speaking and doing, assigning greater value to the latter. When interpreted along these lines, the Coastguard's Maxim replicates one function of other *sententiae* in the poem — that of presenting a potentially insulting idea in an impersonal (hence more polite) way — and provides an anticipatory framework for Beowulf's later actions.

Session 87: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture II"

Ray Moye (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

"The Aesthetic Dimension of the Old English *Pastoral Care*"

The most reliable description of the method of translation in the Old English *Pastoral Care* is still to be found in a 1969 study by William Brown, which concluded that the utilitarian purpose of the translation — to provide a clear, readily understandable English version of what is itself a rather tedious Latin manual — results in a style that is functional but "mediocre," that is direct, but "undistinguished" ("Method and Style in the Old English Pastoral Care," *JEGP* 68: 666-84). At least one eminent scholar has expressed her reservations about this assessment and has listed some stylistic features that show a much more sophisticated treatment of the Latin than is found in either the Old English Bede or in the *Dialogues* (Bately, "Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of King Alfred," *ASE* 17 [1988]: 126), but no one has yet taken up the issue of the aesthetics of the style and made it the focus of a thorough study. In the process of making such a study, I offer in this paper some of my findings about the aesthetic dimension of Alfred's style.

The paper focuses on examples of deliberate diction, wordplay and alliteration. For example, although Alfred frequently relies on repetition of words to link sentences, he nevertheless avoids the monotony this could cause by varying his diction, as to change one member of a doublet. I also illustrate his use of etymological wordplay to capture in Anglo-Saxon some of the Latin eloquence of Gregory and his use of alliteration to unify passages and emphasize certain ideas.

On the basis of the examples presented in the paper, I argue that it is a mistake to think that Alfred's desire to provide a functional and pragmatic translation of a handbook for priests means that he aimed for clarity and simplicity and nothing more. In the most skillfully handled passages, the utilitarian goal to produce a readable text and the aesthetic concern to provide engaging and interesting writing complement each other: the clarity and simplicity achieved by the one is sharpened by the emphasis and variety supplied by the other.

Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden)

"The Old Frisian Contribution to Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: Sources and Disseminations"

As Frisia can be looked upon as one of the Continental homelands of the Anglo-Saxons, little persuasive power is needed to maintain that part of the cultural roots of the Anglo-Saxons lies in the Low Countries. This fact is borne out by archaeological and art-historical evidence. Frisian traders plied the North Sea until the Viking invasions of ca. 800, thus forming the channel through which cultural influence could continue to pass to and fro. Trade usually precedes faith, and consequently the northern parts of the Low Countries were converted to Christianity through the efforts of mainly Anglo-Saxon missionaries, Willibrord and Boniface being best known among these. Early converts, such as the Frisian Liudger, were sent to York to study under Alcuin. In view of all this, it would seem logical that the Anglo-Saxon missionaries left their impact on the medieval writings of the Frisians, but curiously enough this has never been properly investigated.

Recently, attention of Anglo-Saxonists has been drawn to the dissemination of English Christian material in Scandinavian texts. It is the purpose of my paper to discuss a number of Old Frisian texts, contemporary with the Scandinavian ones, that belong to the genre of "imaginative Christian Literature" (T.D. Hill), such as the *Five Keys to Wisdom*, *The Fifteen Signs of Doomsday* and *Adam's Creation*. Particularly the first two texts can be shown to go back to Bede, while the third would point to an Irish (Latin) origin. On the other hand, the Old Frisian *Gestation of the Foetus*, which has been demonstrated to go back to the late antique author Vindicianus, can now help us to secure Vindicianus's *Gynaecia* as the most likely source for the unique, unsourced OE version of the *Gestation of the Foetus* (Cotton Tiberius A.iii, fol. 40v).

Rebecca Barnhouse (University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

"Ambrose's Influence on an Anglo-Saxon Painting"

An on-going scholarly debate focuses on the sources of the illustrations in the eleventh-century Old English Hexateuch. Kurt Weitzmann and Herbert Kessler argue that an Early Christian model is the ultimate source of the pictures, while Herbert Broderick suggests a Byzantine pictorial model. C. R. Dodwell, on the other hand, believes that many of the pictures are inspired not by a pictorial source, but by the Old English translation of the biblical text. In fact, convincing examples exist for each side.

But several illustrations contain evidence of a further possibility: that the artist was specifically influenced by other written sources. I argue that paintings of the Rivers of Paradise in the Old English Hexateuch display details which are not in the Latin or Old English biblical text and which are not found in any pictorial source. Rather they correspond very closely with a series of details in Ambrose's *De Paradiso*.

If this is so, one is compelled to reconsider how these illustrations were planned and executed, the persons involved, and the implications for similar pictorial programs.

Session 127: "Studies from SASLC: Ambrose and Augustine"

Jessica Wegmann (University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign)

"Saint Ambrose in Anglo-Saxon England: An Overview of the SASLC Entry"

In accordance with the design of the project as a whole, the "Ambrose" section of *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* compiles existing evidence for the knowledge, use, and dissemination of Ambrose's works in Anglo-Saxon England with the goal of facilitating further scholarship. In addition to detailing the findings, this paper discusses some of the limitations that have complicated research. In particular, there have been, to date, no dedicated studies of Ambrose's influence on Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Latin authors. Although his works were less widely disseminated in England than those of many other major patristic writers, Ambrose's influence was clearly far more considerable for certain writers (Bede for instance) than recognized by Ogilvy in *Books Known to the English*. Furthermore, that his works were less well known than those of many other major authors renders the evidence, particularly for his minor works, even more significant for those interested in further studying his influence in the period. This paper then both points out some of the significant gaps in Ogilvy and attempts to provide, from within the parameters of existing scholarship, an overview of the breadth of knowledge of Ambrose's works in the period, discussing which particular authors drew upon him most and which of the works of Ambrose had greatest impact on Anglo-Saxon thought.

Frederick M. Biggs (University of Connecticut)

"Augustine"

This progress report for the *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* focuses on the most prolific of the four great Latin fathers, Augustine of Hippo. It begins by noting how work on the entry has led to some modifications in the form for entries in the volume and then surveys some of the main sources for the knowledge of Augustine's work in England before the conquest, which establish the parameters of the entry. This overview allows us to recognize some gaps in knowledge of Augustine's opus, as well as some works known to the Anglo-Saxons that have since been lost. The report also includes some analysis of individual writer's attitudes toward Augustine, as well as some of the new discoveries.

Session 166: "Women and Anglo-Saxon England"

Leslie A. Donovan (University of Washington)

"Fairy Foundations: Folk Tale Structure in Cynewulf's *Juliana*"

While it is certainly true that the narrative structure of Cynewulf's *Juliana* depends largely on hagiographic sources and conventions, it may also be true that some of what Calder terms the "ritual drama" of *Juliana* may be influenced by folk tale traditions. In her article "The Innocent Persecuted Heroine: An Attempt at a Model for the Surface Level of the Narrative Structure of the Female Fairy Tale" (in *Patterns in Oral Literature* [The Hague, 1977]), Ilana Dan makes some observations about female heroines in folklore which are provocatively applicable to *Juliana*.

Dan writes, "The female fairy tale tends toward the sacred legend: the marvelous helper, in almost all of the texts, is an agent of the sacred power such as an angel.... The heroine and the villains work and are judged in the framework of the society's religious and ethical value systems." The relationship to *Juliana* is obvious. Further, Dan describes the female fairy tale heroine, like Juliana, as "particularly virtuous: she will not be seduced, even in the most horrible of circumstances." According to Dan, five primary character types motivate the various functions and episodes of the female folk tale. These types and their counterparts in *Juliana* are: the Heroine (Juliana), the Groom/Husband (Heliseus), the Heroine's male relatives (Juliana's Father), the Villain or Male Seducer (the Devil), and the Benevolent Agent (the Angel). Interestingly, *Juliana* includes no other characters.

It would seem, if only on the basis of narrative characters, that *Juliana* fits the basic folk tale prototype exactly. But the evidence grows more convincing when one notices that *Juliana* also exactly fits Dan's first type of episode plot development for the female fairy tale. In Dan's model, the first type of episode includes the following: an initial state of well-being; a separation of the heroine from her family; the family giving the heroine over to the villain; the villain harming the heroine (often by trying unsuccessfully to seduce her); the family banishing the heroine; and a helper aiding the heroine in distress. Again, though the details of the Old

English story exhibit slightly different variations, the narrative structure of both *Juliana* and Dan's Female Fairy Tale Model are similar enough to suggest more than a passing resemblance. By examining *Juliana* for evidence of such folklore structures we may acquire new insight into both Cynewulf's choices in working from his Latin sources and the poem's intended audience.

Barbara Yorke (King Alfred's College)

"Women Ruling Men: 'Double Monasteries' and the Status of Women in Early Anglo-Saxon England"

Archbishop Theodore was surprised to find so many mixed communities of men and women when he arrived in Anglo-Saxon England; however, what is perhaps most remarkable about them, compared to later mixed houses, is that they were controlled by abbesses who wielded the same authority over the men — including priests and even bishops at times — as over the women. This state of affairs was apparently accepted without demur by male Anglo-Saxon writers, even by Bede who was so critical of other unorthodox English monastic practices. His descriptions and terminology show that he drew no distinctions between the roles of abbots and abbesses. Bede's respect is unlikely to have come from his readings of the Fathers of the Church and is more likely to reflect the realities of the Anglo-Saxon class structure. The abbesses who commanded the earliest "double monasteries" were royal women and the deference shown to them is likely to reflect that status. Accounts by Bede and Stephanus show how royal women in lay life commanded men in their households. As Anglo-Saxon laws make clear, within their own family nexus these royal women were not the equal of their male relatives and their lives could be controlled by them; that reality is also reflected in the sources for early nunneries. But royal women were undoubtedly superior to men of a lower social class and that helps explain their prominence in the early Anglo-Saxon Church. The royal abbesses were the highest ranking (in terms of lay society) religious; the sons of kings could not be spared to enter the church, but the daughters could. The "double monasteries" therefore provide an example of how existing social assumptions were at first mirrored within the Anglo-Saxon Church, as well as throwing light on how relations between the sexes were affected by class structure; whether they also have anything to say about the pre-Christian religious role of women is an intriguing possibility which goes beyond the scope of this paper.

Pauline Head (York University)

"Saints Leoba and Eugenia: Gender and Stories of Virtue"

In several Old English narratives, concepts of gender and virtue are closely woven together. The Eve of *Genesis B* misjudges Satan's message and earns her notorious guilt because, as a wife and mother, she fears eternal injury to Adam and her children. *Beowulf's* Modthryth is said to be not "cwenlic" when she transgresses correct female social behavior. In this paper, I consider the relationships between gender and virtue in the Lives of two female saints. Rudolph of Fulda's *Life of St. Leoba* describes the saint's spiritual gift as being bound to her femaleness; in a dream, her divine counsels are born from her as a child from her womb. She is described by the interpreter of her dream as a "worthy recipient" of the knowledge of God, and the product of her "labor" is the word of God. Leoba's gender defines her particular virtue; her spiritual value strongly echoes that of Mary, mother of the Word of God: woman as perfect vehicle. Ælfric's *Life of Eugenia* tells of a woman who achieves her greatness through her virginity, which she protects by denying her gender. Disguised as a man and thinking as a man, she keeps "herself" hidden, preserves her purity ("clænnysse"), and becomes abbot of her monastery. The twists and turns of the plot circulate, in a complex way, around the relationships of sex and gender to political power and spiritual identity.

Leoba's gender and Eugenia's denial of gender shape the stories of their virtues. I am interested in exploring, through these texts, some Anglo-Saxon perceptions about the ways in which being a woman limits and advances spiritual purity and significance.

Session 205: "Iberian Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Source Studies"

Maria Jose Mora (University of Seville)

"The Romantic Sources of the Old English Elegy"

The paper analyzes the origin of the Old English elegy and argues that the genre is essentially a nineteenth-century invention. Throughout the century scholars collected the corpus applying to Old English literature a Romantic concept of elegy — elegy as "the form of poetry natural to the reflective mind." Read as personal poems, the so-called elegies are hailed as the first genuine expression of the Germanic *Volksgeist*. As they are associated to the corpus, the poems are re-invented to fit the pre-conceived image, and the prestige, of the genre: the texts are often re-written — carefully expurgated of spurious Christian moralizations — and interpreted on the model of the better-known, and quintessentially Germanic, Icelandic poetry.

Julia M. Fernandez Cuesta (University of Seville)

"Double Runes on the Ruthwell Cross"

In this paper, I reconsider some problems concerning the use of double runes on the Ruthwell Cross, which has already been subject to much speculation. Double runes were not generally used in Germanic runic inscriptions, especially in early Scandinavian ones. This principle, however, does not seem to apply in the case of some Old English runic inscriptions which present spellings contrary to what has been accepted as "common runic practice." On the Ruthwell Cross we find not only double runes, but also double runes where single ones would be expected for etymological reasons.

Without trying to give a definite answer to the problem of the use of double runes on the Ruthwell Cross, or on other epigraphical or scribal texts on which such spellings occur, I suggest that we take into consideration at least two facts to clarify the problem:

1. Anglo-Saxon England was a three-script community, that is (a) runic, (b) roman, and (c) the mixture of runic and roman that was used for writing English (Fell 1992). This would point to a certain influence of the Latin script and spelling conventions (like the use of double letters) on the runic practice and vice versa.
2. The style and layout of the inscription. Runic inscriptions cannot be isolated from the objects on which they were carved.

Mercedes Salvador (University of Seville)

"Exeter Riddle No. 73: Another 'Bird Riddle'"

Riddle 73 is one of the most controversial compositions of the Exeter Book collection. Scholars have long tried to solve it, proposing a wide range of very different interpretations. If we mention some of the solutions that have been posed — siren, cuttle-fish, water, ship's figure-head, and soul, among others — we can conclude that we are dealing with a particularly obscure riddle. This paper sets out to demonstrate that the most accurate interpretation is Holthausen's proposal: "swan." In order to support the plausibility of this solution, the paper undertakes an analysis of the misleading clues in Riddle 73 as well as a study of parallel examples in other "bird-riddles." All this leads us to the conclusion that the solution must be a bird, namely, any type of white palmiped.

Session 244: "Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts I: Past, Present, and Future"

Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue University)

"The Corpus Project: Past and Present Activities"

This paper briefly outlines the five major goals of the CORPUS Project, an international, collaborative effort involving scholars in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. Past and present activities are surveyed in the following areas: (1) creation and maintenance of a database of information about Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and early Anglo-Norman illuminated manuscripts; (2) photographic documentation of some 230 manuscripts; (3) formation of CORPUS committees, including administrators, advisors, and consultants; (4) promotion of cooperation and exchanges of information among scholars and institutions working on a variety of research tools; and (5) survey of the status of work done and work-in-progress as well as publicizing future areas of need.

The two sessions are a systematic survey of the current status of research in manuscript codicology and art. Each presenter was asked to summarize past research efforts and to recommend specific future needs for the documentation and study of manuscripts in particular groups or genres: psalters, liturgical MSS, gospel books, Old Testament MSS, Prudentius MSS, scientific MSS, and early Anglo-Norman MSS.

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge)

"Contributions by the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence"

This paper describes the contributions to the Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts (CORPUS) made by the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence. These include the new illustrated two-volume catalogue of *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, published by Medieval Institute Publications of Western Michigan University; studies of individual manuscripts and groups of manuscripts; and facsimile reproductions of manuscripts both in microfiche and in full color at actual size.

The Research Group, based at the Parker Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, with specialist Associates worldwide, principally focuses upon manuscripts preserved at the Parker Library, one of the three main repositories of surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Yet its work also encompasses related manuscripts elsewhere and interlinks with developments in many centers and fields. Thus the aims of the Research Group and CORPUS closely overlap, as both seek to examine, document, reproduce photographically, and analyze manuscript art produced in the British Isles in the early medieval period. This is reflected in the close links established between the two groups. The paper contributes to the sessions assessing the CORPUS project and planning its future work.

M. Jane Toswell (University of Western Ontario)

"Survey of Genres and Themes I: Psalters"

As individual manuscripts, the psalters of Anglo-Saxon England have received large amounts of scholarly attention. Doctoral theses have been devoted to the consideration of a single codex, articles have analyzed the significance of a single illustration, and notes have focused on details of iconography such as whether a given centimeter-tall figure is wearing a hat which marks it as male or female, Gentile or Jew. The perambulations of the Utrecht Psalter and its copies around the British Isles have been matters for lengthy discussion. However, rarely has the corpus of Anglo-Saxon psalters — which is a full and fascinating one codicologically, textually, and iconographically — been studied as a group for what that reveals about the purposes and contexts of the psalter in the early medieval period in Britain. Now that the Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts has been made readily available to the scholarly community in so many forms, it may be possible for us to establish more accurately a framework for our understanding of these texts, and to identify more clearly the ones whose place in the tradition remains idiosyncratic, problematic, or simply unknown because not sufficiently studied.

Kathleen M. Openshaw (University of Toronto)

"Survey of Genres and Themes II: Liturgical Manuscripts"

First, for the purposes of this session, I define the parameters of the genre "liturgical manuscripts," given the exclusion from this designation of the liturgical Gospel Books and Psalters discussed by other speakers. The value of such a division merits brief consideration: if liturgical books form a discrete genre, should it not be an inclusive one? And what then would one do with those Gospel Books and Psalters whose liturgical use is speculative? Questioning the nature of the categories into which we file our research is valid, since that very categorization so often structures approaches to the material thus organized. Because liturgy is uniquely capable of allusive combinations of ideas and images, study of the pictures in liturgical books requires a particular willingness to break down walls and cross disciplinary boundaries in order that the riches of their allusive imagery can be revealed.

After brief reference to information tabulated in the handout, including reports on work in progress, I highlight certain individual works which merit further detailed study. My remaining remarks then focus on ways in which individual studies can be integrated into broader contexts, both cultural and art-historical.

Jane Rosenthal (Columbia University)

"Survey of Genres and Themes III: Gospel Books"

ILLUMINATED INSULAR (7th-9th centuries) and IRISH (10th century) GOSPEL BOOKS: Of the approximately 74 illuminated manuscripts to survive from this period, 38 are copies or fragments of Gospel Books containing the texts of the Gospels arranged in the normal New Testament order. To these should be added a prayer book with the Passion narratives from all four Gospels (the Book of Cerne). The characteristic illumination of these books includes ornamental canon tables, carpet pages, decorated initials, evangelist portraits, and symbol pages — sometimes with all 4 symbols on one page. Of the 38 + 1 books, only 21 have figural representations (symbols, evangelist portraits, biblical scenes) and only 4 of these contain depictions of biblical events (Virgin and Child, Arrest, Temptation, Crucifixion, Ascension, Second Coming). All of the manuscripts are described in J. J. G. Alexander's *Insular Manuscripts 6th to the 9th Century*, and all of the figural representations (except for an occasional evangelist portrait), as well as much of the decoration of these books, are reproduced there. Since this volume is readily available, it would seem superfluous to republish this material in another form unless it were required for complete coverage in the CORPUS Project.

LATE ANGLO-SAXON ILLUMINATED GOSPEL BOOKS AND GOSPEL LECTIONARIES (10th-11th centuries): The latter contain passages read at Mass, arranged according to the Church year. Of the 25 extant Gospel Books and Lectionaries from this period, 10 have already been described with all of their illuminations reproduced in Thomas Ohlgren's *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration.* Two of the remaining 15 manuscripts need not concern us since one was illuminated after it reached the continent and the other has all of its decorations excised. A facsimile of a third has been published but is not readily accessible, so the book should not be excluded from the CORPUS Project. That leaves 13 manuscripts, all of them described in Temple's volume *(Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066)* but not fully reproduced there: important figural representations in 4 of the books are omitted. In addition, the CORPUS Project should include Anglo-Saxon additions to 4 Gospel Books made elsewhere. Of the 8 evangelist portraits in these books, Temple reproduces only 5. I would recommend that a second volume of *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration* complete the coverage of Anglo-Saxon Gospel Books and Lectionaries by including the remaining 13 manuscripts and the 8 miniatures added by English artists to foreign books.

Session 286: "Insular and Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts II: Genres, Themes, and Variations"

Herbert Broderick (Lehman College, CUNY)

"Survey of Genres and Themes IV: Old Testament Manuscripts"

As is well known, two illustrated Old Testament manuscripts other than Psalters survive from Anglo-Saxon England: the "Cædmon Manuscript" at Oxford (Bodl. MS Junius 11) of ca. 1000 and BL Cotton MS Claudius B.iv of ca. 1050, also known as the "Hexateuch of Ælfric."

After a brief historical review of the *Stand der Forschung* on these two sets of pictures, I propose to indicate in more detail three areas of potential future research:

First, an unfortunate tradition of negative aesthetic judgments of these two works has obscured potential insights into the origins of both groups of pictures. For example, the style of the Hexateuch illustrations has been described as "crude, but very vigorous" (Rickert 1965). More recently, the drawings of the Junius manuscript have been characterized as "completely fascinating and ugly" (Wilson 1984). A more historically perceptive stylistic re-evaluation of both sets of pictures is needed. A fresh look at style in both works may yield important insights into their pictorial sources.

Second, greater attention needs to be paid to the anomalous, extra-biblical (i.e., "apocryphal") elements in both sets of pictures, elements *not* derived from the texts they accompany. The study of the literary/religious origins of these motifs might indeed also shed new light on the origins of the picture cycles themselves.

And finally, against the background of P. G. Remley's recent study of the Old Latin *(Vetus Latina)* textual basis of much of the poetic text of *Genesis A* in MS Junius 11 *(ASE* 17, 1988), it might be a worthwhile enterprise to study the illustrations of the Hexateuch, as well as those of Junius 11, from this promising point of view.

Gernot Wieland (University of British Columbia)

"Survey of Genres and Themes V: Prudentius Manuscripts"

This paper presents a brief overview of the ten extant manuscripts which contain Prudentius's *Psychomachia* and were written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England. Four of these manuscripts are illustrated, and receive examination in greater detail. No one, to my knowledge, has studied the individual illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Both Stettiner, *Die illustrierten Prudentiushandschriften*, and Woodruff, "The Illustrated Manuscripts of Prudentius," have, to be sure, examined the cycles of illustrations in the four manuscripts, but with the intention of establishing generic resemblances rather than individual differences. This paper presents some examples of important differences of individual scenes within the various illustrated manuscripts and suggests further topics for study (e.g., the dry-point illustrations of BL Add. 24199, which allow important conclusions as to the process by which illustrations were drawn into manuscripts).

The paper also argues for a more detailed study of the relationship between illustrated and non-illustrated manuscripts. Wieland, "The Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia,*" has provided a partial look at this relationship, but more needs to be done. The "missing" illustrations in CCCC 23, for instance, have long been an enigma, but they can be explained with reference to the non-illustrated manuscripts, and this paper provides an explanation.

The four illustrated manuscripts were all compiled towards the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century; two of them were written in England, and two are of uncertain origin. A study of the characteristics of illustrations in *Psychomachia* and other manuscripts known to have been compiled in England will help to determine the origin for manuscripts whose origin has so far not been known. The present paper does not presume to determine any such origins, but it does provide some guidelines to follow.

Marilyn Deegan (Oxford University)

"Survey of Genres and Themes VI: Scientific Manuscripts"

In this presentation I first list the manuscripts and fragments from pre-Conquest England that contain medical, herbal, and scientific materials, giving their dates, places of origin, present locations, and other codicological information. I then attempt to define the term "scientific"; does it encompass every text dealing with the natural world? Should we try to be broadly inclusive or narrowly exclusive? Modern definitions are not always helpful when considering medieval taxonomies and, as a result, I address the problem of mapping classifications across cultures.

Next I examine the illustrations in the relevant manuscripts, focusing on those of plants and animals. I consider how these illustrations relate to (1) the texts with which they are associated (mentioning manuscripts that were clearly intended to be illustrated but where the illustrations are missing), (2) illustrations in other manuscripts of the period, and (3) illustrations of the same texts from elsewhere in Europe and from later periods in England.

Then follows a survey of the availability of editions, facsimiles, photographic reproductions, and electronic reproductions of the illustrations, as well as a survey of the iconographic descriptions available. I stress the importance of the accurate reproduction of the illustrative materials for the study of medieval *materia medica,* assess the adequacy of existing materials, make suggestions for possible future work, and mention briefly the major electronic edition of the *Herbarium* of pseudo-Apuleius.

Richard Gameson (Courtauld Institute of Art)

"Survey of Genres and Themes VII: Anglo-Norman Manuscripts"

This paper surveys problems and potential for the study of Anglo-Norman manuscripts (ca. 1070-1109). It assesses the numbers and the distribution of the manuscripts involved; it reviews the geography of their production; it considers the nature of their texts; and discusses the changing modes of decoration used in them. Particular attention is paid to the developing interface between ornament and iconography. Finally, it addresses the implications of the further study of these books for the student of eleventh-century English and Norman culture.

Session 367: "The Triumphal Cross in Anglo-Saxon England"

Eamonn O'Carragain (University College, Cork)

"Diptychs in Stone: The Designs of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses"

The west face of the Bewcastle Cross combines three figural panels with a panel of runes: four panels in all. The two broad faces of the Ruthwell Cross have (if we leave out of account the base and cross-head) similar designs. On each of the three broad faces, the inner two panels are framed by an "envelope": the outer two panels. The closest analogy for this basic principle of design is the liturgical diptych in which lists of people to be prayed for (as at Bewcastle) were combined with (secular and sacred) iconography. It is unlikely that, at Ruthwell, the upper stone (with Visitation/Agnus Dei panels) was reversed, as such a reversal would destroy this "envelope" principle of design.

Carol Farr (University of Alabama, Huntsville)

"Worthy Women on the Ruthwell Cross"

The Ruthwell Cross is one of a few surviving examples of pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon sculpture to give prominence to images of women. Aside from the Marian imagery on the lower part of the cross shaft, female figures are sculpted on two panels of the middle and top of the cross shaft: Mary Magdalene wiping Christ's feet and a pair of embracing female figures identified in scholarship as either the Visitation or Martha and Mary.

Patristic exegetes and Bede interpret the subjects of these two panels allegorically. Thus, it may appear that gender of image and audience would be irrelevant to the meaning of the reliefs. Moreover, the scope of Ruthwell's iconography and the public character of monumental stone crosses, as well as the richness of medieval use of symbolic imagery in general, lend undeniable force to the view that it expresses meaning dynamically and multivalently and that its "message" is not aimed at an exclusive audience.

Nevertheless, the fact that women appear with relative prominence in the iconographic program suggests that there was some particular reason for departure from the usual figural iconography of Christ, evangelists, apostles, and male saints. Reasons can be suggested from examination of exegesis on the Visitation, Mary Magdalene, and Martha, coupled with new knowledge about Anglo-Saxon perceptions of women and the nature of the authority and status of abbesses made known in recent literary and historical studies. The Ruthwell cross may have presented within its message of triumphal salvation a version of this message especially meaningful to aristocratic females.

Andrew W. Cole (Miami University, Ohio)

"The Ruthwell Cross and Textuality"

The Ruthwell Cross elicits not a little disagreement among critics. Its complications are partly due to the fact that a considerable number of texts — secular and Christian — can be traced to the visual elements in the panels and to the text of the Latin inscriptions. In this paper, I focus not on the content of any particular text and its relation to the Cross but rather on the productive and interpretive principles of Anglo-Saxon textuality which surround this monument, no doubt a product of a highly literate and wealthy community. The Latin inscriptions, I believe, were constructed as both text and image, and I argue that they, in their spatial and interpretive relationships with the panels, either anticipated, or were informed by, the manuscript practice of gloss and commentary: not only is the text of the inscriptions consistent with two modes of glossing — identification and narration — but the location of key portions of that text on the margins facilitates a particular mode of interpretation fitting to the baptismal and eucharistic practices suggestive in the panels. Looking to other Northumbrian monuments with marginal inscriptions, I suggest that the Cross's unique use of the margin and inscription/panel articulated an understanding of Anglo-Saxon manuscript textuality at least as much as it did an understanding of the monumental tradition.

Session: "Codex and Context: Old English Prose Works and Manuscripts"

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola University, Chicago)

"The Manuscript Culture of the Anglo-Saxon Penitentials"

Manuscript analysis has been a staple of our disciplines for decades, but such analysis has never been applied to the Anglo-Saxon penitentials, a small but distinctive group of three or, stretching the definition, four texts, found in six manuscripts. Nor has been suggested that "manuscript culture," a relatively recent critical term, has much to tell us about the penitentials, which have been appraised exclusively in terms of their content. Readers have elaborated on the page layout of comparable texts (e.g., liturgical books and laws) and surely the physical organization of the penitentials in manuscripts can be equally revealing. My hypothesis is that the historical value of penitentials is not to be found only in "social" history, construed in the narrowly behavioral sense as what medieval people did. I have elsewhere spoken about the interplay of speaking, reading, and writing in the penitentials and how these complex data challenge naive ideas of literacy in this period, and have also discussed the "literariness" of the penitentials, a concept derived from Hans Robert Jauss. "The question of the reality of literary genres in the historical everyday world, or that of their social function," Jauss writes, "has been ignored in medieval scholarship, and not because of a lack of documents." But attention to "lived experience" is not sufficient. Genre, Jauss writes, depends "not only on its relation to a real, lived procedure, but also on its position within a comprehensive symbolic system familiar to contemporaries" (*Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, pp. 87-105). Texts exist within symbolic systems, and Jauss can help us reorient our view of the manuscripts of the penitentials as physical creations, from their openings and rubrications (evidence of their function in the Anglo-Saxon period) to their glosses (evidence of their function in later periods).

Hans Sauer (University of Wurzburg)

"The Old English Prose *Solomon and Saturn* and Middle English *Master of Oxford's Catechism*"

The OE Prose *Solomon and Saturn*, which should not be confused with the OE poetic dialogue of the same title, is a didactic dialogue about biblical lore and natural history: Saturn assumes the role of pupil who asks questions, and Solomon has the role of the teacher who answers them. It is transmitted in the twelfth-century manuscript which forms the first part of BL Cotton Vitellius A.xv. A very similar Middle English dialogue is preserved in two manuscripts from the fifteenth century, namely BL Harley 1304 and BL Lansdowne 762, under the title *Questiones bytwene the Maister of Oxenford and his Clerke (Scoler)*, which is also known as *The Master of Oxford's Catechism*. Although the titles of the OE and the ME versions are different, their contents are largely identical. All of them have been edited, but questions still remain. I consider these texts in the context of their manuscripts, and I also look at their language in order to establish their original date and place of composition. The most intriguing questions, however, concern their sources. Has the OE version been compiled from a single Latin text? Has the ME version been translated directly from the OE version or has it been translated from the same Latin source as the OE version? Because the knowledge of OE ceased after ca. 1200, it would be rather exceptional to find a late ME text which is a translation from Old English; on the other hand, so far apparently no Latin dialogue has been discovered which could have been the source for the ME and also for the OE version.

Clare A. Lees (Fordham University)

"*The False Gods:* Ælfric, Wulfstan, Manuscripts"

Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis* appears, in various forms, in seven manuscript collections of various dates: some copies are incomplete; others can be grouped according to authorial revision, subsequent to its initial distribution; while a third group compile extracts from the text for purposes radically different from those suggested by its most complete manuscript witnesses. To these manuscript versions, we can also add Wulfstan's major rewriting (which shows some contact with at least one of the Ælfrician copies) and one Old Norse homily. While such evidence charts a path of reception not unusual for Ælfrician works, the specific nature of the reception of the *De Falsis Diis* not only indicates a considerable popularity for what is in fact one of Ælfric's major works but gives us insights into its genre.

In spite of J. C. Pope's excellent edition, the *De Falsis Diis* remains known only for its euhemeristic treatment of the Scandinavian gods, which represents only a tiny fraction of the text. This section of the text (which forms the basis of Wulfstan's re-writing), however, only makes sense in terms of Ælfric's larger interest in Old Testament history, as Pope noted. We can go further: Ælfric's interest in this subject spans his entire career, cuts across his use of different genres (as we can see from several of the intertexts for the *De Falsis Diis*), underpins his fundamental beliefs, and here inspires some of his finest writing. We are most comfortable with Ælfric the homilist, hagiographer, and scriptural translator — categories that do not easily accommodate the *De Falsis Diis*. Yet the evidence of text, manuscript, and intertext for the *De Falsis Diis* suggests that we would learn much about this writer and his reception from a detailed re-assessment of such apparently marginal works.

Other Sessions

Session 2: "Old English I"

Mary Blockley (University of Texas, Austin)

"Free Word Order in Old English Poetry: Three Clause Types or Five Subject Types?"

The three types of clause proposed by S. O. Andrew have been as influential in the study of Old English syntax as the Five Types of Sievers have been in metrical studies. The Andrew types are unfortunately not as good as Sievers' as a description of Old English. Andrew declared three word orders to be basic: Common (SV), Conjunctive (S...V), and Demonstrative (...VS). Andrew proposed that the position of the verb relative to the subject reliably distinguished principal clauses from subordinate ones for Anglo-Saxons. His system provides a rationalized alternative to the impressionistic punctuation of Modern English editors. But even Andrew himself admitted that the sense of some clauses contradicted the interpretation that his system required them to bear.

Some well-known facts about Old English phrase structure are left out of Andrew's scheme. Old English freely allows unexpressed subjects, lacks the indefinite article, and has only a demonstrative adjective rather than a definite article. Andrew's typology refers to these categories only incidentally, as if they were exceptional.

An explanation for a variety of differences between Old English and Modern English emerges if we suppose that indefinite articles evolved in Middle English to express distinctions that were managed by element order in Old English, specifically that of saving the absolute clause-initial subject position for definite but non-persistent subjects and expanding the dip to enable poets to mark formulaic delayed subjects as either definite (known) or indefinite (new or generic). We can do the descriptive work of Andrew's system and form an account of other structures, absent from Modern English, for which Andrew's system provides no direction of investigation, such as verb-initial clauses with unexpressed subjects, by paying more attention to the restrictions placed on the position of the subject (demonstratively marked noun phrase, definite noun phrase, indefinite noun phrase, pronoun, and unexpressed subject) by the default semantic features of that subject.

Edwin Duncan (Lamar University)

"A Metrical Analysis of *Solomon And Saturn*, Parts I and II"

R. J. Menner, Elliott Van Kirk Dobbie, and others who have written about the Old English poem *Solomon and Saturn* generally agree that its two poetic sections (i.e., Part I, or lines 1-169; and Part II, or lines 170-505) are of separate authorship. However, a careful metrical analysis of the poem reveals intriguing prosodic similarities which must be more than coincidence.

Although the two poetic parts show some discernible differences in alliteration, they have in common an unusually high number of verses with two or more unstressed syllables between the strong stresses. Additionally, while both normally adhere to classical Old English poetic guidelines, their relatively similar percentages of frequency of occurrence for the five verse types set them off from those of standard Old English poems such as *Exodus*, *Beowulf*, *Maldon*, and others, as do a number of other recurring deviations from the prosodic norm.

These metrical similarities point to a common origin for Parts I and II, possibly common authorship or works by authors from the same poetic tradition. Another possibility, as Dobbie has suggested, is that Part II was written in imitation of the first, and still another is that both parts were emended by a later scribe or poet to conform to metrical guidelines which differed in detail from those used for *Beowulf*, *Maldon*, *Exodus*, and other Old English poems.

In any case, the metrical similarities suggest that the two parts of the poem are more closely related than is currently acknowledged and that they are more than just two random works brought together into a single manuscript because of a common theme.

Session 6: "Women's Rights and Power in the Middle Ages"

Lisa Darien (University of California, Berkeley)

"Women, Power, and the Anglo-Saxon Double Monastery"

The double monastery first developed in seventh-century Gaul but reached its peak of power and influence in the early Anglo-Saxon period. As with much other monastic life in England, the double monasteries were destroyed in the viking invasions of the ninth century, and yet they played no part in the tenth-century revival of Anglo-Saxon monasticism. What accounted for the popularity and influence of the double monastery in the earlier period and its virtual disappearance in the later?

In this paper, I argue that the answer can be found in the function that the double monastery played in Anglo-Saxon society. In a kin-based society such as that of the early Anglo-Saxon period, an aristocratic woman who married and had children could be seen as a possible threat to the power of her kin-group: her children may have had a claim to power equal to that of her brothers' children, yet her children would also have been the children of outsiders and thus a potential threat. On the other hand, a woman who became an abbess ruling a double monastery had "children" who were by definition totally obedient and not dangerous to the kin-group — indeed, they could become influential allies of the abbess's family. Thus the power of the aristocratic women who ruled a double monastery was maximized while the threat of her power was minimized. As stricter rules of succession (including primogeniture) and larger, more hierarchically arranged kingdoms evolved, the importance of double monasteries declined in Anglo-Saxon England, mirroring the decline of kin-group influence and of the power women exercised through it.

Session 28: "Popular Religion in the Middle Ages I: Pagan Survivals, Syncretism, and Superstitions"

William D. McCready (Queen's University)

"Miracles, the Venerable Bede, and Anglo-Saxon Paganism"

It seems clear from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* that, as Bede conceives it, the apologetic role of miracles was not limited to New Testament times. Miracles had an important role to play in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, a role they fulfilled up to the time of St. Cuthbert at least. Conceivably Bede would have us understand that this functional role extended into his own time as well, and was the primary reason for his recording contemporaneous wonders in the *Ecclesiastical History* and elsewhere. Like Gregory the Great, who recorded the miracles of Italian saints because of the role they had to play in the continuing evangelization of the countryside, Bede may have regarded modern miracles as necessary to complete the work of conversion in the Anglo-Saxon Church.

Plausible though it may seem, however, this line of argument cannot be sustained. True, the *Ecclesiastical History* itself reveals that the conversion of the *Angli* was both recent and incomplete, but such is a conclusion to which we are driven despite Bede, not because of him. Bede's own preference is to present the conversion as a once-for-all phenomenon. He was very much aware of pressing spiritual problems in the society of which he was a part, as is clear from his epistle to Egbert. But his point of view differed sharply from Gregory the Great's. Whereas Gregory preaches to a society still in need of fundamental conversion, Bede decries episcopal neglect and avarice in a basically Christian society. The result for Bede is that modern miracles are left without the clear rationale that they possess in the thought of his famous predecessor.

Session 36: "Old English II"

Christopher Fee (University of Connecticut)

"Coercion, Conversion and Compurgation: The Experience of Judas in *Elene*"

Heht þa swa cwicne   corðre lædan,
scufan scyldigne   (scealcas ne gældon)
in drygne seað ...
(*Elene* 691-693a)

Judas's confinement in the pit in line 693 of Cynewulf's *Elene*, and his subsequent metamorphosis and conversion, have often been perceived as central to the poem; it is my purpose to re-examine this "conversion experience" in the context of contemporary commentary, and in the light of the concept of the "third place" (as it is discussed by Jacques Le Goff in *The Birth of Purgatory*, and as it is manifested in the description of the "fires of judgment" at the end of *Elene*). Judas's experience seems a figural lynchpin of sort, in that it binds together and helps clarify several different levels of transformation which recur throughout the poem, including conversion, baptism, salvation, purgation, and damnation. The central role of his experience, however, is as an explication and prefiguration of Cynewulf's description of the Day of Judgment in lines 1276-1321. Without such prefiguration, this section could almost be a separate homiletic fragment; with it, the spiritual message of the poem becomes clear.

Although I see Judas's experience in the pit as representative of a form of baptism, I see it as a baptism "by fire," prefigured by Constantine's baptism by water and prefiguring the baptism by fire described in the closing passage. I see the enforced, involuntary torture of Judas as *central* to this baptism, because of the very nature of the purgational process which I think this episode prefigures. I find the agency of that purgation to be of the utmost importance, since it is through the fires of God's Judgment that sin may be burned away, and it is through the harsh measures of God's agent, Elene, that Judas is "made pure." In this context of prefiguration, Elene's treatment of Judas becomes much more than mere torture, and the final scene, which otherwise seems quite removed from the narrative, becomes the central didactic focus of the poem.

Laura D. Barefield (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Narrative, Historical Crisis, and Women's Speech in the Old English Poems *Elene*, *Judith*, and *Juliana*"

Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen preface their recent edition of essays, *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*, by emphasizing that Old English studies are founded upon assumptions regarding women that are distinctly Victorian rather than Anglo-Saxon. Their mission is to establish a more accurate picture of women's lives and social place in the Anglo-Saxon world. While this venture is invaluable for feminist work in Old English literature, they focus almost exclusively on what Damico calls "the making of literary characters," examining adjectives, epithets, and adverbs which describe heroic women, such as Elene, Judith, and Juliana, often tying them to the Germanic concept of the *ides*.

But these female figures inhabit narratives whose epic and historic natures beg questions far more complex than simply character. Heroic poems were one way that early peoples codified their histories, their institutions, and their social identity. Each of these women — Elene, Judith, and Juliana — gives prodigious rhetorical performances and emerges as a heroic figure in a moment of historical crisis within the narrative — when the society and its beliefs are changing or being threatened. Elene, from a Rome newly converted to Christianity, prevails over the Jews' attempts to conceal the secrets of the true cross. Judith saves her people from the pagan lord, Holofernes. And Juliana, I argue, enforces her choice of Christianity over the wishes of her father, her suitor, and the demon, at a crucial narrative moment when Christianity is fighting to assert itself as a legitimate social system. We must ask why, in a genre primarily oriented toward male concerns, does the narrative turn in these moments of national and religious crisis to focus on the speeches and actions of women? This paper examines not simply the character of these heroic women, but how their words and placement within the historical narratives explore and attempt to resolve political and religious tensions in moments of social crisis.

Roy White (University of Minnesota)

"Verbal Commerce and the Heroine in Old English Poetry"

The image of the word-hoard lies at the heart of a complex parallelism between verbal and material exchange in Old English poetry. The giving of words, as of treasure, creates a social bond; forcing someone to give up speech or treasure is a source of triumph for one side and disgrace for the other. In particular, the poems *Elene, Juliana,* and *Judith* show the titular heroines exercising authority over and through speech in an alternate version of the masculine economy of heroic violence.

Verbal commerce is not an isolated poetic ornament but a social force, what Lakoff would call a "metaphor they lived by." It can be seen at work in some of the Anglo-Saxon legal codes, where a defendant can avoid a fine of, say, 60 shillings by swearing an oath worth 60 shillings. Within poetry, there are exhortations to keep one's breast-hoard locked up when its gifts would be wasted. On the other hand, the Wanderer laments in parallel terms the loss of his lord's gifts of treasure and lore.

The power of the word-hoard is held by whoever controls its locking and unlocking; such control is especially suited to Anglo-Saxon women, since their economic power rested largely in their status as key-holders. Elene's victory lies in her ability to make Judas reveal what is in his chest; she has embarked with a raiding party, and this is the booty she brings back. Juliana triumphs by forcing a demon to speak and also by refusing to let others extort speech from her (namely, marriage vows or praise for the pagan gods). In *Judith*, the power over speech and the control of concealment are partly separated, but Judith exercises both, in her pep-talk to her people and in turning Holofernes' obsession with concealment to his own disadvantage. Indeed, strategic wordplay extends the power of concealment and revelation to the poetic language itself.

Antonina Harbus (University of Toronto)

"Dream, Text, and Revelation in the Old English *Elene*"

I examine the first and final sections of the Old English poem *Elene* — the account of Constantine's vision of the Cross and Cynewulf's personal colophon — for evidence of the poet's approach to revelation, one strikingly different from that of his source.

My paper argues that Cynewulf concentrates on Constantine's moral reaction to his vision. By presenting it as a spiritual awakening in which the emperor's will is engaged, he creates an exemplum for spiritual reform through the active interpretation and assimilation of potent signs. When Cynewulf returns to the subject of revelation in his colophon, he emphasizes the same elements that he had demonstrated in the conversion scene: symbolic signification, conscious volition, memory, and interpretation. The opening and closing sections of *Elene* are designed to encourage the reader's meditation on the Cross. Cynewulf enunciates this need in his exhortation to unlock spiritual mysteries through actively reading and considering sacred texts.

I conclude by suggesting that Cynewulf places greater importance on the intellectual, text-based development of faith than on the miraculous phenomena which his narrative treats, the vision and finding of the Cross. This new emphasis provides a clue to Cynewulf's intentions in adapting his source and also a sound justification for rendering foreign texts into the vernacular and for reading religious poetry.

Session 54: "English Place-Name Studies"

Carol A. Hough (University of Nottingham)

"The Survey of the Language of English Place-Names"

This paper presents a report on "The Survey of the Language of English Place-Names," a five-year research project at the Centre for English Name Studies, University of Nottingham. The project began in January 1982 and is funded by the Leverhulme Foundation. The main aims are to establish a computerized database of place-name material and to compile a new edition of English Place-Name Elements.

I begin by outlining the work of The English Place-Name Society, which was founded in 1923 to undertake a county-by-county survey of English place-names. The 66 volumes so far published present a historical analysis of both major and minor place-names. Two volumes in the series are devoted to place-name elements. These were produced in 1956 and have been largely outdated by subsequent research.

The Leverhulme Project aims to make the material contained in the county volumes computer-accessible in order to facilitate further research in a wide range of subject areas. To this end, a database is being set up at Nottingham University using the INGRES database management system. The first year has been spent largely in planning the structure of the database and in developing the format of entries. We are now in the process of entering place-name elements, analyzed in various ways for subsequent retrieval. Following this, we shall begin to excerpt information on individual place-names from the EPNS county surveys, so that it will be possible to identify all occurrences of particular elements or groups of elements across the country. The final stage of the project will be to use this data to compile the new edition of English Place-Name Elements.

Victor Watts (Grey College, Durham)

"*Hexham:* Philological and Historical Problems of an English Place-Name"

Hexham is the name of a small town in Northumberland, England, which was given along with its surrounding territory to St. Wilfrid in 674 by queen Æthelthryth of Northumbria. The earliest recorded occurrence of the name is *Hagustaldes ham* (ca. 1120) in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 685. By what processes do we get from *Hagustaldes ham* to *Hexham?* Is *Hagustald* a personal name or an appellative, and if the latter, what did it mean? Can the *hagustald* in question be identified? How was the name perceived in the Middle Ages and how was it reshaped? How does the form *Hagustaldes ham* relate to the other name of the estate given to St. Wilfrid, *Hagustaldesae* (ca. 900) in the oldest MS of the early eighth-century *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert?* What is the second element of *Hagustaldesae?* And what conclusions may be drawn from comparison with the same variation in the early forms of another early monastic name in Northumbria, Lastingham?

R. I. Page (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

"OE Winterdūn: A Case Study"

The OE word *winterdūn* appears only once in the Toronto Microfiche Concordance, in a passage from the legal text *Gerefa* where it refers to a job of work to be done on an estate at an appropriate time of the year. Though the compound is transparent, its meaning is imprecise, and translators have tried to define it more closely than perhaps is justified: "winter hill-pasturing."

Though the word is recorded only once in Old English, it occurs quite often as a place-name in both Middle and Modern English times. Despite this it is not included in the standard dictionaries. A parallel place-name, *sumerdune*, is also found. Both *winter-* and *sumor-* are quite frequent as first elements of compounds, in place-names and elsewhere. It is likely, then, that *winterdūn* was a common-noun compound used in the vocabulary of farm-practice in Anglo-Saxon and later times. Its primary meaning would be, not the practice, but the part of the estate where it took place.

Farming manuals of the thirteenth century and later throw some light on agricultural practices and enable us to define something of the possible range of *winterdūn*, from "winter-pasturing" to "ploughing for winter-sowing." Luckily we are able to identify in the field a few of the places that, over the years, have been named *winterdūn* or a later reflex of that word. Some of them are suited to hill-pasturing, others not, so alternative interpretations of the compound are needed to account for them. The case study shows how place-names, in combination with a study of land-usage and topography, can throw light on the meaning of an OE common noun; how they can produce additions to the standard dictionaries.

Session 57: "Computers at Kalamazoo I: Current Research and Issues"

B. R. Hutcheson (Emory University)

"dBase and Old English Meter"

I have scanned nearly 14,000 lines of Old English poetry and have entered my scansion marks into a database, along with the actual text and other necessary information. I have configured my database so that I can pull out all the lines that meet any of a number of criteria, such as a given metrical pattern, a given character string, a given number of syllables, presence or absence of a free-morpheme compound in any position in the line, any combination of the above, and so forth. The possibilities are nearly endless; a 486/25 personal computer takes between five and fifteen seconds to perform most searches through the 14,000 lines of poetry on the database.

I have also written programs to isolate the Sievers types (the computer reads my scansion and assigns a Sievers type to the verse) and have refined Sievers' classification to differentiate among a number of types that show a statistically significant difference in distribution from one another yet are grouped by Sievers and others as the same type. I have written additional programs as well, one of which provides the ability to search for character strings in adjacent lines (or for metrical types in adjacent lines).

My presentation consists of a demonstration and discussion of the database and its various features. I plan eventually to put the entire Old English poetic corpus on the database and to make it available to Anglo-Saxonists and other interested scholars. It is a very powerful tool.

Session 58: "Oral Traditions: Performance and Content"

John McNamara (University of Houston)

"Bede and Oral History: An Experiment in Methodology"

Most scholarship on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has focused on his masterful handling of texts in creating a monument in the history of historical writing. At times, modern scholars have acknowledged Bede's use of oral sources, but the nature and functions of oral history in his work remain largely unexplored, thus presenting an important area for further research. However, such research encounters special difficulties from the outset since all the oral narratives here have been transmitted through a written text. Thus, before analyzing these oral sources in detail, it is vital to investigate the methodological problems for such analysis.

The first problem, of course, is that in Bede we do not encounter oral history directly but rather in *representations* of orality. These representations are often explicitly marked, but in other cases they are unmarked and their orality can only be rendered "audible" through analysis. Analysis of oral history in Bede thus must first develop a means of identifying oral performances, recognizing that they can take a wide variety of forms, and then seek to analyze their functions in his narrative both in a specific context and in the larger composition of his work as a whole. At the level of identification, speech act theory appears helpful, as does the conception of dialogism and polyvocality in Bakhtin; at the level of functional analysis, rhetorical approaches to narrative appear to be very promising. Yet there are many methodological problems here. This paper seeks to clarify such problems through "experimental" analyses of specific oral performances in Bede's historical writing.

Session 64: "Experiments in Editing Old English Verse"

A. N. Doane (University of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Spacing, Placing, and Effacing: What to do about Scribal Textuality"

This paper considers scribal writing in terms of the "emergent" text, to use the phrase of Richard Bauman as it applies to folklore and ethnography. In harmony with K. O'Keeffe's findings, the paper argues that there is a large element of orality determining the activity of scribes; but more than just having a fair understanding of the principles of oral verse form *as they read or misread*, as she argues, this paper argues that the scribes tended to proceed *orally*, literally with the voice, reciting texts, hearing texts, and writing from hearing as well as seeing. What results is "emergent" textuality as well as "emergent" text. The written pre-text acted as a kind of visual cue for further performance. The "vocality" of the texts is the issue, and this vocality was actively productive of variation, not just for negative reasons with random and dysfunctional effects, but for positive reasons, because the voiced text *was* the full text, the realized text, and by its very nature productive of variety as the voice filled the text. Sometimes a scribe might have been revising — that is, intending new meanings consciously, or self-consciously fishing for a new expression — but probably generally a scribe was unself-consciously rewording the text to make it "alive." Like the modern sound recordings of genuine oral productions, these "vocal" texts are seen to be full of "mistakes" — of the sort that only modern systematic editors can perceive and control. It seems likely that no matter how far back we might be able to go, or how close a manuscript might be to the "original," we would never find a good text (by our lights) because the vernacular culture was incapable of the rigorous textuality that "good texts" imply. Nevertheless, some texts are more "textual" and some are more "vocal." This paper goes on to show how editors and critics might take the exact manuscript contexts into account as they present and discuss vernacular manuscript productions, considering specifically the OE *Soul and Body* in the Exeter and Vercelli versions and Charms 5 and 10 in CCCC 41 and Harley 585.

M. Jane Toswell (University of Western Ontario)

"The *Paris Psalter* and the Glossed Psalters: Help or Hindrance?"

None of the four critical editions of the metrical psalter (Thorpe, Grein, Assmann for Grein-Wülker, and Krapp) has taken into account the evidence provided by the glossed psalters. They had little opportunity to do so, given the paucity of editions and studies of these texts at the time. Since the publication of Krapp's edition for the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records in 1932, however, the general trend in consideration of the metrical psalter has been toward comparison and connection with the glossed psalters. The work of Meritt, Tinkler, Keefer, Berghaus, and Pulsiano has led to a new prominence for these texts in, especially, any attempt at the editing of the metrical psalter.

The status of this evidence, however, needs to be determined. To what extent can readings from glossed psalters lead an editor to emend in the metrical psalter? If emendation is no longer contemplated very often, how can glossed psalter parallels be presented in notes which are helpful rather than confusing? Should the evidence of a glossed psalter which elsewhere in the text tends to agree with the metrical psalter be given greater weight in a particular instance than the reading of a glossed psalter which usually differs from that of the metrical psalter? How would that greater weight manifest itself? Is there even one instance where glossed psalter evidence can be shown, incontrovertibly, to be relevant to an edition of the *Paris Psalter?* Or, should an editor put aside the evidence of the glossed psalters and look rather to the formulas of Old English poetry, especially to translation poetry, for evidence when the text seems confused?

This paper, by way of three specific examples (renditions of Psalms 59.5, of *gressus* and *ingressus*, and of *lauo),* attempts to address these issues and develop an appropriate method of presenting the data.

Edward B. Irving (University of Pennsylvania)

"Editing Old English Verse: The Ideal"

Forty years have elapsed since I published my dissertation, an edition of *Exodus;* editing principles have changed considerably during that time. Nowadays an editor will be far more attentive to all the physical clues of a manuscript and to the principles which seem to have determined the compilation of its various parts; she will be better versed linguistically, especially in questions of syntax, and will be able to place a work in a general cultural context that is now far better understood than it was in 1953.

Still there is always the danger of forgetting that it is poetry we are editing. We should recognize that hostility toward poetry and ignorance of its nature are widespread in our field and in others nowadays. If we wish to treat our Anglo-Saxon poets with respect, we should try to bear in mind that they composed consistently formal "classic" verse; the editor must try to recover and restore this verse from what are frequently the ravages of scribes almost as careless as modern critics. We should try to make what is on the page look like poetry, and might consider adopting some of the typographical features of contemporary verse: using white space instead of punctuation, for example. An editor should state clear and moderate principles of emendation, steering a course between intrusiveness and unthinking adherence to a limited editorial ideology.

Session 74: "Old English III"

Melinda J. Menzer (University of Texas, Austin)

"*A* is for *Angelcynn:* Vernacular Education and Nationalism in Alfred and Ælfric"

It is traditional to think of medieval education as Latin education. Most teaching was done by the Church, and the Church wanted to create scholars and monks. But in ninth-century England, a different authority with a different agenda became interested in education. Alfred the Great proposed to educate all free men, not in Latin, but in English. Alfred's interest in the vernacular is the result of his nationalistic hopes. By promoting English literacy, he hoped to promote English unity. At the same time, by encouraging translation of texts into the vernacular, he hoped to place England on the same plane as other centers of learning, such as Greece and Rome. While Alfred's plan and reign were not lasting successes, the popularity of Ælfric's *Grammar,* written around 992, suggests that there was interest in the vernacular in England more than one hundred years later. Ælfric wrote his work, Europe's first vernacular grammar, to teach both Latin and English to school children. In writing the *Grammar,* Ælfric, like Alfred before him, elevated the vernacular to the same level as Latin. Alfred's plan to teach the English to read and write in their native tongue is a direct result of his concerns about the unity and status of his struggling country; Ælfric's *Grammar* is, perhaps, a continuation or an echo of Alfred's attempt at universal vernacular education.

David Lasson (University of Texas, Austin)

"*'Ceare Cwiþan': The Wanderer* as Confessional Monologue"

Much provocative critical energy has been spent in trying to determine the number, mind set, and corporeality of the speaker(s) in *The Wanderer.* One critic sees within the poem two contrasting and complimentary pagan monologues framed and bound together by an expository Christian introduction. Another view, held by a large group of critics, finds that the poem comprises a single, essentially Christian monologue, although where this monologue starts and ends is not a matter of general assent. Most recently, Carol Braun Pasternack has thoughtfully suggested that "hearing" *The Wanderer* intertextually — through a musical aesthetic — increases our sense of its thematic unity. Yet even she speaks of the poem's "envelope-style conclusion by recalling...the first announcement of speech."

If, however, we view the poem as a continuous confessional monologue, we not only find that we are able to dispense with second speakers, envelopes, and editors' quotation marks; more to the point, we are forced to contemplate the poem's central paradox: the Wanderer insists that the lip-sealing required by his society be heeded, while at the same time he completely unlocks his own heart. Like Bede's (fictive) account of how Coifi destroys idols that he himself had dedicated, the account of the Wanderer who confesses that gnomic answers do not ease the pain of life's problems — although he's been told that they should — is likewise a record of a conversion.

In an essay on the Old English elegies, Edward Irving cautions that our constructing critical superstructures around the texts can easily "smother the poems under the guise of explaining them, especially when our attention is constantly being forced outward." This advice seems especially well suited to those who intend study of *The Wanderer*, where the speaker takes pains to show us that he needed to become an *anhaga* in order to find his *fæstnung*.

Leslie Stratyner (Ithaca College)

"The Death of the Substitute: Traditional Pattern and *The Dream of the Rood*"

In the plethora of criticism addressing the heroic ethos evident within *The Dream of the Rood*, no one has yet given specific attention to the manifestation of the inter and intra traditional pattern of the "death of the substitute" within this poem. Termed by Lord a component of a "mythic pattern" in his analysis of *Beowulf*, and by Foley a component of a "multiform structure" in his analysis of the epic, a good deal of attention has been lavished on the concept of the death of the substitute in oral and oral-derived literature.

In *The Dream of the Rood*, Christ is himself the substitute; in terms of the dramatic action of the poem, the Cross's triumphal status as the *sigebeam* is accorded through Christ's death. The Christ who tastes bitter death on the cross to redeem mankind is the same Christ whose death fortifies and glorifies the Cross. My assertion is that, though Christ's behavior is certainly heroic, the central heroic character is the Cross itself; the story of the crucifixion is told entirely from its perspective. In terms of the narrative, the Rood is the central hero, and his triumph the central triumph.

My efforts with this paper are directed firstly towards situating my argument within the array of scholarship concerning the Anglo-Saxon heroic ethos as evidenced in *The Dream of the Rood*, including the work of Wolf, Macrae-Gibson, Diamond, and Lee. Then I attempt to show how *The Dream of the Rood* is traditionally referent with regard to the concept, as illuminated by Lord and Foley, of the "death of the substitute." According to Lord, the death of the substitute is "the death of one of the hero's companions, a death that is caused by the actions of that hero." This death is usually associated with a significant battle and is often a galvanizing event in the development of that hero. It is my belief that the Cross as the central Christian symbol is accorded its meaning through the lens of the traditional paradigm. From the audience's perspective, it is reverence rooted in reference.

Session 100: "In the Margins, On the Margins, From the Margins"

Catherine Karkov (Miami University, Ohio)

"Margins and Marginalization: Representations of Eve in Oxford Bodl. MS Junius 11"

Oxford Bodl. MS Junius 11 has been the subject of study by scholars in a variety of fields since its first publication in 1655. Very few of these studies have, however, looked at how the surviving manuscript actually works. Art historians have written about its program of illustrations, while literary scholars have concentrated on the text. And, while scholars in both fields have explored the manuscript from a variety of critical approaches, the two fields have rarely overlapped. To a degree this is understandable since, as with so much of Anglo-Saxon poetry, the composition of the poems predates the actual manuscript, generally considered to have been produced at Canterbury ca. 1000. However, the Junius manuscript is unique in being the only one of the surviving Anglo-Saxon poetry manuscripts planned as an illustrated book. Text and illustration must therefore be studied together if we are to gain some insight into the way in which the book was intended to be used and interpreted at the time of its production.

This paper focuses on two related issues: (1) representations (both verbal and visual) of Eve, one of the most "marginalized" and problematic figures in the manuscript; (2) the artists' use of marginal space in general. The visual Eve is not an ambiguous figure, as is her textual counterpart. She is consistently compartmentalized, isolated, silenced, paired with evil, and used to invert the biblical hierarchy. In a number of illustrations she is quite literally pulled or pushed into the margins of the illustrations. This literal marginalization is particularly significant as in Junius 11 there is an implied world outside the central space of the miniature — a world into which Satan, the serpent, Eve, and, ultimately, Adam are all banished.

David Megginson (University of Ottawa)

"Spelling Changes in Poetic Manuscripts: Marginal or Mainstream?"

In the Exeter Book, the scribe (who follows a very consistent spelling system throughout) usually writes the accusative forms *mec*, *þec*, and *usic*. In two short poems, however, someone (probably a later corrector) has erased the endings to produce *me*, *þe* and *us* — changes appearing only in *Soul and Body II* and *The Decent into Hell*, not in the manuscript's other 128 poems.

In the Junius MS, a later corrector has made sporadic changes at several points, concentrating especially in part of *Genesis B* and the first 124 lines of *Christ and Satan*. Again, the changes are not characteristic of the work of the four original scribes, but impose an entirely different spelling system. It is especially worth noting the correction of *waldend* to *wealdend* (a form which the first Junius scribe *never* writes in *Genesis B)*.

What was the purpose of these changes? Were they mainstream guidelines for the next copyist to follow, or marginal — meant merely to improve the appearance of the current manuscript? If these manuscripts were ever copied, the copies are lost. However, there are often brief, unexplained clusters of variant spellings in the Old English manuscripts which have survived.

The paper concludes with several examples, including a sudden cluster of four *hie* forms in a single verse of the prose psalms of the Paris Psalter (which nearly always has *hi* or *hy)*, and a cluster of *cining* forms at the beginning of *Genesis A* (which otherwise has only *cyning)*. These clusters may be the result of the type of corrections which we have seen in the Junius Manuscript and the Exeter Book in the texts' histories: at some point, they moved from the margins into the mainstream and became part of the texts themselves.

Session 133: "Second Lives of Saints: Cults Revived and Redefined in Later Periods"

Virginia Blanton-Whetsell (Binghamton Univ.)

"The Cult of St. Æthelthryth: Visual Imagery as Historical Source"

The imagery of St. Æthelthryth takes many forms, literary and historical, hagiographical and lyrical, sculptural and architectural. An examination of the sculptural forms at the Ely Cathedral invites some speculative observations about the cult activities surrounding the saint and the politics and history of the monastic community. As Susan Ridyard has argued, many historical sources provide insight into the cult activity surrounding the saint's shrine, revealing some social and political elements which influence the fluctuations of interest in the cult. This project examines eight sculpted capitals in the Ely Cathedral which depict Æthelthryth's life, death, and miracles, locating these images in relation to historical moments which affected the monastery cathedral up through the early fourteenth century when the capitals were sculpted. Using the *Liber Eliensis*, the architectural embellishments of the cathedral, and the multiple *vitae* which appeared between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, one can chart the political interests of the monastic community and see how the sculptor closely followed the political agenda of these documentary sources to represent the saint again in the 1320s. The images reveal a powerful, protective saint who combats bishop or king to vindicate her community, who punishes those who encroach upon her land or community holdings, and who holds sway over other saints such as Benedict. Using these literary and visual texts, the monks rewrite the past to establish and maintain their present material and political claims, and they invoke the wrath of St. Æthelthryth against all who try to cross them.

Session 186: "Death and Burial in Burgundy and Anglo-Saxon England: Archaeological Dialogue II"

Julian Richards (University of York)

"Gender, Age, and Status in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper discusses how far it is possible to make statements about social status based on mortuary behavior. Binford has regarded cemeteries as fossilized systems from which it is possible to draw conclusions about conditions of death, location of death, age, sex, social position, and social affiliation

(Binford 1971). Others (e.g., Hodder 1982) would see a cemetery as a text which needs decoding. An examination of the burial rites of Early Anglo-Saxon England reveals which dimensions of Anglo-Saxon identity may be observable in death. It is suggested that the text allows several possible readings because a number of dimensions are signalled in Anglo-Saxon mortuary behavior. The author builds upon his research on Anglo-Saxon cremation burial (Richards 1987) to see whether it is gender, age, or social rank that is most important in death.

Martin Carver (University of York)

"The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery At Sutton Hoo"

The Sutton Hoo research project (1983-92) undertook to examine social change in the Kingdom of East Anglia between the sixth and eighth centuries. Survey and excavation at the site of the Sutton Hoo ship burial (a cemetery of 15-20 earth mounds) was combined with intensive survey of the Deben valley and five other areas of East Anglia. The excavations have revealed a short-lived high-status cemetery at Sutton Hoo with a variety of funeral rites. These are interpreted as ideological signals reflecting the rapidly changing politics of the North Sea zone in the seventh century.

Catherine Hills (Cambridge University)

"Spong Hill: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery"

Spong Hill lies in central Norfolk, East Anglia. Between 1972 and 1981, an entire Anglo-Saxon cemetery was excavated there, together with underlying and associated features of prehistoric, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon date. More than 2000 cremations and 57 inhumations were excavated. The significance of the cemetery lies in its size and its near-completeness.

Most work has focused on the cremations. These consist of hand-made pots, mostly decorated, containing cremated bones, buried either singly or, more often, in pairs or larger groups. About seventy percent of complete burials also contained grave-goods.

Although fragmentary, the grave-goods can be identified as remains of imports such as glass vessels, bronze bowls, and ivory rings. Distribution maps of such imports showing East Anglia empty derive from older, less detailed examination of the cremation burials predominant in this area in the fifth century. Conclusions based on such incomplete maps are not a reliable basis for discussions of long-distance trade and exchange during this period.

It has also been shown that even with large numbers it is often difficult to discover clear patterns, whether of distribution or association. Apparently clear patterning achieved elsewhere on the basis of small groups of burials may be illusory.

Session 190: *"Beowulf:* Text and Interpretation"

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Univ. of Denver)

"Fyll(o): Feast, Fall, and the Theme 'Sleep After Feasting'"

In 1968, Donald K. Fry edited a collection of essays on *Beowulf* and remarked in his introduction, "one very common pattern in Old English poetry is the theme 'Banquet followed by Bed,' which often symbolizes the bed of death after the banquet of life." Scholars by and large acknowledge the *presence* of the theme, but its existence has not influenced *criticism* of poems like *Beowulf.* I would argue that a lack of attention to specific textual details has meant that the study of themes has remained static.

The *Beowulf*-poet is a deliberate punster who uses his puns to reinforce his subject matter. One of the puns especially appropriate to its context is that on *fyll* ("fall") and *fyllo* ("feast"). When the pun is operative, it always evokes the dual meaning of feast and fall and the theme of Sleep after Feasting. Both the repetition of the theme and the repetition of the pun keep the tension mounting and reinforce the importance of death after the feast of life. The pun thus helps form a web of meanings that unites language and imagery in a subtle way. We need to be aware of as many contexts of the poem as possible: linguistic, formulaic, and so forth. Attention to the details of the poem *qua* poem shows us the subtlety of the poet's artistry.

Robert Costomiris (University of Washington)

"The Potential for Humor in the Ironic Elements of *Beowulf*"

Although *Beowulf* is highly regarded for characteristics such as its vivid imagery, its evocation of early medieval kingship, and its structural intricacy, the poem also makes extensive use of irony and paronomasia which occasionally elicit a comic effect. Some critics consider the addition of comic touches to an overwhelmingly serious poem an unlikely possibility. At the other extreme, some critics have gone so far as to portray Grendel as a comic buffoon.

This divergence of opinion seems to hinge on whether a critic accepts the comic potential of an ironic situation.

This paper argues for a comic interpretation of certain passages of the poem. Bonjour has noted that even though the events of the poem are often foretold, the poem maintains suspense because the audience experiences the poem through the fictional characters who can never know the outcome of events beforehand. This observation can also be applied to the comic potential of certain passages of the poem which is most fully realized when the audience is made aware of something of which the fictional character remains ignorant: the audience can laugh because it knows more than the character it observes and can therefore relish the incongruity of a particular situation. This technique is at work in *Beowulf* in several ways: (1) when a character is physically out of place (e.g., when Grendel is in Heorot); (2) when the language of the poem seems inappropriately applied to a person or situation (e.g., the use of folk-name epithets); and (3) when the action or speech of a character seems unsuited to a situation (e.g., Beowulf's question to Hrothgar the morning after Æschere's death).

This paper seeks to lend coherence to the comic potential of certain elements of the poem by noting the similarity between what we label ironic (a characteristic nearly every critic agrees is at work in Old English poetry) and what we call comic. This paper suggests that while the overall emphasis of the poem is indeed serious, a modern reader's delight in a particularly incongruous juxtaposition in *Beowulf* might well be similar to the response of an Anglo-Saxon audience.

Naoko Shirai (Bunka Women's University)

"The Sword in *Beowulf* Again"

Treatments of swords in *Beowulf* traditionally have concentrated on origins and linguistic analysis, but not so much on interpretation. This paper focuses on the function of the sword-as-gift as an important criterion for evaluating Beowulf's behavior and the righteousness of his deeds. Moreover, this function of sword-as-gift may provide a counter-example to controversial interpretations of Beowulf's death: that he dies while searching for gold, or that he has always been an aggressive hero.

The sword given to Beowulf by Hygelac is a valued heirloom, and its bestowal represents acknowledgment of Beowulf's role as a peace-giver, in sharp contrast to the scene in which Hengest swears on his sword to declare war.

Scholars debate Beowulf's incentive in his final battle with the dragon. Some believe that Beowulf dies because he is too eager for gold, while others credit his death to excessive aggression during the battle. Since swords and treasure are given to Beowulf as rewards for service to his nation, an appropriate interpretation is that the last treasure emphasizes Beowulf's *defensive* action in protecting his nation from destruction.

Joyce Talley Lionarons (Ursinus College)

"The Dragon in Its Context: A Ghastly Guest in Geatland"

The *Beowulf*-poet refers to his dragon as a *gist* ("guest, visitor, stranger") four times — once as a simplex *(gæst*, 2312a), and in three compounds: *gryregiest* (2560a), *inwitgæst* (2670a), and *niðgæst* (2699a). While it is easy to read these usages of *gist*, *giest*, or *gæst* simply as "stranger," or even to extend the meaning of *gist* as "stranger" to include "enemy" or "foe," it is in fact likely that in the larger context of the poem the primary reading "guest" is to be preferred. This paper explores how the dragon fits into the larger context of host/guest relationships as they are articulated in *Beowulf* as a whole, as well as how the poet's usage of the term *gist* relates to his usage of the term *gast* ("ghost, spirit") to designate the ghastly guests of the poem.

Session 222: "New Perspectives on the Spiritual Life of the Early Medieval World"

Sharon Rowley (University of Chicago)

"Reading Miracles in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*"

Starting from the position that Bede's criteria for miracles and understanding of their role in history differs from ours, this paper investigates how Bede's belief in miracles influences his interpretation of history. Bede's brief but heavily documented interpretation of the fall of the Britons demonstrates how he deploys his interpretation of miracles in the *HE*. It also, however, reflects the ways in which his interpretation of history strains as it attempts to assess events that resist his Christian world-view. Using motifs of pestilence and disease as signs of sin and heresy, Bede's account of the Britons illustrates why issues like the repeated resurgence of the Pelagian heresy and the Paschal controversy trouble him throughout the *HE*.

Bede uses the miracles surrounding the exemplary figures of Sts. Alban and Germanus to explain why the Britons temporarily enjoy, but ultimately lose, the fruits of their island. Both Alban and Germanus, by performing miracles, convert, unify, and give strength to the Britons. By deploying these miracles as evidence of the truth of his own interpretation of history, Bede begins to establish patterns of miracles and paradigms of interpretation that become crucial to his reading of English history.

Session 258: "Interdisciplinary Approaches to Manuscript Studies"

Elaine Treharne (University of Leicester)

"Texts in Context: Approaches to a Twelfth-Century Old English Homiliary"

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 303, a mid-twelfth-century vernacular codex containing homiletic, hagiographical, and exhortatory texts, has been studied primarily for its Ælfrician material, having been collated for the definitive editions of Thorpe, Skeat, Godden, and Pope. Yet the codex offers material for various disciplines. Bridging the divide between Old and early Middle English scholarship, it is important historically, linguistically, textually, and paleographically.

The external analysis of the manuscript requires awareness of codicological aspects like the methods of manuscript production and attitudes to ancient volumes through the centuries; an appreciation of the historical, political, and religious background of the period in which the codex was created is essential. The "why" and "how" of the manuscript's production can be ascertained through such approaches.

Closer analysis requires detailed study of the texts themselves. Literary and linguistic approaches can place the manuscript in its cultural and geographical context. Evaluation of the language and style of a text — particularly a unique vernacular text — can throw vital light on translation techniques and the development of the English language at the time of the origin of the text and the manuscript (which need not be contemporary).

An interdisciplinary approach to a codex can yield far more information and a fuller understanding of the period than any single subject analysis. By such multilateral analysis, MS 303 proves of hitherto unnoticed importance as the only survivor of its scriptorium and period to attest to the concern attached by contemporaries to the preservation of the Anglo-Saxon literary heritage.

Session 295: "Haskins Society II: Anglo-Saxon Verse, Coins, and Bridges"

Elizabeth M. Tyler (Pembroke College, Oxford)

"Old English Verse and Anglo-Saxon History"

Modern historians and literary critics agree on the importance of treasure in Anglo-Saxon England and rely on both historical and literary sources for evidence. Treasure appears as a charged symbol throughout Old English verse. The exchange of treasure in the context of gift-giving has attracted the attention of historians concerned with the workings of the pre-monetary economy of the early Anglo-Saxon period. Yet, depictions of treasure in verse and prose are often radically divergent. In this paper, I use literary critical terms and methods to examine closely two points related to these differing portrayals of treasure. First, I examine the virtual exclusion of weapons from treasure in prose sources compared with the centrality of weapons to treasure in verse. Second, I examine the largely static portrayal of treasure throughout Old English verse despite treasure's obviously changing function, so evident from the prose sources, over 700 years of Anglo-Saxon history. I then discuss the possibility that not only the rigid form (alliteration and meter) and specialized vocabulary of Old English verse encouraged and preserved the archaic representation of treasure, but also that generic distinctions between verse and prose played a large role in their divergent depictions of treasure. Such literary considerations offer insight into our understanding of Old English verse and have wider implications for the way we use this verse as an historical source.

Martha Carlin (Univ. of Wisconsin, Milwaukee)

"Saxo-Viking London and Southwark: The Origins of London Bridge"

London was founded by the Romans after their invasion of Britain in A.D. 43, and served as the seat of the Roman procurator and governor of the province of Britannia. Across the river, on the site of medieval and modern Southwark, a suburban settlement grew up around the Roman bridgehead. The two communities survived for some 350 years, but with the departure of the Romans from Britain at the beginning of the fifth century both London and its southern suburb were deserted. Without a permanent settlement at London, the continued existence of the Roman bridge there is unlikely; the changing patterns of the height and channel of the Thames itself may have brought about the bridge's destruction.

London seems to have remained empty for almost 200 years. Its revival began in the early seventh century, when St. Paul's Cathedral was founded within the old Roman walls, and an Anglo-Saxon settlement was established outside the walls on the riverside in what is now the Strand. There is, however, no evidence for the existence of a bridge at this time, and no evidence for the re-establishment of a settlement at Southwark.

The Strand settlement lasted until the ninth century, when the Vikings attacked and occupied London. Southwark reappears in the historical record in this period as one of the fortified *burhs* listed in the Burghal Hidage. Its existence implies that the bridge, too, had been re-established by this time. Who built the bridge, and when, and why? This paper suggests some answers to these questions.

Session 327: Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge"

Timothy Graham (Corpus Christi College)

"Budny's Illustrated Catalogue: Fruits and Seeds"

Research for the forthcoming catalogue of *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* brought to light many previously unnoticed or understudied aspects of Corpus manuscripts. This paper reports some of the new discoveries and describes how work for the catalogue has stimulated other publications and indicated paths for future research.

Work on MS 173, Part II, an eighth-century copy of Sedulius' *Paschale Carmen*, revealed numerous Latin and Old English drypoint glosses beyond those published by Meritt and Page. The glosses and the many added sketches in the manuscript point to a fascinating history of use, apparently as a school-text, in the ninth and tenth centuries. Close examination of MS 23, the Corpus Prudentius, established the different stages of production and proved that the text, glosses, and illustrations resulted from a single campaign. This has implications for Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 11, to which the artist of MS 23 contributed. Study of the Apostles frontispiece in MS 198, an Old English homiliary from Worcester, revealed notes by the Tremulous Worcester Hand on the leaf carrying the frontispiece. Contrary to Ker's suggestion, the leaf is therefore unlikely to be a sixteenth-century insertion in the manuscript. Its image should probably be considered as a Worcester product.

Forthcoming publications arising from the catalogue include articles on a previously unrecorded verse by the Welsh scribal artist Ieuan ap Sulien in MS 199; and on the faded Old English liturgical directions in MS 422. The detailed information provided by the catalogue should supply scholars working in many areas of manuscript studies, art history, and textual studies with seeds for future work.

Leslie French (Corpus Christi College)

"Arithmetic and Art: CCCC MS 352"

Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 352 is a mid-tenth-century copy of Boethius' *De Arithmetica* made at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The text, written in Anglo-Saxon square minuscule, is heavily glossed. The glosses were entered by the main scribe in the early part of the book and added throughout by other tenth-century and later hands. The main scribe used an unusual style of *signes-de-renvoi* to link words and numerals to their marginal glosses. Some of the diagrams in this textbook of pure mathematics are also decorated with bird heads and foliate ornament.

Relating these decorative elements to other manuscripts of the same period, or in the same style, sheds important light on the nature of this particular surviving example. The decoration must also be considered in the context of the mathematics which surrounds it, in terms of other copies of the text and its particular variations.

Mildred Budny's Corpus catalogue includes a number of plates and a detailed description of the manuscript. This paper discusses the importance of including MS 352 in the catalogue for both art-historical and mathematical studies of the early medieval period.

Session 381: "Illumination and Text in Medieval Manuscripts"

Peter Richardson (University of North Texas)

"Narrative Strategies in Old English Texts and Illuminations"

The temptation to analyze Anglo-Saxon poetic narrative in visual terms has proved irresistible. This temptation is understandable given the narrative strategies of Anglo-Saxon poets. Important narrative effects in this poetry can be traced to the manipulation of aspect, a verbal category which indicates how a speaker "sees" the temporal structure of a situation. On the discourse level, this verbal category was also used to demarcate episodes, pace the narration, and establish point of view. In this paper, I argue that Anglo-Saxon pictorial artists created very similar effects with visual devices which encode the temporal not as it is plotted on a time-line but as we experience it.

According to Pact (1962), the central problem of medieval pictorial narrative lay in conveying a sense of transition and elapsed time, a sense which is expressed verbally by a simple choice of aspect. Out of necessity, medieval artists developed a repertory of devices for smuggling the time factor into their narratives, and these devices bear strong similarities to the Anglo-Saxon manipulation of aspect for narrative purposes. Both Anglo-Saxon poets and illuminators narrated by grouping clusters of related events and moments into discrete narrative frames. While this was perhaps a necessity in visual narrative, it gives the poetry a non-continuous feel. In addition, both verbal aspect and the duplication of figures in visual narrative were used to accelerate narrative action; in fact, duplication in visual narratives often occurs precisely where Old English texts favor particular aspectual forms. These correspondences lead one to believe that there is a deep connection between the notion of "experienced time" and the structure of Old English poetic and visual narrative.

IX. Society of Canadian Medievalists, Congress of Learned Societies of Canada, Ottawa, June 1993:

David Megginson (University of Ottawa)

"The Value of Inconsistent Data"

Computer technology makes it much easier to investigate spelling patterns in Old English poems; but at first glance, Old English scribes appear to have spelled so inconsistently that any investigation would be nearly useless. In fact, it is the inconsistent spellings which usually provide the *most* valuable codicological information. This paper concentrates on the work of the first scribe in the Junius Manuscript. That scribe is unusually consistent, but several patterns vary greatly from text to text. These textual spellings demonstrate that the first four Junius poems were likely taken from only two separate sources, and that the scribe of the first source followed spelling conventions similar to those of the scribe who copied the Cotton Boethius manuscript. This simple methodological innovation — the separation of scribal and textual spelling patterns, assisted by large-scale computer analysis — can provide much important information about other questions, such as the separate sources of the prose and verse of the Paris Psalter and the textual history of the works in the Nowell Codex (including *Beowulf*).

X. The Sixth Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, University of Oxford, August 1-7, 1993:

Session 1:

Helena Hamerow (University of Durham)

"Eynsham Before Ælfric: Saxon Settlements in the Upper Thames"

Saxon Eynsham is best known as the site of the Benedictine monastery of which Ælfric was abbot. The monastery was formally founded in 1005, but this date actually represents the re-endowment of a much older minster and royal estate. Indeed, both archaeological and documentary evidence suggest that Eynsham was a "central place" by the time it achieved its status as a minster. This sequence from early Saxon settlement to Late Saxon monastery has been clearly traced in excavations on the site of Eynsham Abbey itself, carried out in 1990-92 by the Oxford Archaeological Unit under the direction of Graham Keevil. Artifacts and faunal remains reveal occupation on the site at least as early as the sixth century, and suggest that the settlement had acquired special status by the eighth century.

An examination of Eynsham's regional context provides further evidence to suggest it may have played an early role as a "central place." Aerial photography, field survey, and excavation have revealed an exceptional density of early settlement sites in the region around Eynsham, the majority of which seem to represent small communities, consisting of a few thinly scattered buildings. Another type of settlement has, however, recently been revealed at Yarnton, c. 4 km NE of Eynsham. This included some 12 sunken huts; 4 substantial halls, the most striking of which was an annexed building some 17m in length; and a large, ditched enclosure. This settlement was in existence by the seventh century and continued to be occupied at least until the tenth century. This concentration of early settlement centered on Eynsham may in part explain why it is mentioned as one of the key sites in the conquest of

Oxfordshire in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* s.a. 571 along with the major centers of Aylesbury and Benson.

Cyril R. Hart (Peterborough)

"Shelford: The Value of a Multidisciplinary Approach"

Two coins from the great Cuerdale hoard of Anglo-Scandinavian pennies stand out from the rest. They were struck from identical dies by the moneyer Gundiberht for *Sitric comes* and bear the mint signature *Sceldfor*. They are to be dated about 905 and are the only known coins struck in England for a Danish earl. In 1989 it was suggested that the mint was sited at Shelford, about three miles south of Cambridge (Blunt, Stewart, and Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, pp.101-02).

Recently I discussed and defended this attribution, and suggested a site for the Danish *burh* at Shelford (Hart, *The Danelaw* [1992], pp.11-12). In this paper the evidence is evaluated further from a wide range of disciplines including numismatics, archaeology, onomastics, art history, landscape history, and historical studies of manuscript sources including the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Domesday Book.

The paper ends with a brief discussion of the Danish *burhs* in relation to the campaigns of King Edward the Elder in 916-17.

Session 2:

Nicholas Howe (Ohio State University)

"Senses of Place in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper examines the ways Anglo-Saxons developed and expressed senses of place, that is, the ways they located geographical, political, cultural, and spiritual settings for their lives. The plural must be stressed here; there were differing ideas of how to define place during this period just as those who expressed them differed in circumstances.

This paper directly addresses "Culture and Social Context" by considering ways in which the most local and immediate of all contexts — place — influenced the creation of, and was then also expressed in, various texts. It opens with the familiar: Bede setting the *Ecclesiastical History* in the political and spiritual geography of Christendom and the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle* using the locative *her* to begin annals. The paper then turns to more complex and culturally constructed expressions in poems such as *The Ruin* and *Durham*, charters that demarcate places as property under the aspect of eternity, narratives of English saints that place their protagonists' lives in the home territory, cross-cultural and cross-linguistic practices for naming locations, and available political terms (e.g., *Englaland* and *Bryten)* for conceptualizing place in its larger dimensions.

The argument of this study might be stated as follows: critical accounts of place in medieval England ignore the subject of place on earth in favor of Anglo-Saxon visions of the heavenly home. More attention has been paid to being *eþelleas* in the elegies and similar works than to what *eþel* might have meant. Consideration of place must be separated from the largely allegorized context in which it has been pursued because allegory privileges the heavenly and limits serious discussion of the various senses of place that guided the lives of individuals living on the island of Britain. In its methodology, this paper draws on ethnographers such as Geertz, Basso, and Clifford, who have demonstrated the value of place in defining cultural identity.

Jon Wilcox (University of Iowa)

"The Giant and the Monk: Paganism, Place, and the Sense of History in the Works of Ælfric"

Ælfric — Benedictine reform monk, homilist, and grammarian — is one of the most prolific Christian writers of late Anglo-Saxon England. The status of his contribution to Christian thought is suggested by a modern estimate of him as an English patristic writer, "a medieval 'father' and an authoritative exegete" (Szarmach 1989: 238). Ælfric is a learned and bookish writer, justly studied principally in the context of traditional Christian written sources (see, *inter alia*, Gatch 1977). A more local context for interpreting his work is in relation to the Benedictine reform in England (see, e.g., Stafford 1978). In this paper, I consider a still more local context for Ælfric's works. From ca. 987 to 1005, Ælfric lived and wrote as a monk at Cerne Abbas in Dorset. I consider his works in relation to this particular village and the sights around it. Cerne Abbas boasts one other spectacular famous son, the chalk figure of an ithyphallic and clavigerous giant inscribed, perhaps in Romano-British times, on the hillside above the village. From the ruins of Ælfric's monastery there is a perfect sightline to the giant. My paper brings together Cerne Abbas's two most famous sons and attempts a reading of the works of Ælfric in the light of his view of the giant.

The date of the carving of the giant is in dispute, and a late date would place it well after Ælfric's time. Even if such were the case, there are many other local traces of a pre-Christian past which must have been visible to Ælfric. The same hill which bears the giant has the outline of an Iron-Age fort (which was subsequently the site of documented May Day festivities). The whole area is littered with other tangible remains of the past, including numerous tumuli and Iron-Age forts, Maiden Castle, and Roman remains at Dorchester. Ælfric's account of paganism in a homily like *De Falsis Diis* (Pope XXI) is mostly drawn from documented literary sources (see Meaney 1985). In contrast, I investigate whether the physical traces of the past around him also have any reflection in Ælfric's works.

In my paper, then, I consider two specific questions: (1) Was the Cerne Abbas giant there in Ælfric's time? The (indirect) evidence of Ælfric's works is crucial in answering this question. (2) How was Ælfric's view of paganism and of the past shaped by physical remains like the giant which he saw around him? My study thus provides a contribution both to giant scholarship and to Ælfric scholarship. In addition, I consider the broader question of Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward the past and, in particular, the intriguing question of Christian attitudes toward remnants of a pagan past.

Session 3:

Craig R. Davis (Smith College)

"The Social Meaning of Grendel"

One of our best resources for a more refined understanding of *Beowulf* in its social context is comparative ethnographic analysis of the way similar heroic poems function in other ambiences. By comparing the techniques by which traditional poets invest combats between heroes and monsters with social meaning, we can proceed in an anthropologically disciplined way to estimate the possible political resonance of the monster-fights in *Beowulf*.

In spite of their provenance in Germanic folklore and their collocation with Christian demonology, Grendel and his mother are political monsters. They are used by the poet to demonize an aspect of the venerable social value of kindred loyalty. The monsters dramatize the hostility of entrenched ethnic chauvinism, of regressive tribal institutions like the blood-feud, to late pagan and early Christian attempts at intertribal state-formation. Grendel's inspiration is pure ethnic enmity: he wants no *sibb* with any of the Danish people, will not compose his feud with them through any legal or authorized means (154-58). He recognizes neither the jurisdiction nor the legitimacy of the Scylding monarchy. His uncontrollable cannibalism epitomizes a political system which consumes the lives of men in an endless cycle of reciprocal violence. He is an *ellengæst* or *gæst yrre* (86, 2073), a *wælgæst* (1995). Grendel reveals in stark, symbolic form the ferocious spirit of kin-hatred which moves men like Ingeld, the Heathobard king with whom the monster is twice juxtaposed. Grendel is the spirit of endemic kindred violence which constantly threatens to destroy the great Scylding *pax Danica*. Grendel's mother is a more specific fury of the revenge imperative *per se*, the driving moral force of institutionalized kin-feud. She is a *wrecend* who fiercely prosecutes the *lex talionis* (1256; cf. 1278). The poet explicitly condemns the system she and her son represent — *Ne wæs þæt gewrixle til, þæt hie on ba healfa bicgan scoldon freonda feorum* (1304-06) — although in other places his hero expresses what seems to be more conventional wisdom (1384-85). In any case, Grendel's mother clarifies what her son only implies. Without strong royal authority, the spirit of Grendel will always return in another form, not only in that of his mother, but also in that of human characters like Ingeld. The organization of tribal society predisposes it to certain eventualities — "makes a high level of conflict both permanent and inescapable" (Hallpike, *Bloodshed and Vengeance in the Papuan Mountains* [1977], vii). Grendel and his dam belong to a race of monsters that can never be permanently exterminated as long as the social institutions which breed them remain intact. Nonetheless, through the strength of his poetic gifts, the *Beowulf*-poet manages to summon these bloody demons of kin-hatred in order to exorcise them through the divinely sanctioned force of his royalist hero. *Beowulf* recounts not only a tale of an ancient hero's power *in geardagum*, but the poem is also an act of power in the poet's own time — an attempt to conjure and expel, from the sensibility of his audience, the besetting cultural demons of Anglo-Saxon society.

John Niles (University of California, Berkeley)

"Reconceiving *Beowulf*: The Uses of the Past"

Anglo-Saxonists are familiar with the mythological fallacy that dominated much of the early criticism of Old English literature. Equally influential a hundred years ago, though not yet so fully documented, was the historical fallacy: the idea that texts like *Beowulf* could yield hard information about people, places, and events in the Germanic past.

Thanks to the work of Tolkien and the New Critics, most scholars now reject "Old Historicism" as a means of discovering anything of importance about Old English literature. New Historicism is another matter. One question that now needs asking is "What work did poems like *Beowulf* do in their time?" Answering this question means approaching *Beowulf* as a document that bears ideological weight. For two cases in point, we may consider the poet's choices regarding (1) his hero, and (2) the setting of the action.

Why is the hero said to be a Geat, and what work is done by this choice? In brief, to accept Jane Leake's important thesis, because Englishmen of the time of King Alfred regarded the *Geatas* (that is, the *Getae*, as opposed to the *Gotar)* as the *Urfolk* of the Germanic homeland, awesome and fearsome denizens of a land famous for its dragons and monsters. From this fabulous tribe not only the Goths and the Danes, but also the English were descended. By making his hero a Geat, the poet thus puts his story into relation with the mixed Anglo-Scandinavian population of England. *Beowulf* shores up the Germanic ethnic credentials of the English at the same time as it makes clear that they inhabit a safer and diminished world.

Why is the action of the first two-thirds of this English poem set in King Hrothgar's court in Denmark and, again, what work is done by this choice? There are at least two answers to these questions. First, the Danish setting, with its attendant Scylding genealogy, puts the action in relation to emergent English historical traditions (as expressed, for example, in the ninth/tenth-century pseudo-genealogies of the English royal line). The Danes thus emphatically become a "cousin" people, and the poem serves to define their character. Second, Hrothgar is singled out as host because, according to Norse tradition, he had an English wife. Wealhtheow, the first part of whose name certainly means "British," provides one of several important links to Britain. We are apparently meant to imagine her as a sub-Roman noblewoman who is married "across the sea" to Denmark, where she serves as a peacemaker and an embodiment of those traits that make for social cohesion. Her marriage to Hrothgar emblematizes the successful "marriage" of British and Norse elements in the emergent population of England.

In these and other ways, *Beowulf* and poems like it helped articulate the momentous changes of perspective by which the English nation was created. By invoking the past in certain ways, the poet helped create the present, validating and testing emergent power relationships and their attendant ideology.

Session 4:

Audrey Meaney (University of Cambridge)

"Pagan Anglo-Saxon Sanctuaries and Meeting Places"

It would appear, from the sources, that pagan Anglo-Saxon sanctuaries were of two kinds. Bede and archaeology provide the evidence for one variety, at Rendlesham, Goodmanham and Yeavering; these all appear to have had temple buildings and were on royal, multi-purpose sites.

The other kind of sanctuary is found in place-names, and it is well-known that these themselves were of two kinds. One sort contains the name of a heathen god: Woden, Thunor, Tiw, and even, once, Frig. The other contains one of the elements which means "sacred site, temple": OE *hearg* (MnE harrow) or OE *wig, weoh*, appearing in modern place-names as, for example, Wye or Wee-. These place-names appear to indicate open-air sanctuaries, centered on a mound, a tree, or a stone, or in a clearing, with good access by road and footpath. They are restricted in their distribution, not altogether repeating that of the pagan cemeteries — for example, there are none in East Anglia, but they spread further to the west in Staffordshire than the burials do. Presumably, then, the distribution of these "pagan" place-names represents those which have for some reason survived (even if they belong to a late heathen reaction), and does not adequately reflect the distribution of sanctuaries in pagan times.

There is another kind of Anglo-Saxon open-air meeting-place that we know of: where their names were used to distinguish Hundreds and Wapentakes but not settlements. Though the Hundred organization belongs to the late tenth century, some of the meeting-places incorporated into the system may well have been first used in the pagan period. Indeed, a few of them have "pagan" names — for example, Wenslow in Bedfordshire and Thunderlow in Essex. Though some Hundreds are named from a district, or from its chief manor, other Hundred names seem to indicate that the meeting-places were on the same types of sites as the sanctuaries.

I have been looking recently at the Hundred meeting-places in the Cambridge region, where there are "pagan" names only on the fringes. Is it possible that in areas of pagan occupation some of the known countryside Hundred sites were originally tribal meeting-places? And is it possible that tribal sites were also sanctuaries? It is unlikely that this can ever be proved, but it is worthwhile to look at the types, topography, and distribution of countryside Hundred meeting-places to see whether we can make some educated guesses about their age, origins, and purposes. The hope is that this investigation may help to illuminate a largely neglected aspect of Anglo-Saxon religious, social, and administrative history.

W. John Blair (Queen's College, Oxford)

"Squaring the Circle: Is it Possible to Identify Anglo-Saxon Pagan Shrines"

The sites of Anglo-Saxon paganism are virtually unknown. One might suppose that they were non-structural but for Bede's description of the shrines at Goodmanham *cum septis quibus erant circumdata*, and Aldhelm's comment that churches now stand where the *ermula cruda* of pagan gods were once worshipped in *fana profana*. This paper seeks an answer to this puzzle in the Romano-Celtic rather than the Germanic background of Anglo-Saxon society, by considering sites which have one feature in common: the super-imposition of square fenced or ditched enclosures on Bronze-Age round barrows — in other words, the conversion of circular to square forms.

Some late Iron-Age shrine and burial sites in northern France and Britain combine round and square enclosures, four-post structures and central post-settings, shading into the category of large shrines in which a square *temenos* encloses a round *cella*. From these, apparently, descend two traditions: square-ditched barrows and graves; and square enclosures (usually over earlier monuments) which are not primarily funerary, but which may contain central post-settings associated with "special" graves. The first group includes the "Arras-Culture" Iron-Age barrows of East Yorkshire and the Pictish square-ditched graves and platform-cairns identified in northern Scotland. Anglian square-enclosed graves adjoin "Arras-Culture" barrows at Garton Station (E.Yorks.), and similar graves at Tandderwen (N.Wales) have produced radiocarbon dates between the sixth and ninth centuries.

Large square enclosures imposed on Bronze-Age circular features have been excavated at Haddenham (Cambs.), Tandderwen (the focus of the square-ditched graves), Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxon.) and Springfield Lyons (Essex); there are cropmarks of several others. The Haddenham enclosure is late Roman, the Springfield Lyons one early Anglo-Saxon; the others can only be dated between the late Iron Age and middle Anglo-Saxon periods, but some at least could be post-Roman.

These sites provide a clear context for a hitherto unparalleled structure, the Western Ring-Ditch at Yeavering. Here the first post-Roman occupants removed a Neolithic stone circle and replaced it with a square fenced and daubed enclosure, containing posts on which the earliest graves were aligned. A virtually identical enclosure, published as Roman but in fact probably associated with a sixth- to eighth-century grave, was excavated at Slonk Hill, Shoreham (Sussex), built over a Bronze-Age barrow. It can in turn be suggested that some smaller square structures are scaled-down versions of the large ones — in other words, domestic shrines. The square fenced enclosure attached to the end of building D2 (the "temple") at Yeavering must be the ritual successor of the Western Ring-Ditch (as Hope-Taylor recognized); a tempting analogy is the big east annex of building A1 at Cowdery's Down, with its large central post-hole. A free-standing seventh-century example at New Wintles (Eynsham) closely resembles small timber shrines from some late Iron-Age sites.

The wider context is the appropriation of ancient ritual sites (as discussed by Bradley) and the adoption of Romano-British building techniques (as discussed by James, Marshall, and Millett): the architectural dimension of pagan ritual could well have been articulated more by what the English found here than by what they brought with them. Returning to the Deiran shrines of Goodmanham, is it coincidence that they were built in a place where Bronze-Age monuments abound, near as well to the main concentrations of Arras-Culture square barrows?

Session 5:

Ann Hagen (London University)

"The Anglo-Saxon Feast: A Paradigm of Culture in a Specific Social Context"

The literature indicates that the feast was a notable occasion to display and appreciate the arts. I attempt to indicate here the part played by architecture, textiles (woven/embroidered hangings, table linen, clothes), furniture, metalwork/glass/ceramics, music, dance, poetry, and cookery. The display of hard-to-come-by recherché items — imports in the case of some tableware, spices, wines, etc.; or game (cranes, venison) which was expensive to procure — was evidently seen as desirable.

The provider-host/hostess, the creators/purveyors, the consumers/witnesses were all directly involved in an occasion which visibly confirmed their social position. Precedence, social behavior (including consideration for others), and what might be termed "cultured behavior" among the feast's participants reinforced social bonds.

By sharing the products of wealth with peers, by serving and being served, and by distributing left-overs to social inferiors, the host/hostess not only demonstrated power but fulfilled social obligations in terms of providing hospitality, and, in a Christian context, charity.

Elaine M. Treharne (University of Leicester)

"Excommunication in Anglo-Saxon England"

The subject of excommunication in England has attracted little scholarly commentary for reasons other than its relevance to the penitential codes of the Anglo-Saxons and Irish and its inclusion in the Law Codes of the Anglo-Saxon kings. The extant Old English formulae for excommunication (and their various Latin parallels) prove to be of substantial importance for the light that they throw upon sociological, theological, and literary concerns during the period.

This paper briefly examines the history of excommunication and addresses the implications of excommunication to the Anglo-Saxon secular and religious communities. Themes implicit in excommunication literature can also be shown to relate closely with other Old English literary works.

Anathematization of beliefs or acts contrary to Canon Law and Christian doctrine stems from the New Testament. Throughout the early history of the Church, the ostracization of sinners is documented. The codification of the excommunication texts develops directly from these early methods of excluding wrongdoers from Christian society.

The Old English excommunication texts are loose translations of Latin parallels, the textual variations illustrating interests of the respective manuscript compilers. (This paper concentrates on the extant text in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 303). The function of the vernacular texts must be surmised, but it may be assumed that they were employed in the passing of sentence upon one who had committed an offense listed in the legal codes of the Anglo-Saxon kings or who was guilty of one of the Capital sins. The severity of this particular penalty is reflected in the vehemence and thoroughness of the incantatory formula used in the Old English texts in which, for example, the individual physical parts of the sinner are all damned. Such emphasis upon the damnation of the physical elements of man illustrates the disparity of the body and soul, a theme familiar to the Anglo-Saxons.

An excommunicated sinner was to the Anglo-Saxons an "utlaga" sent on a "wrecsid." This has both secular and religious implications and, at once, shows the closely bound nature of canon and common law. It may be imagined, moreover, that the social consequences of excommunication are reflected in the general nature of the Old English elegiac poems such as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*.

Session 6:

Michiko Ogura (Chiba University)

"The Interchangeability of OE Prefixes"

Hiltunen (1983) explains the decline of prefixes and the development of verb-adverb combinations which seem to have taken place in late OE to early ME. It is also true, however, that several prefixed verbs made their way into MnE, and Hiltunen states that "as prefixes, prep. advs. survive in some inseparable combinations as late as MnE (e.g. *to overcome, to understand)* thanks to the metaphorical meaning that preserves the Morphology" (1983: 222). In my latest article (forthcoming) I have concluded that OE *ofercuman* and *understandan* survived not only because they maintained their morphological outlook owing to their metaphorical meanings, but because they survived the rivalry between the synonyms of other prefixed verbs and simple verbs and, further, the prefixes *ofer-* and *under-* kept on producing new words throughout the medieval and modern periods.

In the process of my investigation I found dialectal counterparts, such as North *oncnawan* and Merc/WS *ongietan* for *intelligere*, North/Merc *ongietan* and WS *oncnawan*, North/Merc *onfon* and WS *underfon*, and Merc *onbeodan* and WS *bebeodan*, as well as the early-late WS counterparts, such as EWS *ongietan* and LWS *understandan*, EWS *gehatan* and LWS *behatan*, and EWS *acierran* and LWS *awendan*. I intentionally chose prefixed verbs, but simple verbs like *cweðan* and *secgan*, *wyrcan* and *don*, and *læran* and *tæcan*, also show dialectal and/or diachronic distribution. A full choice of both simple and prefixed verbs can be found in ordinary prose or even in verse lines, in the form of word pairs and variations. Those simple and prefixed verbs can be used synonymously, like *Beowulf* 1273b-74a — *ðy he þone feond ofercwom, gehnægde helle gast* — or contrastingly, like *ChronE* (Plummer) 1016.73: *Se here gewende eft up on East Seaxan. & ferde into Myrcean. & fordydon eall þæt he oferferde.*

Through comparison with OS and OHG cognates, I suspect that there must have been a period of full choice, sometime in PreOE, on the combination between the prefix and the verb. I conclude that OE prefixes are basically separable, without adverbial and prepositional distinction, and can be used to express synonymous or contrasting meanings, according to context or under dialectal and/or stylistic conditions.

C.P. Biggam (University of Glasgow)

"The Sociolinguistics of Old English Color Lexemes"

All Old English color lexemes function as attempts to convey concepts of color to the reader or listener, but function involves more than the operation of semantic elements since it is also concerned with sociolinguistics. Color lexemes can be shown to be highly individual in their sociolinguistic function, each one possessing a "social profile" which can be revealed, as far as it is possible from extant texts, by considering the categories of text in which each lexeme features, the extent to which it features in each category, and the categories from which it is absent.

For the purpose of this study, Old English texts have been broadly classified into categories which indicate distinct uses or purposes — for example, Christian teaching, glossaries, poetry, and so on. Certain categories imply social affiliations as, for example, glossaries, which were created and used by the educated and literate group in society; or poetry, which often used lexemes which were obsolescent or archaic, separating out a socially distinct group who could work with such vocabulary. Naturally, the most difficult social group to distinguish is that of the ordinary, non-literate, and unranked people, but it is proposed that their vocabulary is best represented in charter bounds, since such texts demand detailed local knowledge and require only basic vocabulary. Thus categorization will reveal something of the contrasting social functions within one semantic field.

Session 7:

Michael Kenny (National Museum of Ireland)

"The Anglo-Saxon Legacy: Hiberno-Norse Coin Design, c.1050-1100"

It has long been accepted by numismatists and historians that the Hiberno-Norse based their early coin issues, c. 995-1020, on those of contemporary Anglo-Saxon types. In terms of design, they copied and matched the latter, issue by issue, right into the early years of Cnut's Reign. From around 1020, on the other hand, the Hiberno-Norse series went its own way stylistically and metrologically. Despite the breaking of the direct "linkage," however, the Anglo-Saxon influence remains very evident on the subsequent Hiberno-Norse issues. The purpose and intention of this paper is to trace and identify the Anglo-Saxon influences on this rather obscure period of Irish numismatic history. The Hiberno-Norse series includes designs obviously taken from issues of Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor, and Harold II; indeed, for the period 1050-1100 there is a bewildering array of types. Some of these derived ultimately from earlier Anglo-Saxon prototypes, some derived from Anglo-Saxon types not previously copied, and some were taken directly from contemporary English issues. The paper attempts to put some order on this confused and confusing period and to address the question of why Dublin produced such a wide array of imitations, many of whose prototypes never actually circulated in the country.

Lesley Abrams (University of Cambridge)

"Anglo-Saxon Missions to Scandinavia"

The Anglo-Saxon missions to the Continent have received a great deal of scholarly attention. The Anglo-Saxon missions to Scandinavia, although of longer duration and even greater extent, remain largely unstudied outside the Scandinavian countries. I examine in this paper the evidence for Anglo-Saxon religious activity in Scandinavia, from the first phases of infiltration and mission to the establishment of ecclesiastical organization under English influence. This involves a discussion of the evidence linking English centers such as Glastonbury, Winchester, Abingdon, and St. Alban's with missionary activity in Scandinavia. The Christianizing campaigns of three Norwegian kings with particular English associations — Hakon the Good (foster-son of King Athelstan), Olaf Trygvason, and Olaf Haraldson — provide the context for this activity. Denmark, converted initially through German influence, also received English ideas and English bishops once its kings Sven Forkbeard and Knut had made themselves rulers of Æthelred the Unready's kingdom.

Alicia Correa (University of Cambridge)

"Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia: The Liturgical Evidence"

This paper examines the cultural interaction between Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia from the point of view of the liturgical evidence. A significant number of liturgical manuscripts (some twenty items) survive which were either written in Anglo-Saxon England and then transported to Scandinavia before the Norman Conquest, or were copied in Scandinavia from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. These fragments and complete texts represent "spoken" books for the liturgy, such as missals, lectionaries, and pontificals, and "sung" books, such as antiphonaries and graduals. This substantial body of evidence has never been properly examined. It is my aim to look at these manuscripts for indications of cultural interaction as represented in the liturgy of Scandinavia and Anglo-Saxon England. The very existence of these Anglo-Saxon manuscripts or copies of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in Scandinavia assures us that links between these two cultures were very real. That these links involved liturgical manuscripts indicates that these two cultures had established contact at the most fundamental level of medieval society. Hence, the context for this paper is the daily liturgy in which every literate and "Christianized" member of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian society participated. The particular centers in Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia which promoted this liturgico-cultural impetus, as well as certain liturgical aspects (for example, cults of saints, or specific liturgical developments) which were involved in, or affected by, this cultural exchange, are of major concern in this examination.

Session 8:

Edward B. Irving (University of Pennsylvania)

"The Advent of Poetry: *Christ I*"

"Patristic" critics of Old English poetry have spent too much time claiming to find Christian doctrine hidden in unlikely places, and too little in examining closely those places where it is in full view. If they better understood the expert way the poet of "Advent" blends doctrine and poetry, they would be less likely to attribute such skills to poets with other ends in mind.

Much of what has been written about "Advent," however, tends to stress the doctrine over the poetry, throwing more weight on the footnotes than on the main text, a kind of heavy-handed contextualizing in which the neo-Augustinians were ahead of their time. There is still much to learn about its poetic achievement, and that means not simply proceeding reductively by replacing the living verse with prefab doctrine from that great theology warehouse, the Patrologia. There is enough reductionism abroad in the land already.

The excellence of "Advent" must be judged as any poetry is judged: in its telling use of the many rich and interlacing metaphors it has inherited from the Fathers; in the brilliance of its dramatization of scenes; in its skillful use of rhetorical and emotional contrast; in its ability to create moving emotional experiences for its audiences, presumably then, certainly now, whether the audiences were pagan, Christian or atheist.

Session 10:

Eric Dahl (Seattle)

"*The Battle of Maldon:* After the Millennial Ball"

The most extensive study of the textual history of *The Battle of Maldon* was presented in two articles by Helmut Gneuss which appeared in 1976 and have been widely influential. This paper reconsiders the currently accepted theory about the foliation of the original codex. The conclusions of Gneuss regarding foliation were based partly on his acceptance of a pseudo-fact about the contents of Cotton Otho A.xii derived from another modern scholar, N. R. Ker. Gneuss also rejected evidence provided by a witness who actually saw the manuscript — before the Cotton Library fire of 1731. In particular, Gneuss argued that Thomas James, Bodley's librarian, miscounted the folios which held Asser's *Life of Alfred*, which preceded *Maldon* in the codex. Although rejecting James' page-count is convenient for modern views about foliation, there is reason to believe James would have counted carefully: he was responding to a query regarding a bogus interpolation which was at the center of an acrimonious textual controversy. An alternate account can be formulated which accepts the precise page-count offered by James and results in a different shape and early textual history for the poem. This new theory about foliation has at least two possible corollaries: that more of the poem was missing than we think and that the supposed separation of *Maldon* and Asser's *Life of Alfred*, until being bound together in the seventeenth century, has no support from the existing textual-historical evidence.

Johan Gerritsen (University of Groningen)

"What Use are the Thorkelin Transcripts of *Beowulf*"

Discussions of the value of Thorkelin's transcripts of *Beowulf* to date have been unsatisfactory for lack of a thorough and (especially) systematic analysis of the separate layers of inscription. In fact, such an analysis shows: (1) that it is highly improbable that Thorkelin, having come to the end of his own transcript (B), did any further collation with the Vitellius manuscript; and (2) that it is virtually certain that the amanuensis who wrote the script facsimile (A) did not in any real sense recollate what he had copied, but only looked for lines he had missed and at gaps he had left, supplying some of these in the first fifteen pages.

All further correction and suppletion in the A transcript can be shown to be Thorkelin's, partly done at the time of copying, partly much later, in Denmark, but *all without the manuscript*.

Four lines from the end of A29 Thorkelin intervened in the copying, going over and correcting most of pp. 26-29; then he let the amanuensis continue for three pages, after which he did a similar check, now confined to the wynns. The amanuensis carried on to the end and went back to supply some omissions and fill some early gaps; then Thorkelin took over and corrected, sometimes wrongly, and sometimes very haphazardly, thorns and wynns and whatever else happened to catch his eye on pp. 1-25. Later, in Denmark, he then added a number of further suppletions from B, mostly in insular.

As a supplement to the manuscript, the A transcript can therefore be used so far as its original inscription is concerned, plus the few suppletions made by the amanuensis in the first fifteen pages; the B transcript only so far as its original inscription is concerned. A is then a record of the graphic, B of the linguistic form as it appeared to their respective inscribers. In interpreting these records the very different backgrounds and interests of these inscribers, particularly the fact that Thorkelin was a historian and an antiquary, but not a philologist, should not for a moment be put out of mind.

Session 11:

Daniel Donoghue (Harvard University)

"A Point Well Taken: The Manuscript Punctuation of Old English Poems"

Despite repeated efforts to make sense of the manuscript punctuation of Old English poems, the current consensus seems to be that it is less than systematic but more than random. Its presence in nearly every poem suggests that scribes and readers found it useful if not necessary, but the simplicity of the system (a single raised dot sufficed) and its sporadic application make it easy to disregard (as many editors do). By contrast, OE prose, Old Saxon verse, and Latin verse each had more extensive systems of punctuation; so it is not as though Anglo-Saxon scribes were lacking a model or precedent. Thanks to work by scholars such as O'Keefe (*Visible Song)* and Williamson (*Riddles)*, we have a fairly clear idea of the extent of pointing and some of its consistent features. Building on this work, I synthesize some insights of recent studies on the reception of OE poems, on Parke's grammar of legibility, and verse grammar to propose a more comprehensive scheme in which the punctuation can be understood. Pointing makes sense, I argue, not simply as a graphic cue, but as part of a vast "grammar" that incorporates meter, syntax, and formulas, each with well-defined roles that Anglo-Saxon readers would recognize.

An important clue to understanding the point's role is found in looking at what comes after it as well as what comes before. Our modern typographic conventions and the reading habits they encourage lead us to the simple but mistaken assumption that all punctuation *ends* something, whether a phrase, a clause, or a sentence. But I propose that most points in OE poetic manuscripts have a dual function like today's colon: physically it belongs to the preceding construction, but it alerts the reader to what follows. A very high proportion of points come not only at the beginning of a clause, but at the beginning of a specific metrical and syntactic construction. Seen in this light, most points in the *Beowulf* manuscript and others (excluding the Junius manuscript) take on a better defined purpose. However, the pattern is not absolute. Many points are placed elsewhere and a point does not always appear before the construction mentioned above. The pointing may still be less than systematic, but complete regularity in these matters is a modern, not medieval, preoccupation.

If the role of pointing can be understood only within the larger system of which it is a part, then understanding the Anglo-Saxon readers' reception of the poems — their horizon of expectations — is crucial. Drawing on the work of Schaefer and recent oral theorists, I argue for a supplementary relationship between scribal and oral/aural conventions, of which the simple point is a surprisingly important participant.

Martin Irvine (Georgetown University)

"*Compilatio*, the Early Medieval Library, and the Exeter Book"

Taking up the debate about manuscript form and Old English poetry developed by Fred Robinson, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, and Patrick Conner, I suggest some new possibilities for thinking about the reception history of Old English poems and the way that the forms of manuscripts were encoded for function and meaning. I focus on three contexts of reception for the Exeter Book that have not yet been fully discussed: (1) the form of the compilation itself, that is, the significance of this manuscript genre for the producing communities and the nature of intertextual relations presupposed at the fundamental level of the physical book; (2) the status or position of vernacular books in the early medieval library, or the library system itself as a primary context for textual reception; (3) the significance of script and page layout as forms of reception and interpretation, that is, the way the format and script interpret and encode a text in a larger system of meaning. I discuss the organizing principle of *compilatio* as it was defined and understood in the early Middle Ages and focus on some of the features of compilations of Latin poetry and *auctores*, especially CUL Gg.5.35, the "Cambridge Songs" manuscript of grammatical curriculum texts. CUL Gg.5.35 incorporates three models for compiling poetry that go back to the ninth century: beginning texts associated with the *Disticha Catonis*, biblical epic poems, and *Enigmata* collections. I discuss the status of vernacular books in the early medieval library and interpret library catalogues that list vernacular books ("libri anglici," "libri theodisci/theutonice") with glossed books and glosses. I examine the kind of script and method of lineation in the Exeter Book within the context of the larger system of scripts that were encoded for cultural value, significance, and function (for example, scripts reserved for Latin, for English, and for English or Latin). I argue for a different interpretation of lineation and format than that proposed by O'Brien-O'Keeffe, who missed some of the functions of manuscript conventions in a quest for marks of orality. I conclude with what I think is the most important discovery provided by my approach: disclosing the parallel contents of CUL Gg.5.35 (curriculum poetry) and the poems of the Exeter Book. The parallel contents in genre and actual texts (e.g., *The Phoenix* and series of riddles, to name only two of seven parallels) strongly suggest that the Exeter compilation was produced to look like an English version of a well-known kind of book — the compilation of standard poetry. This fact has important implications for understanding the reception of Old English poetry, which I outline briefly in the conclusion of my paper.

Session 12:

Elizabeth Okasha (University College, Cork)

"The 'Commissioners' of Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions"

During the literate Anglo-Saxon period, various people commissioned objects to be inscribed with their own names. Such "commissioners" can be identified by the formulae used in the inscriptions, formulae including either words of instruction (for example, "ordered") or of possession ("owned"). This paper addresses the questions of who these people were, of what we can deduce about their society and of the motives which might have prompted their behavior. In a fully literate society like our own, the rich and influential might have their names inscribed on a stone or on an object of value as a form of self-aggrandizement or to perpetuate their own memory or simply to avoid losing the object. It may be that the Anglo-Saxon "commissioners" were also rich and influential and that similar motives incited them. Alternatively, in a largely non-literate society, their motivation may have had more to do with the prestige their society placed on the written word (whether or not it could be read) and perhaps with the belief that the intended audience might include the divine as well as the mortal.

David Dumville (University of Cambridge)

"Writing and Politics: The Royal Chancery and the Development of Tenth-Century English Script"

The tenth century saw major changes in scriptorial practice in England. Two new calligraphic scripts were created — Square minuscule, a development within the Insular script-system; and Anglo-Caroline minuscule, a series of local responses to an internationally popular bookhand. Within each of these, and especially Square minuscule, we find rapid changes of style, an apparent pursuit of novelty almost as if for its own sake. Such phases are for the most part defined chronologically by the series of diplomas which issued from the royal chancery. There is, moreover, some reason to think that these fashions were themselves the products of that office. The conclusion is perhaps to be extended to the origins of Anglo-Caroline Styles I and IV. In this paper, which builds on my various studies (published since 1987) of the late Anglo-Saxon script-system, I seek to justify and situate contextually the conclusions indicated above. This is an area in which the fields of paleography, political history, and cultural history intersect in an interesting and helpful way.

Sarah Foot (Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge)

"Word As Symbol: Uses and Perceptions of Writing in Anglo-Saxon England"

The reference to the carrying of protective amulets or phylacteries containing writing found in Bede's story about the captured thegn Imma, may indicate that the written word had some symbolic function in the practice of magic in early Anglo-Saxon England. This somewhat unconventional use of letters serves as a good introduction to the questions explored in this paper, namely the use of writing and the perception of words by those Anglo-Saxons who had not been educated in a clerical milieu.

Recent work on Anglo-Saxon literacy has only really examined the impact of writing upon those sufficiently educated to be able to make use of words written in books and documents, but it can be helpful also to consider the wider range of other media than parchment on which words were recorded. Could it be inferred that any greater proportion of the population might have been familiar with the idea that letters and words could convey messages, even though the existence of inscriptions is clearly no indication that society as a whole was literate?

The importance of visual means of communication in partially oral cultures has long been recognized. If we accept that a variety of meanings was implicit in the positioning, decoration, and iconography of material objects in churches, and indeed in the physical appearance of books, we might also be justified in assuming that words had a symbolic meaning, even to those uncertain about reading them. Certainly the range of types of objects bearing surviving inscriptions appears to indicate that familiarity with writing in some form was relatively widespread within Anglo-Saxon society. By examining both the physical treatment of books and documents and the writing found on material objects of the lay Anglo-Saxons (not just their swords and armor, or coins, but their weavers' tools, spoons, and combs), we can come closer to understanding how frequently the illiterate must have been confronted with objects bearing words as symbols of various meanings, and hence to appreciating the wider potential that the written word could fulfill in society.

Session 13:

David Pelteret (University of Toronto)

"Bede's Women"

Bede discusses the lives of quite a few women in his *Historia Ecclesiastica.* Most of his comments about the women he describes are favorable; in this, his attitude is notably different from the anti-feminism expressed by some of the monastic writers of the High Middle Ages. Bede's attitude was partly a personal one: matters at the abbey of Coldingham, for instance, seem to have been far from satisfactory under Abbess Æbbe; but if he felt disapproval, he preferred to express it through silence rather than by criticism. His familiarity with the phenomenon of the double monastery had also socially acculturated him to the idea of a woman's exercising communal leadership. His personal and social circumstances might therefore account for the warmth of his portrait of the abbess Hild, for example. This is not, however, an adequate explanation for the choice of detail that he utilized to delineate the female historical figures he discusses. To provide such an explanation, we need to look at some of the purposes that motivated his writing his *History* and the wider socio-religious background against which it was composed.

Clearly Bede was eager to provide a record of the work of those who had established and fostered the growth of the Roman form of the Christian religion in England. We naturally might expect him, therefore, to utilize ideas that had currency in the Roman Church in the seventh and early eighth century. One of the doctrines that was undergoing considerable development during that period focused on the nature and role of the Virgin Mary. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 649, Mary's perpetual virginity was declared a dogma of the Church. Four of the Marian feastdays were adopted from Byzantine sources by the Roman Church in the course of the seventh century, and in 701 the torches and candles of the old pagan feast of lights on February 2 were appropriated to the feast of the Purification, which had been moved to the same day. Pope John VII (705-07) was represented on the walls of St. Maria in Trastavere prostrate before the Virgin in majesty.

Many of the women whom Bede describes have Marian characteristics. Some might be seen as the source of the introduction of Christianity to a people through their marriage to a pagan ruler, as Mary had been the source of the faith through the birth of Jesus. An example is Æthelburh, daughter of Æthelberht of Kent, who married Edwin of Northumbria. Many are noted for their virginity: Æthelthryth preserved her virginity through two marriages and subsequently became abbess of Ely, thus being "the virgin mother of many virgins dedicated to God" (*HE* IV.9). To attain the purity characteristic of the Virgin Mary required suffering. Bede could not present saintly Anglo-Saxon women as martyrs, but he found another way of portraying their suffering by focusing on their illnesses. Æthelthryth's last days were afflicted by a tumor on her jaw; Hild suffered from a fever that lasted for the final six years of her life; the nun Torhtgyth similarly suffered physically for nine years before she died. Finally, we might note the presence of Christian queens such as Bertha in Bede's account, which might be seen as reflecting the newly developing ideas of Maria Regina.

Stephanie Hollis (University of Auckland)

"The OE *Mildrith* Fragments and their Social Context"

Two OE fragments (preserved in eleventh-century copies) are among the predominately Latin texts that D.W. Rollason (1982) identifies as representatives of a single literary tradition, which originated at Minster-in-Thanet and which was perhaps fully developed in the lifetime of Abbess Eadburg (735-50). In his view, the salient feature of the Mildrith Legend is Ecgberht of Kent's complicity in the murder of two potential rivals to the throne; the polemical significances which attached to it in the Anglo-Saxon period pertained to the politics of kingship. I suggest that the originators of the OE fragments (and the Legend itself) were more centrally concerned with the difficulties experienced by abbess-ruled monasteries in maintaining possession of their lands.

My paper examines the fragments as foundation stories which relate how Domne Æbbe and Seaxburg, the respective founders of Thanet and Sheppey, gained possession of their monasteries' lands from their royal kinsmen. In thus affirming the monasteries' traditional title to independent possession of their lands, the foundation stories may appear to be primarily directed against the proprietary claims and overlordship of kings. In commemorating the dynastic connections of their royal founders, however, the stories also assert a form of alliance between the monasteries and the throne. In the late seventh and eighth centuries, the Kentish double monasteries derived considerable benefit from their close association with reigning kings, who conferred on them autonomous ownership of the lands they granted them, and also offered protection against the interference of secular and ecclesiastical powers. Bishops, on the other hand, endeavored to place the lands of abbess-ruled monasteries under episcopal control. Irrespective of whether or not the bishops were, strictly speaking, "reformers" intent on combating the evils of secularism attendant on lay overlordship, the overlordship of monasteries to which bishops aspired was much more exacting than that of kings and represented a far greater threat to the monasteries' autonomy. I conclude that, although monasteries had reason to fear the power of kings, it is more particularly against the encroachment of bishops that the foundation stories of Thanet and Sheppey assert both their royal affiliations and their claim to possession of the lands that their founders acquired with God's aid and dedicated to His service.

Session 14:

John McNamara (University of Houston)

"Bede's Role in Circulating Monastic Folklore in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*"

For all his learning, Bede lived in a predominately oral community, one that constituted itself as a community largely by its circulation of oral narratives. The principles and methods of folklore research, along with certain forms of ethnography and oral history, have proven to be helpful in describing and analyzing the social functions of circulating oral narratives in communities similar to Bede's, and so in this paper I apply these research methods to the monastic society in his *Historia Ecclesiastica*. I am not concerned here with establishing the folk origins of the oral stories he recounts or with disputing over some definition of what "really" is folklore — or how that may (or may not) apply to Bede's work. I am here more interested in using a research model derived from folklore studies to view the *practices* that Bede and his oral narrators *perform* as a *community* of narrators.

Accordingly, I analyze Bede's role in circulating the oral lore related by members of the monastic community. He carefully identifies his fellow-narrators, not only as evidence of their reliability, but also to certify their standing in the community among whom their stories were circulating. Moreover, Bede is not simply reporting on these narratives; he is himself involved in the communal "voicing" by which they are circulated. To be sure, he is the master narrator in the *HE*, and we hear the voices of his narrators through the textualized magisterial "voice" of his work. Yet by examining the processes of oral narrating in each of these cases, we can see much of Bede's social function and relations within his community, along with the ways others viewed their relations with him in telling their stories, knowing that he would give voice to them in writing his history, and through these interactive, dialogic processes constituting the community itself.

Colin Ireland (Beaver College, Dublin)

"Aldfrith of Northumbria, *vir undecumque doctissimus*"

King Aldfrith of Northumbria reigned from ca. 685-705. Aldfrith's reputation for scholarship is well attested in the English tradition. Bede spoke highly of Aldfrith. In the *Historia Ecclesiastica* Bede called Aldfrith "a very learned man in the scriptures" *(vir in scripturis doctissimus)*, and elsewhere he described him as "a very learned man in all respects" *(vir undecumque doctissimus)*. This latter phrase Bede also applied to Aldhelm, the noted English intellectual and bishop of Sherbourne. Stephan, who wrote the *Life of St. Wilfrid* sometime between 709 and 731, called Aldfrith a *rex sapientissimus*. Roughly a century after Aldfrith's death, Alcuin of York, who gained fame as a scholar at the courts of Charlemagne, referred to Aldfrith as being *rex simul atque magister*.

Contemporary English sources confirm Aldfrith's education among the Irish. The anonymous *Life of St. Cuthbert* states that Aldfrith spent time at Iona. Bede's prose *Life of St. Cuthbert* states variously that Aldfrith was in self-imposed exile "among the Irish isles" *(in insulis Scottorum)* or "in the regions of the Irish" *(in regionibus Scottorum)* for the love of learning. These phrases could mean that Aldfrith was in Ireland itself and not merely in the Irish territories in Britain.

The Irish *Annals of Ulster* at 704 describe Aldfrith son of Oswiu, king of the English, as *sapiens*. The importance of the term *sapiens* has long been emphasized in discussions of early Irish learned culture. Various commentators have confidently asserted that anyone who was called *sapiens* was, of necessity, a cleric or a professor at a monastic school — positions which are not mutually exclusive.

Several seventh-century persons are known as *sapientes* in the *Annals of Ulster*, including the English king Aldfrith. Of these historical persons, six can be identified for whom surviving texts (in Latin and in Irish) can be ascribed. These Irish *sapientes* include: Laidcenn mac Baíth Bannaig (+661), Cuimmíne Fota (+662), Ailerán (+665), Cenn Fáelad mac Ailello (+679), and Banbán (+686). The English king *Aldfrith mac Ossu* ("Aldfrith son of Oswiu") must be included among them. By comparing the backgrounds of these seventh-century Irish *sapientes* and the surviving texts ascribed to them, we can begin to assess the impact of Aldfrith's Irish education on Anglo-Saxon learned culture.

Session 15:

Andrew Orchard (Emmanuel College, Cambridge)

"Pride and Prodigies: The Legend of Alexander the Great in Anglo-Saxon England"

The Old English *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* has excited little attention over the years: the standard edition by Rypins is old and rather unreadable, and the text problematic. Accordingly, any critical interest has always tended to focus on linguistic and editorial matters rather than on any perceived literary or cultural interest. Recent work in other fields, however, particularly Medieval Latin and Celtic, has greatly enhanced understanding of the reception and transmission of the Latin *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem* upon which the Old English version is based, and such studies throw the comparative neglect of the *Letter* into still greater relief. The *Letter* raises several important questions about the interpretation of the popular Alexander-legend in Anglo-Saxon England, as well as casting light on a number of closely related texts of keen scholarly interest such as the Old English Orosius, the *Liber Monstrorum*, the *Wonders of the East*, and, of course, *Beowulf*, which follows the *Letter* in the Nowell Codex. Here I hope to set the *Letter* in context by first considering the potency, popularity, and (most importantly) bias of legends attached to Alexander the Great in Anglo-Saxon England, before assessing the textual relations of the *Letter* together with its style and purpose. Finally I wish to suggest in the light of these indications how the *Letter* was received in late Anglo-Saxon England, and how such a reception may have important implications for the contemporary interpretation of *Beowulf*.

Medieval attitudes towards Alexander are distinctly ambivalent: according to the negative, christianizing, and Orosian conception, he was a tyrannical figure of Pride, while in other texts he is depicted in a highly positive light as a heroic soldier and discoverer of marvels. In considering the full range of extant Alexander-material available in eleventh-century England, including less familiar texts such as the metrical epitaph of Alexander, the *Collatio*, or the so-called *Parva recapitulatio*, which survives solely in English manuscripts, it can be demonstrated that in Anglo-Saxon England these conceptions meet, and even merge; in altering and adapting his Latin source, the translator of the Old English *Letter* plays with purpose on the twin themes of pride and prodigies, and appears to echo the great physical and moral conflicts between monsters and men that are the prevailing feature of Anglo-Saxon teratology.

Andrea Rossi-Reder (Idaho)

"Tradition and Innovation in the Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 129 *Physiologus*"

The *Physiologus* contained in Laud Misc. 129 is not only an excellent example of a ninth-century Anglo-Latin *Physiologus*, but it also serves as a point of departure for later, less traditional *Physiologi*. Although this work follows traditional *Physiologus* format and content, it contains a passage not found in any other *Physiologus* versions. This passage is one of the earliest uses of Isidore in an Anglo-Latin *Physiologus* and, furthermore, identifies the scribe's nationality as English. Scholars have failed to see *Physiologus* Laud Misc. 129's innovative qualities and have done little more than group it with other similar *Physiologus* versions. To date, the only significant scholarly reference to Laud Misc. 129 is contained in a footnote in which the authors assert that the manuscript's insular script indicates a ninth-century date and possible continental provenance, probably the Mainz region of Germany. My transcriptions and analyses of the long-neglected Laud Misc. 129 *Physiologus* back up these claims. Moreover, the *Physiologus'* last entry concerning jet stone is not a traditional *Physiologus* entry. The passage is taken almost word for word from Isidore's *Etymologiae*. Not only is this a very early use of Isidore in the *Physiologus* tradition, it is also rare in a Y version. The entry also informs us that although jet possesses exotic and magical properties, "licet in Britannia sit," it is even found in Britain. In fact, jet occurs naturally on the northeast English coast, most abundantly near Whitby. I suspect that the addition of this entry to the Laud Misc. 129 *Physiologus* is the "signature" of an English monk working in a German scriptorium and asserting his own nationality. The Laud Misc. 129 *Physiologus*, grouped among several other examples of traditional Anglo-Latin *Physiologi* and never studied or analyzed in detail, is nevertheless an innovative work. This early break from traditional *Physiologus* format marks one of the first known uses of Isidore in the *Physiologus* and paves the way for later Anglo-Saxon *Physiologi*.

Session 16:

Roy M. Liuzza (Tulane University)

"Putting the Old English Gospels in their Place"

The title of this meeting, "Culture and Social Context," might at first reading seem to focus our attention on everything that is not the text. But culture and social context, of course, are reconstructed by textual interpretation, the sum of a long series of textual readings, not in the fashionable poststructural sense that there is nothing outside the text, but in the very real and difficult sense that we must reconstruct a vanished culture by interpreting the physical things it leaves behind — buildings, graves, skeletons, cups, swords, roads, pictures, and, most of all, books.

Taking this hermeneutic paradox as a blueprint, I look at the possible social contexts suggested by the Old English Gospels. I present here the results of my current research into the origin, use, and dissemination of the Old English version of the Gospels, but I wish also to use my report as a forum for a critical self-examination of the methods and assumptions of such historical investigation. I move in my paper from the codicological evidence to the inferences about what sort of people wrote and read these books, as well as from the historical record back to the facts of these manuscripts, while paying explicit attention to the strategies which we as modern readers use when making cultural assumptions about old texts. I consider both the sorts of evidence we can derive from the manuscripts of the Old English gospels as artifacts — format and structure, language and style, date and provenance — and the ways in which such evidence might be interpreted, as well as the outside evidence for the place of the gospels in the Anglo-Saxon Church — glossed gospel books, homilies, monastic instructions, and the place of these books in the larger context of Old English prose.

I hope in my discussion of these problems not only to provide new and more complete evidence for the use and origin of these texts, but also to call attention to the ways in which scholars make judgments about culture and society in a distant and vanished age. Thereby this discussion should serve both to further our understanding of the Christian vernacular culture of Anglo-Saxon England and to generate debate over the nature and scope of our methods and practices as readers and scholars.

M. Jane Toswell (University of Western Ontario)

"The Codicology of Paris, BN lat. 8824"

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 8824 is depressingly clean from the codicologist's point of view. It was never glossed, nor were extra saints added to the litany, extra prayers scrawled on the end-leaves, charters written on leaves added to the quires, names or comments scribbled in the margins. The manuscript is a deluxe book, of peculiar shape, with a puzzling collection of texts laid out in a highly organized, even stylized, way. A copy of the Roman psalter appears in a column down the left-hand side of each page; it is followed by a set of canticles, a litany and nine prayers, all in Latin, at the end of the codex. Facing the Latin psalter on each page is an Old English version of the text, in prose and with prose introductions for the first fifty psalms, and in alliterative verse for the last two quinquagenes. The prose version, and its introductions, can now be ascribed with some certainty to King Alfred; its appearance in the manuscript could be the result of respect for the work of a relative or of a king, appreciation of a well-written translation, the utility of this material for private devotion, or even, more prosaically, the presence of this version in the scriptorium where the codex was being compiled. However, if the reason for the presence of Alfred's translation is uncertain, the explanation for a shift to a radically different version of the text — a poor translation by the standards of literal rendition, a metrical version which fits uneasily into a column 4.2 cm in width — remains baffling. This paper attempts to reach some conclusions about the purpose of the metrical psalter in MS lat. 8824, and of the manuscript in its physical and cultural context.

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APPENDIX B

An Introduction to *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*

D. G. Scragg

Foreword

This introduction summarizes the work of the first decade on *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*: *A Register of Written Sources used by Authors in Anglo-Saxon England*. It is hoped that it will help spread an understanding of the value and importance of the project, and of the use that scholars may make of its findings, and that it will encourage those who have not yet offered their assistance to join in what will undoubtedly be one of the most important research tools for our successors in the twenty-first century. In preparing this material, I am indebted to Professor Peter Clemoes and to other members of the Executive Committee of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, especially its General Secretary, Dr Joyce Hill, for the immaculate keeping of records. Dr Andy Orchard supplied the examples of the sources of Anglo-Latin verse and their signification, and the examples of the dependence of Old English writers on their sources are drawn from the work of Mrs Joan Hart-Hasler. The sample index from the database was obtained with the help of Dr Wendy Collier and Mrs Sarah Davnall, and the information listed in it is drawn from entries provided by Professor Malcolm Godden. All of the detailed information on texts and their sources is copyright to *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* and its contributors.

History of the Project

The initial impulse for a large-scale project to study and record the written sources of Anglo-Saxon authors came at a one-day conference on sources at the University of Leeds in March 1984, organized to publicize a proposal made at the Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture held in conjunction with the 1983 International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan University to revise J. D. A. Ogilvy's *Books known to the English, 597-1066* (Cambridge, MA, 1967). At the Leeds Conference, J.E. Cross and Malcolm Godden gave papers on the sources of some of the Vercelli homilies and of Ælfric respectively, and in the discussion which followed, the desirability of establishing a rather different project, along the lines of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, was agreed by all present. A small steering committee was set up, which met subsequently on a number of occasions at King's College, London, during the summer of 1984. At some of its meetings representatives of the informal group of American scholars concerned with the 'revised Ogilvy' project were also present, and the separate aims and objectives of the two schemes were clarified. The steering committee established an Executive Committee for *Fontes* with Peter Clemoes as Director, Joyce Hill as General Secretary, Michael Lapidge as Executive Secretary for Anglo-Latin, and Donald Scragg as Executive Secretary for Old English. Other members of the Executive committee were Janet Bately, J. E. Cross, Helmut Gneuss and Malcolm Godden, and the three-man Administrative Committee of the 'revised-Ogilvy' project, by then formalized as *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (*SASLC*), T. D. Hill, Thomas Mackay and Paul Szarmach. Members of the Executive Committee reported developments to a specially-convened open meeting at King's College, London, in March 1985, and at a meeting at Trinity College, Cambridge, in August 1985, timed to coincide with the ISAS Conference there. The Executive Committee met formally for the first time in November 1985 at Emmanuel College, Cambridge.

Since then, reports of progress in the project have appeared annually in *Old English Newsletter*. In March of each year an open meeting is held at King's College, London, at which a report on the project is given, and papers relating to source studies are presented. Reports have also been made regularly at meetings of *SASLC* at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Western Michigan, and at the biennial meetings of ISAS. The first progress report (*OEN* 19.2. (1986), pp. 17-19) ended with an appeal to scholars to complete a questionnaire on a tear-off sheet, listing any work, completed or in progress, which might be of interest to the project. They were also invited to send offprints of relevant material to King's College, London, where an archive of source studies was to be established.

Planning and setting up the project in every detail necessarily formed a lengthy initial stage, but since then a substantial body of material has been assembled. First of all, the Executive Committee, on the basis of work done by various sub-committees, approved guidelines for the submission of entries to a computer database, housed at the University of Manchester. Then followed the recruitment of a body of scholars worldwide, on the basis of answers to the questionnaire. Next the database was created by Dr Marilyn Deegan, whose work during a one-year full-time appointment as a Research Assistant to the project was funded by the University of Manchester's Research Support Fund. Processing of the contributions received from scholars and their incorporation in the database were achieved to begin with by the half-time appointment for two years of Mrs (now Dr) Wendy Collier as a Research Assistant, funded by the University of Manchester Research Support Fund. Subsequently continuation of Dr Collier's work has been supported by grants from the British Academy. In 1991 advance on the Old English side of the project was greatly assisted by the appointment of Joan Hart (now Joan Hart-Hasler) as a full-time Research Assistant, again funded by the British Academy for eleven months. The list of texts sourced has grown steadily since 1988; additions to the list are published annually in the bibliographies in *Anglo-Saxon England* and *Old English Newsletter*.

Aims of the project

The Register aims to identify all written sources which were incorporated, quoted, translated or adapted anywhere in English or Latin texts which were written, or are likely to have been written, in Anglo-Saxon England, including those by foreign authors. It will also identify the written sources used by authors of texts written abroad if those authors are certainly or arguably Anglo-Saxons, and by foreigners who were drawing mainly on materials which they had obtained, or are likely to have obtained, in Anglo-Saxon England. Anglo-Saxon England is defined as England up to 1066, but a text will be sourced whether it is extant in a pre-1066 copy or only in a later one. A text written after 1066 will be included in the project only if it is of a type characteristic of England before 1066. An identifiable source will be recorded whether or not it is extant. Oral sources and booklists are excluded.

The different aims of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* and of *SASLC* are readily apparent. *SASLC* will summarize present evidence for the knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England of classical and Christian-Latin writings, working forward from those writings. The *Fontes* Register works in the opposite direction, recording precisely the sources used by each Anglo-Saxon author, and it is open-ended in that it will incorporate new evidence as it becomes available.

It is also the intention of the *Fontes* project to impose a uniformity on the terminology used variously in Anglo-Saxon source studies over the last hundred years. For the purposes of the Register, an immediate source is defined as the work in which the material took the form in which it was used for the text in question, as against an antecedent source, which is defined as a work which was drawn on, whether immediately or not, by the author of an immediate source. For example, the immediate source of the Old English Orosius is the *Historiae aduersum paganos* of Paulus Orosius, while such authorities as the Latin author drew upon, e.g. Tacitus, Suetonius and Plato, are antecedent sources. Where an immediate source can be identified, as in the example just cited, it is not intended that antecedent sources should be noted in the Register, since it is not the purpose of the Register to trace ideas back as far or as thoroughly as possible. The term analogue is used only of a text which has, at however many removes, the same source as a text written in Anglo-Saxon England. An analogue is entered in the Register only when it is the only means of proving that a written source once existed, even though it is now lost. Contributors to the Register are also required to indicate in their submissions whether, in their opinion, the sources they specify, either immediate or antecedent, are certain, probable or merely possible sources.

It is hoped that the compilation of the Register will throw particular light on knowledge and use of the Bible in Anglo-Saxon England. To this end, contributors are asked to note all quotations and paraphrases of the Bible in their texts. This instruction applies even when the quotation or paraphrase appears already in the immediate source, and hence the biblical reference is an antecedent source. However, biblical echoes are excluded from the Register, since these are too numerous to be recorded, and contributors are left to use their own judgement in drawing the line between echo and paraphrase. Where possible a distinction is made between different versions of the Bible, e.g. the Old Latin version as against the Vulgate, and the Roman, Gallican and *iuxta Hebraeos* versions of the Psalter.

Form of the Database

Each text is entered on to the database under a heading which specifies

(a) a reference number, using for Old English the list published by Angus Cameron in *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* ed. R. Frank and A. Cameron (Toronto 1973), with some modifications, and for Anglo-Latin texts the list being compiled by Michael Lapidge for his bibliography of Anglo-Latin writings;

b) the author of the text (or Anon. if none is known) and its title;

c) the edition of the text on which all citations are based;

d) a list of all publications which have provided new information about the source(s) of the text.

The database then has a set of source entries for each text. A new entry begins whenever there is (i) the first use of a source, or (ii) movement to a different part of the same source (with or without intervening material not dependant upon the source), or (iii) resumption of use of a source at the same point after intervening material not dependent upon the source. Each entry opens with precise references for the whole of the section of text concerned, and contains author, title, and bibliographical details of each source, together with its exact location, and quotation of its opening and closing words. A sigil indicates the standing of each source, whether immediate or antecedent and whether it is certain, probable or possible, in the opinion of the contributor. An entry may have up

to six probable or possible sources. The whole set is ascribed to the contributor responsible.
col

The database is arranged in tabular form, with items (a)-(d) above and author, title and references of the sources each in separate columns. Since the database can alphabeticize entries within each column, it is possible to read the information in any order. For example, all authors', or any single author's, uses of the works of a particular writer or of a particular work can be listed. In the sections below I display some examples of entries in the Register, and of the use that may be made of them, and the entries so far assembled concerning a sample writer.

Some Examples of the Use of Sources by Authors of Old English

Dorothy Whitelock's study of the likely origins of the Old English Bede ('The Old English Bede', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 48 (1962), 57-90) includes a detailed comparison of the vernacular translation and the Latin source. This begins with the observation that the translator 'greatly shortens' (p. 61) what is a very long work, and it continues with a review of the principles of selection by which the translator worked. Within her paper Professor Whitelock was limited in the number of illustrations she could offer, but Joan Hart-Hasler's entries for this text in the Register identify more than 300 points at which the translator chose not to translate the Latin in its entirety, and in each case make clear the exact nature of the omission.

Whitelock's paper compares the Old English Bede with other Alfredian translations, observing, for example, that the *Regula pastoralis* is 'given almost complete' (p. 61). While the comparison is true, this observation ignores (as it is meant to) some essential differences between the two translations. Although Alfred left little of Gregory out, he did add material, particularly on such topics as baptism, grace, repentance and sin, and he was very free with his explanations when he was conscious of the possibility that cultural differences between sixth-century Rome and ninth-century England might confuse his reader. Joan Hart-Hasler's entries for this text in the Register record again hundreds of points at which Alfred made this sort of addition. Many of them were quite small, but the availability of them in an ordered list enables the user of the Register to see clearly the new direction of Alfred's work. I give as illustration a series of entries relating to page 85 of Sweet's text (*King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. H. Sweet, EETS os 45, 50 (London, 1871), showing the source by reference to column and paragraph in PL.

1. Sweet 81.1-85.10 GREG.MAG.Reg.past. 28B-29C
2. Sweet 85.11-12 GREG.MAG.Reg.past.29C
3. Sweet 85.13-14 GREG.MAG.Reg.past.29C
4. Sweet 85.15 GREG.MAG.Reg.past.29C
5. Sweet 85.16-89.2 GREG.MAG.Reg.past.29C-30B

When these entries are translated into the Old English and Latin texts, and comparison is made between the two, it is clear that Alfred's additions, which I have underlined below, follow a consistent pattern:

[End of entry 1] Eac ðæm golde 7 ðæm line wæs ongemang purpura, ðæt is cynelic hrægl, forðæm hit tacnað kynelicne anwald. [Entry 2] Be ðæm geðence se sacred, ðonne he oðre men healice lærð, ðæt he eac on him selfum healice ofðrysce ða lustas his unðeawa, forðamðe he kynelic hrægl hæfð, ðæt he eac sie kyning [Entry 3] ofer his agne unðeawas, 7 ða cynelican ofersuiðe; 7 geðence he simle sie sua æðele sua unæðele [Entry 4] suæðer he sie ða æðelu ðære æfterran acennesse, ðæt is on ðæm fuluhte, [Entry 5] 7 simle atiewe on his ðeawum ða ðing ðe he ðær Gode gehet, 7 ða ðeawas ðe him mon ðær bebead.	Auro quoque et hyacintho purpura permiscetur; ut uidelicet sacerdotale cor, cum summa quae praedicat sperat, in semetipso etiam suggestiones uitiorum reprimat, eisque uelut ex regia potestate contradicat, quatenus nobilitatem semper intimae regenerationis aspiciat, et coelestis regni sibi habitum moribus defendat.

Evidently Alfred's treatment of his source is not a simple translation, and the additions indicate the need he felt to emphasize the role of royal and noble leadership and to explain the differences between ruler and subject. The Register itself does not aim to provide such an explanation: its role is to highlight the differences by signalling precisely where they occur. It is for the critics to explain them, and each will do so in his or her own way; for example, a student of intertextuality may approach the relationship of text and source differently from the historian, and the Register will be of equal service to both.

Some Examples of the Use of Sources by Authors of Anglo-Latin

Because there does not yet exist a catalogue of the writings of Anglo-Latin authors, the entering of Anglo-Latin texts on to the database has begun relatively recently. In 1991, however, Dr Andy Orchard made a start by providing a complete set of entries for Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiatica* I-IV. From this, it immediately became clear that in the field of Anglo-Latin verse the Register is destined to provide a radical revision and expansion of hitherto unpublished source identifications which will be of the utmost value because this poetry is so highly inter-referential. Light will be thrown not only on the dissemination of individual texts in Anglo-Saxon England and on which sources were used by individual Anglo-Latin authors, but also quite precisely, as never before, on the compositional methods of Anglo-Latin poets, as these few examples illustrate:

(a) As part of his evidence that Prudentius was popular in early Anglo-Saxon England, Gernot Wieland's entry for Prudentius in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. F.M. Biggs, T.D. Hill and P. E. Szarmach (Binghamton, 1990) cites some twenty examples of verbal correspondence between Prudentius and Aldhelm. While this is more than adequate for the purposes of *SASLC*, the different and more comprehensive nature of the Register gives it the opportunity to provide many more examples, and the gain is not only quantitative. It reveals, for instance the following two parallels:

i.	Corde tenebroso uerum perpendere nescit	PRVD.Apoth.127
	Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde negantes	ALDH.Carm.eccl.IV.viii.6
ii.	Auctorem lucis largitoremque dierum	PRVD.Apoth.701
	Auctorem lucis tenebroso corde negantes	ALDH.Carm.eccl.IV.viii.6

The Register thus shows that in constructing a single line Aldhelm combined phrases from two verses wide apart in Prudentius' *Apotheosis*, and it thereby provides an interesting clue to Aldhelm's poetic technique. Furthermore, the complete list of verbal echoes suggests a particular tendency to borrow from the *Apotheosis* and the *Contra Symmachum*, as well as from a single poem of the *Peristephanon* collection, whereas Aldhelm's fondness for the *Psychomachia*, as alleged by some scholars (see the references in Wieland), is not substantiated.

(b) It is often stated that Boniface borrowed from Aldhelm, but the extent of the debt is not usually made clear. A register of the sources of just one of Boniface's *Enigmata* (*Enigma* V, with the solution 'Love') indicates that fourteen out of fifteen lines draw on Aldhelmian diction. But such a register provides further insights, as the sources of these two verses from this *Enigma* show:

i.	Cernere quis poterit, numero aut quis calculo aequat	BON.Enigm.V.1
	Credere quis poterit tantis spectacula causis	ALDH.Enigm.LIV.1
	Quis numeris capiat uel quis laterculus aequet	ALDH.Enigm.LXXIII.4
	Quis modus aut numerus uel certe calculus index	ALDH.Carm.uirg.855
ii.	Tetrica mundani calcant ludicra luxus	BON.Enigm.V.9
	Mundani luxus calcans ludibria falsa	ALDH.Carm.uirg.99
	Prima iuuentatis calcans ludicra seuerus	ALDH.Carm.uirg.806
	Mellea carnalis contemnens ludicra luxus	ALDH.Carm.uirg.1713

In line 1 (example i), in altering Aldhelm's nominative forms *numerus* and *calculus* to ablative *numero* and *calculo*, Boniface was forced to recognize in one and the same line both elision (*numero aut*) and, apparently, hiatus (*calculo aequat*, with ablative *-o* apparently short). Boniface's line 9 (example ii) simply does not scan. By confecting three Aldhelmian phrases infelicitously and attempting to mirror the 'golden line' pattern so favoured by Aldhelm he produced a line which is too short by a foot. Emendation could produce a satisfactory verse, but must be considered doubtful, given this author's cut-and-paste methods.

Again, it is interesting that of the nineteen verses from Aldhelm's *Carmen de Virginitate* shown to have parallel diction with this *Enigma*, no less than seven derived from the last 150 lines of Aldhelm's poem, suggesting Boniface's particular reliance on one part of Aldhelm's verse corpus. The systematic character of the Register continually throws up such links, too often lost in more discursive source discussions.

(c) The Register's capacity for facilitating stylistic comparison is illustrated by these two specimens:

i.	Pulchra comis cirrisque decens et candida uultu	ALDH.Carm.uirg.2177
	Pulchra comis annisque decens et candida uultu	ANON.*AL*.674.1
ii.	Quam sacra diuinis depinxit littera chartis	BEDE.Vit.Cuthb.metr.746
	Quos nunc sacratis describit littera chartis	ALDH.Carm.uirg.1627

Example i demonstrates Aldhelm's clear borrowing of a rather obscure verse from a very secular elegiac dream-poem on love. The very fact of borrowing has interesting repercussions, given the particular manuscripts in which the verse is found, but it is also interesting to speculate on why Aldhelm thought this charming picture of an unnamed poet's unknown fantasy-love should be appropriate for his own description of the virgin Demetrias. Aldhelm's respect for his source and his own humour seem equally evident. By contrast, example ii manifests a clear borrowing from Aldhelm by Bede, who seems to have attempted to mask his source by the judicious use of metrical synonyms, here varying Aldhelm's *sacratis* with the rather tautologous *sacra diuinis*, and Aldhelm's *describit* with *depinxit*. The differences between the verse styles of Aldhelm and Bede are apparent in their distinctive patterns of borrowing.

Sample Index from the Register

As an example of the way in which the indexes of the Register will work, there follows a list of the items currently on the Register which drew upon the *Expositio Libri comitis* of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel. It must be stressed, however, that the indexes from which this is taken offer at present a very limited view of the use of sources in Anglo-Saxon England since the entering of texts on to the database is still at a very preliminary stage; this list as yet does not represent the extent of the use of Smaragdus either in Anglo-Saxon England or by Ælfric.

ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xii.108-9
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xiv.70-5
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.80-2
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.88-9
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.133-8
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.142-50
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.151-2
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.155-62
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxvii.164-74
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxxiii.15
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxxiv.164-70
ÆLFRIC.CH.I.xxxiv.246-8

Summary of Results to date

At the outset, it was assumed that the principal significance of the Register would be its ability to prove that a given text was available in Anglo-Saxon England because it was known and used by an author as a written source. This continues to be a most important result. As the Register becomes fuller, indexes which the database is programmed to produce will enable us to see quickly and easily how well a given text or writer was known in the period. The definition of sources as certain, probable or possible will allow, as the Register builds, for the cutting down of possibilities: for example, a Latin text marked as one of a number of possible sources for only one Old English or Anglo-Latin text in the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period will be shown up as unlikely.

As work for the Register has proceeded, it has become obvious also that it sheds other light. The systematic, continuous comparison of an author's text and its textual source(s), demanded by the procedures of the Register, gives a newly reliable insight into the way in which a given author worked. Although it is not the purpose of the Register to define the intellectual interests or the mental processes of authors in Anglo-Saxon England, it provides detailed analyses upon which such studies can be based, as the passage from Alfred's translation of Gregory and the Anglo-Latin examples above have illustrated. Furthermore, the Register's careful distinction between immediate and antecedent textual sources can show up the former existence in England of a now lost immediate source, if the antecedent source identified is extant only in continental manuscripts. Thus the lost literature of Anglo-Saxon England is in process of being identified.

The Future

Sufficient work on the project has now been done for the lines of investigation in the immediate future to be clear. On the Old English side, work is now in progress to complete the listing of sources of all the surviving homiletic literature, that by named authors, Ælfric and Wulfstan, and that by anonymous writers. Since this is a self-contained group, it might be considered worthwhile to publish it as a sample of the Register's rationale and potentiality. A further immediate objective is to include on the Register all the source identifications proposed by scholars of the past hundred years, from Max Förster to J.E. Cross, and to collate them with up-to-date information concerning texts and manuscripts. Meanwhile, the Register will expand in other areas thanks to the continued receipt of contributions from many scholars working throughout the world.

In Anglo-Latin, listing of the sources of the verse of named authors is expected to move quickly with the assistance of Andy Orchard and Neil Wright. Progress on the prose will be slower, but must be facilitated by the existence of modern scholarly tools such as the electronic concordance of the Corpus Christianorum editions on CD-ROM. Although the listing of the sources of Anglo-Latin literature will undoubtedly be a long process, it may ultimately prove simpler than the listing of the sources of Old English since no change of language is involved.

The Register will be fuller, and of more use to the scholarly community, the more quickly the listing of sources can be achieved. Many reliable modern editions, such as Janet Bately's of the Old English *Orosius*, contain detailed information on sources, and this needs to be entered onto the database. The Executive Committee will continue to make applications to funding authorities for paid help with work of this sort. But in the last analysis, much still remains to be done in identifying the written sources used by authors in Anglo-Saxon England, and for this work the project is dependant upon the cooperation and participation of scholars everywhere. If you think you can help in any way, however small, I would urge you to make contact with one of the executive officers.

General enquiries about the project should be addressed to the General Secretary, Dr Joyce Hill, School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, England.

For information about Old English texts or about the database, contact Dr Donald Scragg, Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, University of Manchester, Manchester M13 9PL, England.

For information about Anglo-Latin texts, contact Professor Michael Lapidge, Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 9 West Road Cambridge CB3 9DP, England.

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER
Research in Progress Report

Each year, the editors of the *Old English Newsletter* solicit information concerning current research, work completed, and forthcoming publications. The Research in Progress reports are an important collaborative enterprise, recording information of common interest to our colleagues. Please complete the form below (type or print clearly), and return it to Phillip Pulsiano, Department of English, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085. If the subject of your project is not obvious from the title, please add a note indicating its best classification. For dissertations, please provide the name of the director.

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