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General correspondence regarding *OEN* should be addressed to the Guest 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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Guide to the Contents of this Issue

NEWS

I

ISAS Conference

The seventh conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, "Old and New Ways in the Study of Anglo-Saxon Culture," will be held from **6-12 August 1995** at Stanford Univ. For further details, contact the conference organizer:

George H. Brown
Dept. of English
Stanford Univ.
Stanford, CA 94305-2087
Phone: 415-723-314; Fax: 415-725-755; e-mail: brown@leland.stanford.edu

II

International Medieval Congress

The Univ. of Leeds announces the Second International Medieval Congress **10-13 July 1995**. The multiple simultaneous sessions will be on any subject relating to the European Middle Ages. As with the First International Congress, this will include a strong representation from the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. Programming is already well advanced, but the organizers welcome inquiries from anyone who wishes to participate without presenting a paper, and from anyone who is interested in taking part in the Graduate School which will follow immediately after the Congress. The theme for the 1995 Graduate School is "Using Research Tools and Resources."

If you would like to have further details about the Congress or Graduate School, or wish to have your name added to our mailing list, please contact:

International Medieval Congress
International Medieval Institute, Parkinson 1.03
Univ. of Leeds
Leeds LS2 9JT, United Kingdom
Phone: 113-233-3614; Fax: 113-233-3616
e-mail: K.H.Wick@leeds.ac.uk (for the Congress)
hismrl@arts-01.novell.leeds.ac.uk (for the Graduate School)

Colleagues who wish to plan ahead may like to know that proposals for sessions and individual papers for the 1996 Congress will need to be submitted early in September 1995. Inquiries are welcome at any time before that date.

III

Sources at Kalamazoo

The following sesssions have been proposed for the Thirteenth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon England. This 1995 edition will continue the interdisciplinary nature of the enterprise:

I and II: Literary Sources, **TWO SESSIONS.** Organizer: Thomas D. Hill; Dept. of English; Rockefeller Hall; Cornell Univ.; Ithaca, NY, 14853.

III and IV: Women and Anglo-Saxon England, **TWO SESSIONS.** Organizer: Helen Damico; Dept. of English Language and Literature; Humanities Bldg 217; Univ. of New Mexico; Albuquerque, NM 87131.

V: Studies from SASLC: The "B-Pluses." Organizer: Paul E. Szarmach; **after September 1, 1994**; The Medieval Institute; 715 Hesburgh Library; Univ. of Notre Dame; Notre Dame, IN 46556.

VI and VII: Anglo-Saxon Art and its Audiences, from Gregory to the Twentieth Century. **Session 1**, "The Medieval Audience for Anglo-Saxon Art"; **Session 2**, "The Modern Audience for Anglo-Saxon Art." Organizer: Catherine Karkov; Miami Univ.; Dept. of Art; 124 Art Bldg.; Oxford, OH 45003.

IV

Visiting Research Fellowships, Edinburgh

The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the Univ. of Edinburgh invites applications for Visiting Research Fellowships of between two and six months, tenable between May 1995 and September 1997. No limitation will be placed on the area of research within the Humanities, but some emphasis will be given to issues in medical ethics, business ethics, and environmental ethics.

Approximately fifteen Fellows are elected once a year in February; most fellowships are honorary, but a small number of stipends is available to a total value of approximately £500 per person.

All completed applications must be returned to the director before 1 December 1994. For further information write to:

The Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities
The Univ. of Edinburgh
Hope Park Square
Edinburgh EH8 9NW
Phone: 031-650-4671; Fax: 031-668-2252

V

Old English Colloquium, Berkeley

The Old English Colloquium of the Univ. of California, Berkeley, sponsored a conference, "The Idea of Anglo-Saxon England from the Anglo-Saxons to the Present Day," from 19-20 March 1994. Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola Univ., Chicago) delivered the keynote address, "Who Do These Anglo-Saxon(ist)s Think They Are, Anyway?" Seth Lerer (Stanford Univ.) responded.

The following papers were also presented:

Janet Thormann (College of Marin)
"The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems and the Making of the English Nation"
James W. Earl (Univ. of Oregon)
"England and the Danelaw"
Gregory VanHoosier-Carey (Univ. of Texas, Austin)
"Byrthnoth in Dixie: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the American Postbellum South"
J.R. Hall (Univ. of Mississippi)
"Nineteenth-Century American Anglo-Saxon Studies"
Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State Univ.)
"The View from the North: Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Scandinavian Contributions to Anglo-Saxon Studies"
Lisa Darien (Univ. of California, Berkeley)
"The King Alfred Millenary"
Dolores Frese (Univ. of Notre Dame)
"A Trace of Bede: Anglo-Saxon England in the 'Man of Law's Tale'"
Velma Bourgeois Richmond (Holy Names College)
"Historical Novels to Teach Anglo-Saxonism to Young Edwardians"
Fred Astren (Univ. of California, Berkeley)
"'What Has Anglia to do with Jerusalem?' A Biblical Explanation for Anglo-Saxon Ethnogenesis"
Nicholas Howe (Ohio State Univ.)
"The Afterlife of Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Auden, Gunn, and Hill"

OEC sponsored three other papers in its 1993-94 program of activities:

George Hardin Brown (Stanford Univ.), "The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England"
Donald Scragg (Univ. of Manchester), "Theory and Practice of Editing Old English Texts"
James W. Earl (Univ. of Oregon), "*Beowulf*: Fractal Poetry, Fractal Criticism"

VI

Manchester Medieval Textiles Project

The Manchester Medieval Textiles Project is a collaborative effort by Elizabeth Coatsworth of Manchester Metropolitan Univ. and Gale Owen-Crocker of Manchester Univ., and is receiving financial support from both institutions. Maria Fitzgerald will be working on the project as a full-time research assistant for one year from September 1994.

There are hundreds of medieval textiles that still survive ranging in size from the seventy-meter Bayeux Tapestry to a few threads clinging to a brooch pin from an Anglo-Saxon grave. They vary in splendor from gold-embroidered vestments to a hand-made sock recovered from a rubbish pit. These textiles have been published in various books and scholarly journals, often as appendices to archaeological reports. The publications are scattered and specialized; there is no suitable reference material for students of this period of textile history.

The Manchester Medieval Textiles Project exists to produce a Catalogue and Annotated Bibliography of Medieval Textiles of the British Isles. The ultimate aim is to produce a computer package or CD-ROM which can be used as a research tool, but we intend to produce interim publications in book form. There will be four volumes: England 400-1100; England 1100-1500; Wales, Scotland and Ireland 400-1100; and Tools and Trade.

VII

Conferences--Past and Future

"Children and the Family in the Middle Ages" will be the theme for the twelfth annual meeting of the Illinois Medieval Association, 24-25 February 1995, at Northern Illinois Univ. One page abstracts are due 1 November 1994. For information contact Nicole Clifton; Dept. of English; Northern Illinois Univ.; DeKalb, IL 60115; e-mail: tb0nxc1@corn.cso.niu.edu or nclifton@niu.edu.

The Medieval Club of New York will sponsor a one-day conference "Holy Wars: Conflicts and Contacts of Cultures, Genders, and Religions" at the CUNY Graduate Center on 3 March 1995. Contact Diane Marks at the Dept. of English; Brooklyn College; 2900 Bedford Ave.; Brooklyn, NY 11210 for details.

Final arrangements are now underway for the conference on "Shifting Frontiers in Late Antiquity," sponsored by the Dept. of History and the Program in Late Antiquity and Medieval Studies at the Univ. of Kansas. It will be held in Lawrence, Kansas on 23-26 March 1995. Over 25 sessions are scheduled on geographical, spiritual, religious, intellectual, psychological, social, ethnic, gender, and cultural frontiers.

Those interested in attending should contact Ralph W. Mathisen (e-mail: n330009@univscvm.csd.scarolina.edu) for the conference schedule, local arrangements, and registration materials.

The Fordham Medieval Conference (24-26 March 1995) will address "Family in the Middle Ages." Contact H. Wayne Storey (Center for Medieval Studies, Fordham Univ., Bronx NY 10458) for details.

The twenty-second annual Carolinas Symposium on British Studies will be held at Appalachian State Univ. in Boone, North Carolina, 7-8 October 1995. Papers on all aspects of British Studies, including history, literature, art and architecture, government, dance, and music will be considered. Proposals or papers should be sent by 15 March 1995 to Jacqueline L. Gmuca; Dept. of English; Coastal Carolina Univ.; Conway, SC 29526.

The organizers also invite submissions by 1 May 1995 of completed papers for the student paper session; these may be by graduate or undergraduate students. Send submissions to Jon Crawford; Dept. of History; Mars Hill College; Mars Hill, NC 28754.

The Belgian Association of Anglicists in Higher Education is sponsoring a conference entitled "Power, Cooperation, and Conflict in Anglo-Saxon Languages and Literatures" from 29 November-1 December 1995 at the Univ. of Brussels. Contact BAAHE Conference, c/o M. Maufort and J.P. van Noppen, CP 142, Université Libre de Bruxelles, B 1050 Brussels, Belgium.

VIII

SEENET: The Society for Early English and Norse Electronic Texts

The Univ. of Michigan Press announces the establishment of the Society for Early English and Norse Electronic Texts, or SEENET. The Society will solicit, produce, and disseminate scholarly electronic editions of Old Norse, Old English, and Middle English texts. Combining the full capacities of computer technology with the highest standards of traditional scholarly editing, SEENET will publish machine-readable texts with reliable introductory materials, annotations, and apparatus. It will publish texts in three series.

Series A will consist primarily of book-length editions published on floppy disks (usually under five megabytes). For this series the editors will publish both diplomatic transcriptions of manuscript texts and critical texts, or combinations of the two. Texts will be accompanied by an introduction as well as appropriate historical, paleographical, codicological, lexical, and interpretative annotations.

Series B will consist of culturally important works with complex textual or critical traditions. Texts in this series will accommodate some or all of the following features:

--digitized facsimiles of some or all manuscripts
--diplomatic transcriptions of each manuscript with appropriate annotation
--a reconstructed archetype with annotation
--an edited text with annotations (perhaps incorporating critical comments of previous editors)
--a display of collated variants
--lemmatized concordances of each manuscript, the archetype, and the critical text
--a critical introduction and glossary.

Texts in Series B will be published on CD-ROM disks.

Series C will serve an interim function by publishing electronic versions of useful older editions with SGML markup, until such time as the works may be re-edited.

The Press and the Society expect the first text to be available in late 1994. This is a documentary edition of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 201, one of the most heavily edited early fifteenth-century witnesses to the B text of *Piers Plowman*.

The editors are now asking scholars who have done or who plan to do electronic editions of medieval texts to get in touch with them. Inquiries about the Society may be sent to Prof. Hoyt N. Duggan, Dept. of English, Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903; e-mail: hnd@virginia.edu. To contact the Univ. of Michigan Press directly, write to Ellen Bauerle, Editor, Univ. of Michigan Press, PO Box 1104, Ann Arbor, MI 48106; e-mail: ellen_bauerle@um.cc.umich.edu; or to Michael Kehoe, Marketing Director, Univ. of Michigan Press; michael_kehoe@um.cc.umich.edu.

IX

Another Computer Tool for Anglo-Saxon Studies: A Temporary Edition of the Glossed Psalters

M.J. Toswell and R.H. Michels
Univ. of Western Ontario

This computer edition allows users to compare verse-by-verse the various vernacular glosses to the psalms from Anglo-Saxon England. The corpus is developed from the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English*, where the files proceed from manuscript to manuscript, making comparisons of individual verses cumbersome. Here all the glosses on Psalm 1.1, for example, appear together, ordered alphabetically (following the abbreviations assigned by the *DOE*); each file also contains most of the same header information (with redundant fields removed), in the same order as that of the *Dictionary* corpus. Each record also has two additional fields, one including only the Latin psalter, the other only the vernacular. Those interested only in one or the other language, or in checking through the material more rapidly, may find these additional fields useful since the Dictionary corpus occasionally causes some confusion by reversing the order of the Latin and the Old English. About ten per cent of the material was checked for accuracy (by Brock J. Eayrs) against the editions that underlie the material, and only one substantive error was found. For the time being, until Phillip Pulsiano's proposed new collective edition of the Anglo-Saxon psalters is published, this material provides a quick and easy way to access the corpus in order to determine how a given lemma is rendered, to consider whether the glossed psalters agree for a particular verse, or simply to see whether a word appears in the psalter corpus. Its most useful application might be in a database program, and the fields are comma-delimited in order to make that possible, but a powerful search program works with sufficient speed to make obsolete the old method of powering up the microfiche reader or of pulling all the editions off the shelf in order to look each reading up individually. When exploded this material takes up over 12 megabytes, but the imploded version fits neatly onto a 3.5 inch high-density disk.

To acquire this computer tool, send an e-mail message to the Oxford Text Archive, where it is on deposit, but not available for direct access until Lou Burnard adds TEI markup. The address is ota@vax.oxford.ac.uk.

X

In the Foreground: Beowulf

(D.S. Brewer, 1994)
Eric Gerald Stanley

This new study of *Beowulf* surveys some trends in previous criticism, and then focuses on the formal aspects of Anglo-Saxon poetry, such as manuscript pointing, word-order, sentence-structure, and meter. The final chapter, "Prayers, Praise, and Thanksgiving in Old English Verse," places *Beowulf*, a "secular and Christian poem," between "pagan and secular" poems and "ecclesiastical and Christian" ones. Pp. 273. Price: $63. ISBN 0-85991-394-5.

XI

Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia
(Garland, 1993)

Volume 1 of the Garland Encyclopedias of the Middle Ages, edited by Phillip Pulsiano and Kirsten Wolf, with Paul Acker and Donald K. Fry, contains articles by over 250 scholars from twenty countries on medieval Scandinavia (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden) from the Migration Period to the Reformation. Each article concludes with bibliography, and the volume has 204 illustrations, an index, and extensive cross-references. Pp. 792. Price: $95. ISBN 0-8240-4787-7.

XII

Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries
(Hambledon Press, 1994)
Karl Leyser (Ed. Timothy Reuter)

Thirteen essays arranged chronologically make up this first volume of all of the articles, published or unpublished, not included in Karl Leyser's earlier collection, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours, 900-1250* (London, 1982). The collection is framed by "Concepts of Europe in the Early and High Middle Ages," and "The Ascent of Latin Europe," the latter an inaugural lecture delivered at Oxford on 7 November 1984. Previously unpublished essays include "Theophanu Divina Gratia Imperatrix Augusta: Western and Eastern Emperorship in the Later Tenth Century," "987: The Ottonian Connection," and "Ritual, Ceremony, and Gesture: Ottonian Germany." Also noteworthy is "The Ottonians and Wessex," the author's translation (with new material) of an earlier article, with updated notes by the editor. Pp. 244. Price: $60. ISBN 1-85285-013-2.

XIII

Thinking About *Beowulf*
(Stanford Univ. Press, 1994)
James W. Earl

Bringing contemporary critical theory to bear on *Beowulf*, the author explores the literary originality of a poem often treated as oral and traditional. He grounds his work in three axioms about *Beowulf*: first, the poem cannot be dated with certainty and must be considered a portrait of an imaginary society; second, the epic is not neccesarily a traditional oral genre; and third, Beowulf was probably nothing more than a ficticious hero invented by the poet. Drawing on the phenomenological approach of Paul Ricoeur, the first half of the book examines the literary treatment of such concepts as space and time, history and transcendence, and orality and literacy. Moving from the psychoanalytic anthropology of Victor Turner and René Girard to the theories of Freud, the second half considers questions of individual consciousness, creativity, and reader response. It concludes by probing the creative autonomy of the *Beowulf* poet as well as of the reader, and their mutual interest in the hero's freedom beyond his fate. Throughout, the author tries to bring the poem to the wider intellectual audience it deserves--anthropologists, historians, psychoanalysts, students, and other humanists--beyond the small number of scholars who can read *Beowulf* in Old English. Pp. 204. Price: $35.00. ISBN 0-8047-1700-1.

XIV

Forthcoming from the Univ. of Toronto Press--

Prosody and Poetics in the Early Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of C.B. Hieatt

Ed. M. J. Toswell

Contents:

Foreword
James M. Good, Dean of Arts, Univ. of Western Ontario

Introduction
M.J. Toswell, Univ. of Western Ontario

"Grammar, Spelling, and the Rhythm of the Alliterative Long Line"
Thomas Cable, Univ. of Texas at Austin

"*The Battle of Maldon* and Beowulfian Prosody"
Robert Payson Creed, Univ. of Massachusetts at Amherst

"The Poet's Self-Interruption in *Andreas*"
John Miles Foley, Univ. of Missouri

"Alliterative Licence and the Rhetorical Use of Proper Names in the *Battle of Maldon*"
M.S. Griffith, New College, Oxford

"Simplifying Resolution in *Beowulf*"
James Keddie, Univ. of Western Ontario

"Computer Assistance in the Analysis of Old English Meter: Methods and Results--A Provisional Report"
O.D. Macrae-Gibson and J.R. Lishman, Univ. of Aberdeen

"The Case Against a 'General Old English Poetic Dialect'"
David Megginson, Univ. of Ottawa

"The Intonational Basis of Laȝamon's Verse"
Douglas Moffat, *Middle English Dictionary*, Ann Arbor, Michigan

"Constraints on Resolution in *Beowulf*"
Geoffrey Russom, Brown Univ.

"The Power of the Word in *Andreas*"
Brian Shaw, Univ. of Western Ontario

"Speech and the Unspoken in *Hamðismal*"
Thomas A. Shippey, Saint Louis Univ.

"Heroic Aspects of the Exeter Book Riddles"
Eric Gerald Stanley, Pembroke College, Oxford

Bibliography of C.B. Hieatt

XV

Brief Notices on Publications

The Toller Memorial Lecture, "Source, Method, Theory, Practice: On Reading Two Old English Verse Texts," by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, appears in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Univ. Library of Manchester*, Volume 76.1 (1994), 51-73.

The Univ. of Geneva announces the appearance of the thesis of Nida Louise Surber-Meyer, *Don et échange dans le corpus poétique vieil-anglais: contribution à l'étude de la représentation de la richesse*. The work offers a new perspective on contemporary theories of gifts and exchange, and studies their place in Anglo-Saxon poetry, providing readings of *Beowulf* and *Andreas*. The 260-page volume is available for 45 Swiss francs from Editions Slatkine, 5 rue des Chaudronniers, Case postale 765-1211, Geneva 3; Phone 022-776.25.51; Fax 022-776.35.27. ISBN 2-101302-0.

The Univ. of Exeter Press has issued a revised edition of *Exodus*, ed. Peter J. Lucas. In the new preface, Lucas notes, among other modifications, adjustments to the text at lines 7, 149-50, 200, 419, 487, and 567, a small number of changes in the Commentary and Glossary, and additions to the Select Bibliography to cover works published since the original edition (1977). The price is £10.95. ISBN 0-85989-383-9.

Durham Medieval Texts offers a revised edition of *Old English Minor Heroic Poems*, volume 4, ed. Joyce Hill. This second edition, according to Hill, has allowed "the opportunity not only to update the content, but also to improve the presentation." Price not available. ISBN 0-9505989-3-3.

Joseph D. Wine's *Figurative Language in Cynewulf: Defining Aspects of a Poetic Style* is Volume 3 in Studies in Old Germanic Languages and Literatures (New York: Peter Lang, 1993). Wine discusses Cynewulf's integration of Latin rhetoric with native Germanic poetic techniques. Pp. 153. Price: $46.95. ISBN 0-8204-1936-2.

Three more volumes have appeared from Cambridge Univ. Press in the series Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England: 6, *The Irish Tradition in Old English Literature*, Charles D. Wright (pp. 355, $59.95, ISBN 0-521-41903-3); 7, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, M.L. Cameron (pp. 240, $59.95, ISBN 0-521-40521-1); and 8, *The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Andy Orchard (pp. 328, $59.95, ISBN 0-521-45090-X).

Cambridge Univ. Press has also issued Volume 1 of the Cambridge Studies in Palaeography and Codicology, *Manuscripts and Libraries in the Age of Charlemagne*, which offers translations by Michael M. Gorman of seven essays by Bernhard Bischoff. Pp. 193. Price: $64.95. ISBN 0-521-38346-3.

Boydell & Brewer has added two more titles to the publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society: *A History of Early Roman Liturgy to the Death of Gregory the Great*, G.G. Willis (pp. 192, $45, ISBN 1-870252-06-3); and *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (*London, British Library, Titus Dxxvi-xxvii*), ed. Beate Günzel (pp. 196, $45, ISBN 1-870252-04-7).

Also from Boydell & Brewer, *Sutton Hoo Research Committee Bulletins, 1983-1992*, ed. Martin Carver. Pp. 304. Price: $71. ISBN 0-85115-341-0.

The Univ. of Pennsylvania Press has published Bede's *On the Tabernacle*, translated by Arthur G. Holder. Pp. 224. Price: $17.95. ISBN 0-85323-378-0.

In Memoriam: Jess B. Bessinger, Jr.

A Remembrance by Fred C. Robinson
Yale Univ.

Jess Balsor Bessinger, Jr., Professor Emeritus of English at New York Univ., pioneer in the use of computer technology in preparing Old English concordances, and co-founder of the *Old English Newsletter*, died of a heart attack on June 23, 1994, in his home in Middletown, Rhode Island. He had been suffering from cancer prior to the heart attack.

Bessinger was born in Detroit, Michigan, on September 25, 1921. His family moved to Houston when he was quite young, and so he grew up a Texan. He attended Rice Institute in Houston with a full scholarship and graduated in 1943 with honors in English and membership in Phi Beta Kappa. Entering the U.S. Army, he served with the Third Army in Europe in 1944 and 1945. After the war, he enrolled in the graduate program in English at Harvard, where he both studied and taught Old English with Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr., with whom he formed a lasting friendship. He dedicated his *Concordance to Beowulf* "to Francis P. Magoun, Jr., Prime Mover" and co-edited with Robert P. Creed the Magoun festschrift *Franciplegius*, which was published by New York Univ. Press in 1965. While working on his Harvard dissertation on the early stages of the Robin Hood legend, Bessinger traveled to London, and there he fell under the spell of the Sutton Hoo treasures and especially of the reconstructed harp, which had recently been placed on view in the British Museum. In London he began his recitations of Old English poetry to the accompaniment of the harp replica, and for years to come he delighted audiences of Anglo-Saxonists with his spirited renditions of Old English poetry. While in London Bessinger was also appointed an honorary teaching associate at University College London 1950-52, where he taught undergraduate Middle English. On completing his dissertation at Harvard, he was appointed Assistant Professor of English at Brown Univ. (1952-56), after which he was appointed Associate Professor (1956-60) and Professor (1960-63) at University College Toronto. While in Toronto he was co-founder of the Centre for Medieval Studies there and served as the Centre's first Academic Secretary (1962-63).

In 1963 Bessinger was appointed to a professorial chair at New York Univ., where he remained for the rest of his teaching career. He was always a popular teacher of Old and Middle English and was named "Great Teacher" by students, faculty, and alumni of New York Univ. in 1989. For many years he commuted by bus from his home in Middletown, Rhode Island, to Washington Square for his New York Univ. classes, and with characteristic efficiency he became accustomed to marking papers on the long bus rides.

Bessinger's publications include *A Short Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Toronto, 1960; fourth revised printing 1967), *A Concordance to Beowulf* (Ithaca, NY, 1969), *A Concordance to the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (Ithaca, NY, 1978), and several works edited or co-edited, such as his and Stanley J. Kahrl's *Essential Articles for the Study of Old English Poetry* (Hamden, CT, 1968), and his and Robert F. Yeager's *Approaches to Teaching Beowulf* (New York, 1984). With his two concordances Bessinger did more than provide scholars with a valuable research tool; he and his programmer Philip H. Smith, Jr., began with these projects the earliest introduction of Anglo-Saxon scholars to computers. Computers were still in a primitive stage when Bessinger commenced his merger of electronic prowess with Old English lexicography, and he endured a series of frustrations as the machines changed out from under his project, and other glitches in the early development of computers delayed his work. But he persevered and became

quite learned in computer applications so that he was able in 1969 to put his expertise at the disposal of Angus Cameron and his group at Toronto who wanted to begin work on a new dictionary of Old English using computers: see Bessinger's contribution in the volume *Computers and Old English Concordances*, ed. Angus Cameron et al. (Toronto, 1970).

Throughout his career Bessinger received recognition for the good work he was doing. He held a Fulbright Fellowship in 1950-52, when he was studying in England, and in 1960-61 he held a Canada Council Fellowship. Twice he held Guggenheim Fellowships--in 1963 to explore the use of computers in Old English studies and in 1974 for a comparative study of oral-traditional heroic song in Greek, Turkish, and English. In 1993 the festschrift *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period*, edited by Helen Damico and John Leyerle (Kalamazoo, MI, 1993) was presented to him. In May of 1994 his alma mater Rice Univ. honored him as Alumnus of the Year.

Bessinger's work with computers was but one way in which he used twentieth-century technology to promote medieval and literary studies. While at Brown he collaborated in producing eight films for television broadcasting called *A Prospect of Literature* (Ann Arbor, 1956), and he made seven recordings for Caedmon Records. These include *Beowulf and Other Old English Poems* (1962), *The Canterbury Tales* (1962), *Gawain and the Green Knight* (with Marie Borroff, 1965), and *A History of the English Language* (1973).

Anyone who ever heard Bessinger's readings, whether in the Caedmon recordings or in live performance, will never forget his deep, rich voice, and it should be no surprise that when he was a student at Rice he began a passionate, life-long devotion to opera and song. He listened to recordings and attended performances whenever he could, both at Rice and at Harvard, and in Cambridge he joined singing groups and even sang the part of Colas in a performance of Mozart's *Bastien and Bastienne*. During his years in Rhode Island he took part in the Newport Summer Opera performances, and in New York City he sang in performances by the St. Cecilia's Chorus and Orchestra. The voice disciplined and enriched by so much choral exercise was ideal for reading poetry, and the Caedmon records of his readings are a very special legacy to lovers of Old English poetry.

Another enthusiasm was the sea. When he was on his honeymoon with Elizabeth Lieber DuVally he learned sailing from his wife, and subsequently the family always had a craft in harbor. His sons Anthony and Jess B. Bessinger III developed a love of boats and shared their father's fascination with Viking seamanship and English longships. The three of them also enjoyed snorkeling in the Caribbean for many years, and later in life, when he was in his sixties, Bessinger took up scuba-diving and received certification in Florida and the Cayman Islands. He understood the Anglo-Saxon affinity for the sea, for it was in his blood.

In 1966 Jess Bessinger and I collaborated on a report to the Old English Group of the Modern Language Association of America on "The Status of Old English in America Today." Using questionnaires we had gathered and tabulated, we reported on the morale of the profession, on teaching trends and scholarly production, and then we concluded our report with the proposal that he and I should begin the editing of an *Old English Newsletter*. The audience assembled approved the proposal, and in 1967 *OEN* volume I, number 1 appeared. It was Jess Bessinger who conceived the idea for a newsletter, and although I eagerly accepted his suggestion that we should co-edit such a publication, I did not foresee what the *OEN* would become for scholars and teachers in the field. Jess Bessinger, who with his voice returned speech to an earlier age, was again looking forward to expand the audience to hear those songs.

In Memoriam: Rupert Bruce-Mitford

A Remembrance by Martin Carver
Univ. of York

On March 10, 1994, Rupert Bruce-Mitford died at age 79 in Oxford. He was educated at Christ's Hospital and Hertford College, Oxford, where he was a Baring scholar, and from 1984 an honorary fellow. In 1937 he accepted a post at the Ashmolean Museum, but shortly thereafter moved to the British Museum, where he remained--except for time spent in the service of the British Army during World War II--until his retirement in 1977. From 1954 to 1969, he was Keeper of British and Mediaeval Antiquities; from 1969 to 1975, Keeper of Mediaeval and Later Antiquities; and from 1975 to 1977, a Research Keeper. He was elected a Fellow of the British Academy in 1976. After 1977 he held several distinguished professorships and fellowships, remaining active in scholarship. His excavations at Mawgan Porth will appear shortly, and he recently completed his *Corpus of Late-Celtic Hanging Bowls AD 400-800.*

Rupert Bruce-Mitford was a great Anglo-Saxon scholar, an explorer of the whole people. Like all of us he was more at home in some fields than others; but he knew that the whole perspective was theirs an we should try to make it ours too. For me his most inspiring work was actually that on the Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts, and particularly the detective work on the Codex Amiatinus. When he pointed out that the manufacture of that Codex Grandior had required 515 calves, it opened up a range of academic interactions which has influenced me ever since.

His publication of Sutton Hoo was the most compendious ever produced for a British archaeological site. Some complained that it was too big (bigger even than a Codex Grandior) and took too long in coming. But it should be remembered that he first produced the famous British Museum guide in 1947, almost as soon as he had taken over the responsibility for the find after the war; it ran to numerous editions keeping pace with research, and was used by generations of students as a serviceable interim, until the three volumes of the final report appeared in 1975, 1978, and 1983. It would not be wise to assume that the immense amount of research contained in this work has been or is likely to be superseded.

When Rupert handed the Sutton Hoo baton to me in 1983, he did so with a gentle wisdom and encouragement that I had done nothing to deserve. It is no small feat to hand over the responsibility for your life's work to someone else, and then remain interested in the new campaign without interference or resentment. That was because, for him, the site and the Anglo-Saxons who made it, were the real immortals, rather than any of us. His rather discursive lecturing style offered a similar message; the art of the Anglo-Saxons gained in stature for an audience which noticed that their own lecturer could become distracted, even lost in admiration for it.

We were in correspondence up to the end, exchanging anecdotes on Charles Phillips and other aspects of the Sutton Hoo story, of which Rupert himself is a mighty part. The saddest thing is that he did not live to discuss the results of the new campaign in their final form; his opinion and his verdict would have been of enduring value.

In Memoriam: T. A. M. Bishop

A Remembrance by David Ganz
Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Alan Bishop, who died 29 March 1994, was born in 1907 at Pebsham on the Sussex coast and educated at Christ's Hospital and at Keble College, Oxford, where he had an exhibition to read Classics. After taking the Honour Mods. examination he changed to History, taking a class in Diplomatic with V.H. Galbraith. During the Second World War he served in the Royal Artillery in Africa and rose to the rank of Captain. In 1946 he was appointed lecturer in Medieval History at Balliol College, Oxford, and in the following year elected to the newly created Readership in Palaeography and Diplomatic at Cambridge from which he retired in 1975. In 1971 he was elected a Fellow of the British Academy.

As Reader, drawing on unpublished work by H.E. Salter, he published (with Pierre Chaplais) a study of original English Royal Writs to 1100, including vernacular documents, and followed this with a detailed study of the organization and activity of the twelfth-century English royal chancery. This work revealed his remarkable gift for recognizing individual hands. His "full dress theory" was unfortunately never published because his editors imposed limits on *Scriptoris Regis* (1961), but in 1955 he wrote to Richard Hunt, "I should not venture to identify--or distinguish--the hand of any individual without making a sustained attempt to imitate some specimen of it."

As a palaeographer, Bishop learned much from the methods of Neil Ker. He made himself master of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth century holdings in Cambridge libraries, and pursued their scribes in other collections in order to localize scripts. He would distinguish several hands on what might seem a uniform page, and identify the scribe who intervened for a few lines as the main scribe of another manuscript. These identifications enabled him to group the manuscripts from particular centers, notably St. Augustine's and Christ Church, and led to an exploration of Latin script in England from 900 to the Conquest, concentrating on the introduction of a new script, English Caroline Minuscule. In reviewing his tantalizingly laconic monograph, the first treatment of the rise and fall of an English script, Julian Brown wrote, "every sentence has to be read with close attention; but the careful reader will find himself not merely informed but stimulated, as if by a touch of frost on the morning air." Bishop characterized the procedure in a 1958 letter to Ker, "to detail the apparently distinctive features for the reader could be a discipline encouraging him to take in more or less unconsciously the more essential and ineffable characteristics."

His interest in the continental models of English Caroline minuscule, led to the Lyell lectures in Oxford (1975) on the Carolingian scripts of Corbie. Rich in methodological aphorisms and lavishly illustrated, these were the crown of his career and included explorations of the autographs of John the Scot and Paschasius Radbertus. In work on the *Periphyseon*, the *Liber Glossarum*, and the *Hexaemeron*, he gave exemplary accounts of what the copying of an exemplar might entail. Much of this work has remained unpublished.

In all his publications Bishop remained true to his heroes, Gibbon, Maitland, and Lindsay. He insisted on style, quotting Buffon to explain how it expressed personality and resisting editors who suggested modifications: "I like a form which lets me isolate original contribution with the bare minimum of references to the learning accumulating around every important manuscript." Despite shyness and increasing deafness he was a meticulous teacher, regularly giving classes in Latin and vernacular palaeography and diplomatics, concerned to develop a vocabulary and a method for the analysis of scripts and hands, and always determined to establish the context and the implications of his discoveries about manuscript production.

Alan Bishop was proud to appear in a children's book, "An Enemy at Greene Knowe," written by his landlady Lucy Boston, which described him reading a manuscript: "He opened the book, which he caressed as if soothing something alive, with reverent and careful handling...and his face grew brilliantly happy as if he were drinking champagne." Those who knew him will mourn the reverence of his expertise, and the brilliance of his happiness in understanding.

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

Ninth Progress Report

Joyce Hill
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When the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project began ten years ago, Peter Clemoes was elected as Director, and in the years which followed he has supported the project with enthusiasm, giving unstintingly of his time and expertise. At the meeting of the Executive Committee in October 1993, Professor Clemoes announced that he felt the time had come for him to resign as Director, a decision which the Committee received with regret. We wish to express in this Report our appreciation for all that he has done to establish the project and to carry it forward, and we should also like to record our pleasure that he is willing to continue as a member of the Committee. His successor, as from 1 January 1994, is Professor Malcolm Godden. We are very grateful to him for assuming this responsibility. We are also pleased to report that Dr. Alicia Corrêa and Mr. Peter Jackson have agreed to join the Committee.

We are delighted to report that we received a grant from the British Academy in 1993, which will allow us to employ Dr. Wendy Collier at Manchester Univ. for a limited number of hours per week between 1 September 1993 and 30 September 1994 to carry out her invaluable work of processing incoming contributions for entry onto the database. Old English contributions continue to be received, and we are very appreciative of our contributors' efforts. We are also greatly extending the number of Anglo-Latin entries, which are being prepared in Cambridge by Dr. Orchard. In view of the developments in this area, the Committee has decided to appoint Dr. Orchard as editor for the Anglo-Latin part of the database, with Dr. Scragg serving as editor for the Old English entries. The listings in the bibliography of *Anglo-Saxon England* will therefore reflect this change from 1993 onwards.

Thanks to the efforts of Professor Bately, contributors working on anonymous homilies have been provided with a valuable bibliographical support in the form of *Anonymous Old English Homilies: A Preliminary Bibliography of Source Studies*, edited by Janet Bately, and published by the *Old English Newsletter*, in association with King's College London. The Committee is very grateful to Professor Bately for this valuable aid to *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, and to the editors of *OEN* for participating in the publication and for generously arranging for copies to be sent free of charge to all *OEN* subscribers.

In the Eighth Progress Report we noted that Professor Lapidge had been able to secure sufficient additional funding to allow Dr. Corrêa to continue working full-time on the bibliography of Anglo-Latin texts until December 1993. At the meeting of the Executive Committee in October 1993, we were informed that the areas now completed or near completion were metrical poetry (654 entries), letters (481 entries), liturgy (700 entries), and

the supporting list of abbreviations. For the moment this material is being held in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic in Cambridge, on disk and in hard-copy, but possibilities for publication are being explored. Much more bibliographical work needs to be done in the extensive and complex field of Anglo-Latin literature, but the scale of the work is a measure of its fundamental importance for research in the Anglo-Saxon period. At the October meeting we were also pleased to receive encouraging reports from Professor Szarmach on the progress of the *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (SASLC).

The annual one-day meeting was held at King's College on March 23, 1993, and in May the Kalamazoo Congress provided the usual opportunity for discussing progress and liaising with the team working on SASLC. In addition, we were able to report on progress at the ISAS conference, held in Oxford in August 1993. For this Dr. Scragg produced an eight-page pamphlet, *Introduction to Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, in which he surveyed the history of the project, described its aims and the form of the database, set out analytical examples from Old English and Anglo-Latin texts, and looked towards the future. The pamphlet was printed as an appendix to *OEN* and a similar article, also by Dr. Scragg, was published in *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* (Tokyo). Copies of the pamphlet will be available at the Open Meeting at King's College in March and at the Kalamazoo Congress in May. Further copies can be obtained on request from Don Scragg (see address below).

The Executive Committee's plans for the future include applications for two complementary grants in the UK and the USA, which, if successful, would fund research assistance on Anglo-Latin (UK) and Old English (USA) simultaneously. It was recognized that, if these applications were successful, it would be necessary to have a different administrative structure from the one currently employed. In order to prepare for this possibility, it was agreed that, with effect from 1 January 1994, the present Executive Committee should be retitled Management Committee, with Professor Godden as Chairman of the Management Committee, and Dr. Hill as General Secretary, that Dr. Scragg and Professor Lapidge would be redesignated Director for Old English and Director for Anglo-Latin respectively, and that Professor Szarmach should become Director for the North American Section if the United States grant application were successful.

Anyone who is interested in contributing either on Old English or Anglo-Latin texts and who has not yet contacted Dr. Scragg or Professor Lapidge, as the case may be, is warmly invited to write to the former at the Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, Univ. of Manchester, Manchester, England M13 9PL, or the latter at the department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Univ. of Cambridge, 9 West Road, Cambridge CB3 9DP.

Malcolm Godden
Chairman of the Management Committee
Joyce Hill
General Secretary
Donald Scragg
Director for Old English
Michael Lapidge
Director for Anglo-Latin

Edition and Re-edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

David N. Dumville
Girton College, Cambridge

In 1983 Messrs Boydell & Brewer, already at that time a major publisher of books on mediaeval subjects, issued the first volume produced under the auspices of a new project concerned with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The original plan called for a series of twenty-three volumes and was launched with the aid of a group of one hundred founding subscribers. The general editors are David Dumville and Simon Keynes of the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, Univ. of Cambridge, England.

The aim of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition* is to provide ready access to most of the witnesses to the origin and development of the work generally known as "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle." Now a rather heterogeneous group of texts, these nevertheless testify both to an original chronicle compiled from a variety of sources in Wessex in the year 892, and to the substantial development of a tradition of chronicling ultimately inspired by that work. The collaborative venture is intended to comprise three groups of editions: semi-diplomatic texts of the seven individual Old English witnesses (conventionally named A-G) known collectively to scholarship as "the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (vols. 3-9); reconstructed texts of the most important hypothesized stages in the history of the Chronicle's development (vols. 1-2, 10-14); collateral witnesses in Latin, Old English, and Old French which offer information about the growth and influence of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (vols. 15-22). A volume (23) of general introduction, notes, and comprehensive indices will complete the whole.

The semi-diplomatic editions of the individual versions of the Chronicle are intended to make accessible to scholars accurate, straightforward, and therefore readable texts. Two of the seven volumes (MS. A, 1986; MS. B, 1983) have already appeared and another (MS. D) should be issued in the near future. This group of volumes will make available for the first time complete texts of all the witnesses in a form which will allow both easy consultation of individual texts and ready comparison of the different versions. Editorial intervention in the text has been kept to the minimum necessary--modern punctuation and capitalization, and clear division into individual annals--to allow simple access and reference. Benjamin Thorpe's hexapla, published in the Rolls Series in 1861, was a brave and useful venture, but the parallel texts were inadequately edited.

The group of volumes containing reconstructed chronicle-texts constitutes a new departure in the editing of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle but a logical development of previous studies. Previous generations' work, and most recently that of Dorothy Whitelock (whose students the general editors are proud to have been), has concentrated on reconstructing and expounding the development of the corpus: in that scholarly process both historians and philologists have been prominent. The time has now come to carry that task to its logical conclusion: to give physical definition to the stages of transmission which have been hypothesized. In this way, those who need to rely on knowledge of the origin(s) and development of each annal to underpin historical research will have at their immediate disposal an up-to-date indication of the contents of reconstructible antecedents of the extant, more developed versions. The first of these editions to appear should be volume 12.

The collateral witnesses, mostly in Latin (but including some other Old English material as well as at least one French text), are very various. It has not been possible to contemplate including editions of the most substantial of these texts, which also contain much other and unrelated matter: the chronicles of Henry of Huntingdon, John of Worcester, and William of Malmesbury, of which editions and translations are in any case being prepared for the Oxford Medieval Texts series. Likewise, the original plan omitted the *Chronicle of Æthelweard* of which an edition had been published in 1962 among Nelson's Medieval Texts, the antecedent of the Oxford series: it was hoped that could be revised for OMT by Michael Lapidge. Nevertheless, a substantial group of texts large and small, some of them never before edited, remained to be treated. Volume 17, David Dumville's edition of the *Annals of St Neots* (accompanied by Michael Lapidge's of *Vita I S. Neoti* which is also a witness to the Chronicle), appeared in 1985 and it is hoped that volumes 15-16 will be ready to go to press in the near future.

The final volume (23) will sum up the whole project, offering full historical and text-historical annotation as well as comprehensive indexing.

Such commentary has not been allowed into the individual editions, to avoid both wasteful multiplication of identical comment and deductions from only partially available evidence. This volume will therefore offer the results of the present generation's editorial enterprise to the future, marking out some paths for research into problems as yet unsolved and issues which might be addressed with the aid of the newly-available comprehensive textual base.

Naturally the ten years since the project's first volume was published have seen a number of changes to and adaptations of the initial plan. Eighteen scholars were originally recruited as editors for the intended twenty-three volumes. Career-development, retirement, and death have each taken some--now amounting to one third--of the original team from us: but we have been fortunate to secure the services of enthusiastic and highly competent replacements for our departed colleagues. So, for example, we have been joined by Professor Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Univ. of Notre Dame) who is now working on MS. C, and by Professor Peter S. Baker (Univ. of Virginia) who has taken over from Professor René Derolez the particularly difficult job of editing the complex bilingual F-text.

The change of editors for volume 8 has also provided the stimulus for an augmentation of the original plan. So difficult of access in all respects is the text of MS. F that the editors and publishers agreed to produce a facsimile volume as a first contribution to the understanding of this complex chronicle. The British Library has generously given permission and special photography has been undertaken. The facsimile of MS. Cotton Domitian A.viii, folios 30-70, with an introduction by David Dumville, should be published in the summer of 1993: it will be issued free to the original subscribers. It is hoped that this will encourage new study of the F-text (which has not attracted much attention in print in the last forty years) and thus provide a stimulating scholarly context for Peter Baker as his edition progresses. F has never before been edited as a single, complete text: we look forward very much to seeing the whole in the public domain, first as manuscript and then as printed text.

Current developments in the series center on volumes 6 (MS. D) and 12 (the reconstructed Abingdon chronicle of the tenth and eleventh centuries). A penultimate draft of the whole of volume 6 is now in the general editors' hands. It has been completed by Dr. Geoffrey Cubbin (Department of German, Univ. of Cambridge), one of the original editorial recruits. I am sure that readers of this series will find it to be a most useful and stimulating edition. We hope that it will be published in 1994. The general editors have also seen a draft of volume 12. Its editor, Professor Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia Univ.), is well known to those interested in Old English both as a student of the "Exeter Book" and as Executive Secretary of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists: among his many other commitments he has found time to undertake with exemplary despatch--having replaced another editor as recently as 1988--this first reconstructed text of an Anglo-Saxon chronicle.

As for the future, we hope that volumes 9, 15, and 16 can soon be brought to conclusion. The general editors are also faced with the peculiarly difficult task of seeking an editor or editors to step into the shoes of our lamented colleague Cecily Clark who had unique qualifications to work on volumes 7 and 13. Furthermore, the project has inevitably generated a quantity of critical work unsuitable for inclusion in the introductions to individual volumes. It is hoped that over the next few years some volumes of papers concerned with the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle can be issued in the monograph series *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, published by Boydell & Brewer, of which the general editor is David Dumville. Colleagues who have research-interests in any aspect of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and who might be interested to join in such collaborative studies are warmly invited to communicate with David Dumville at the address below. Much is happening in this field of study and it is an exciting time to participate in sharpening our approaches to and developing our knowledge of the Chronicle in all its manifestations.

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Report on A Thesaurus of Old English

Jane Roberts
King's College London

With the publication of *A Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE) imminent, a brief review of the recent history of the project may be welcome. In 1989 work began on entering the Old English materials into machine-held files: up in Glasgow, at the centre for the *Historical Thesaurus* (HT), Christian Kay organized the initial transfer of word senses from mounds of paper draft into orders compatible with the HT; and at King's College, Lynne Grundy joined me in editing the files from Glasgow as they arrived in London. With the help of Harold Short (Director of Humanities Computing in King's) we began using INGRES, a database, on IBM-type personal computers, against the day that we should need mainframe space and paper copy. In 1993, a week before the meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, we piled up the first page proofs for the TOE.

The arrangement and publication of the TOE in advance of the full *Historical Thesaurus* allows testing of the classification on a small subset of recorded vocabulary of English. The sources of the TOE are the Bosworth-Toller, and Clark-Hall dictionaries. These dictionaries were chosen to complement the materials drawn from the *Oxford English Dictionary* for the HT, and the initial work of the abstracting of Old English word meanings was completed as long ago as 1983. Given the very different concerns of the Anglo-Saxon period (not forgetting the hazards of word survival), the classification designed for the HT has been modified according to the needs of recorded Old English vocabulary. Overall, the TOE has 18 categories, which fall into three groups: the external world (1-5); concerns of the mind (6-11); and the structures that human society places upon the world (12-18). The complete list is as follows:

01. The Physical Universe
02. Living Creatures
03. Matter and its Properties
04. Material Needs
05. Time, Space, and Movement
06. Mental Activities
07. Value Judgments
08. Feelings
09. Language and Communication
10. Possession
11. Activity
12. Social Relationships
13. War and Peace
14. The Law
15. Property
16. Religion and the Supernatural
17. Work
18. Leisure

The following report by Lynne Grundy draws on material from the database covering Categories 6-9, approximately a sixth of the TOE.

A long time ago Professor Michael Samuels enunciated the principle that, with a thesaurus, the whole could not be finished until all the parts were edited. There could be no thesaurus until every word sense (or every slip on which a word sense is recorded) had arrived in its most suitable contexts within the classification. Inevitably, the principle entails flexibility, and any publication is but one shaking of the kaleidoscope of word senses collected together for the thesaurus. As the thesaurus arrangement brings together words from various roots, the actual conjunctions made may prompt re-examination.

That is work for the future. The TOE is a research tool, and we hope others will use it to redefine the long-held meanings of our standard Anglo-Saxon dictionaries. On the whole we have tried to abide by the decisions and wording of these dictionaries, in the certainty that the views of scholars who devoted lifetimes to their work should not lightly be set aside. However, where we have been alert enough to find new evidence and solutions in materials collected for Toronto's *Dictionary of Old English*, we have sometimes chosen to reject older interpretations. Two examples of ad hoc revisions considered during the editing of the TOE indicate the problems that lie ahead. Should, for example, the word *pilgrim* be added into the TOE? The *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* (MCOE) gives two instances, in the Wintney version of the Benedictine Rule, and, though possibly as a proper name, in the manumissions from Exeter; we have not, however, included what looks like a loan-word into Middle English. A second example suggests that the standard dictionaries rely to much on etymology in defining *liðsmann* as "pirate, raider, viking." This Old Norse loan, cognate with *lidsmann*, might at first have referred to Scandinavian raiders, but in eleventh-century English chronicles it is used for more reputable members of society. We have, therefore placed the word twice, alongside the glosses "household troops" and "naval force," but not among pirates.

Changes made in the dictionary meanings affect the basic materials excerpted for the TOE, often requiring the repositioning of particular word senses within the classification. By contrast, alterations in classification meant that the whole areas already edited might be moved at any time to more suitable homes. Thus, as recently as March 1993, when we were working through Category *12 Social Relationships*, we all three saw the need for adjustments in Category *07.02 Goodness* and Category *07.03 Evil*; by May we had shifted whole files for such concepts as "innocence, sin, and immorality" into Category *12.08 Principle, character*, to join "shamelessness, wantonness, chastity, etc." Or as late as June I began to speculate that maybe we should after all have a "travel and transport" section, as envisaged in the original draft classification for the HT. Sections for sea and road travel could be taken out of Category *05.12 Movement*, and horse words could easily be drawn from Category *04.02 Farm* to provide the nucleus of a category just before Category *17 Work*. In the event, a sense of let well enough alone prevailed. No thesaurus can ever hope to provide the organizations all individuals might hope for. We wish to present *A Thesaurus of Old English* as a starting point for new adventures.

The Structure of A Thesaurus of Old English Database

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The database of *A Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE) is kept in INGRES tables on the vax, where it currently occupies 38 megabytes. There are 52 tables of varying sizes; among the largest are **Religion** (4783 rows), **Feel** (3526), **Mind** (3148), and **Matter** (2694), while among the smallest are **Comparison** (582), **Change** (251), and **Hunt** (168). To produce the printed version of the TOE these tables will all be concatenated into one very large one. Each row is a unique entry in the database, comprising an Old English word or a Modern English heading with associated material. Each entry has a unique "address," therefore, composed of a group reference (this is called "groop" by us because Ingres reserves "group" for its own use), sub-category reference, and individual number. The other data stored in separate fields concern part of speech and alphabetization (we order without reference to the *ge*-prefix), Roget categorization (dating from the time before the new classification was devised by Michael Samuels and Christian Kay, but still of use to us in the final stages of placing slips as a clue to where errant ones should belong), and cross-referencing. There are also fields for a modern or earlier English etymological tie-up (here we allow ourselves a space for adding footnotes, usually a reference to a *hapax legomenon* or rare word, or perhaps a rare meaning, but sometimes a comment or query to another contributor), and for a code if the lexical item is a *hapax legomenon* (o), is recorded only in poetry (p), is recorded in glosses (g), or has a query attached to it (q). To print a report of the database (for example to produce the materials for the published version) we use a custom-made report which selects the fields we need, in the right order and with the right font characteristics.

Text is recorded in the database in ASCII, so Anglo-Saxon characters have to be entered as symbols. We have simplified the evidence slightly by having ð stand for both ð and þ, and use symbols for ð, Ð, æ, and Æ--respectively },], {, and [--together with an underscore to denote the macron of a long vowel. At first glance the database looks as though it is in an unlearnable language, but the mind adapts, and such words as these become intelligible:

sw{_rmo_dnes: dullness, folly, stupidity
unde_op}ancol: shallow, not given to think deeply
unr{_dsi_}: foolish enterprise
so_}spr{_ce: veracious

Thus the following extract from the TOE is drawn from the elements of the database rows given below it:

06 Spirit, soul, heart: ferhðᵖ, heorte, heortscræfᵒᵖ, hreðer, mōd, sāwol, l̄ chordᵖ, mōdsefaᵖ
.Provided with a soul: gesāwelod
..Without a soul: sāwollēas
.Spiritual, inner, of spiritual nature: gāstlic, incund, innera

groop	sub	num	word	flag
06		1	Spirit, soul heart	
06		1	fer}	p
06		2	heorte	
06		3	heortscr{_f	op
06		4	hre}er	
06		5	mo_d	
06		6	sa_wol	
06		7	li_chord	p
06		8	mo_dsefa	p
06	01	0	.Provided with a soul	
06	01	1	gesa_welod	
06	01.01	0	..Without a soul	
06	01.01	1	sa_wolle_as	
06	02	0	.Spiritual, inner, of spiritual nature	
06	02	1	ga_stlic	
06	02	2	incund	
06	02	3	innera	

The database classification starts within each new table with the most general concepts or ideas, and descends to more and more refined headings:

06 Spirit, soul, heart
06.01 The head (as seat of thought)
06.01.01 Thought, the faculty of thinking, mind
06.01.01.01 Thinking about, minding, heeding
06.01.01.01.01 Thought, cogitation, meditation
06.01.01.01.01.01 Consideration, rumination
06.01.01.01.01.02 Forethought, consideration
06.01.01.02 Care, attention observation
06.01.02 The imaginative faculty
06.01.02.01 An imaginary form, fancy
06.01.02.01.01 A vision, apparition
06.01.02.01.01.01 A dream, vision
06.01.03 Faculty of reason
06.01.03.01 Argument, reasoning
06.01.03.02 Dialectics, logic
06.01.03.03 Unreason
06.01.04 Faculty of memory
06.01.04.01 To remind, bring to the notice of
06.01.04.02 Living, remembered
06.01.04.03 Forgetfulness
06.01.04.03.01 Forgetfulness, oblivion

Within each groop and sub there are often nests of data which start generally and descend to the detailed. These are signalled by incrementing the number of points at the beginning of the entry line. Thus in the following extract, one point indicates a direct relation with the top level, **Intelligence**, while towards the end of the extract two, three, or even four points indicate nesting to an ever increasing level of detail:

06.01.05.02 Intelligence: glēawness, hygecræft, mōdcræft, ræd, wittignes^{g}, gewitt
.(Of mind) lively, quick: cwic, gearo, glēaw, horsc, hræd, līflic
. (Of mental perception) clear: beorht, hlūtor, lēoht
. (Of perception) clearly, intelligently: glēawlīce, hlūtre, lēohte, gerādlīce, sweotole, sweotollīce, gewislīce
.Having great intellectual power: gemyndig
..Of quick intelligence, clever: glēaw, scearpðancol^{o}
..Sharpness of mind, acuteness: scearpnes
...Sharp, keen, searching: numol, scearp, scearplic
....Able to grasp much, capacious: gripul^{og}

Like all databases, ours can be searched, and you can use the Query-by-forms procedure provided with Ingress or the common SQL language. You can ask for a subset or all rows to be returned, usually to be sorted on groop, sub, num (though if you do not care about location in the database and only want so see the examples or a range of forms, this is a nicety). Here, for example, is the return on an SQL request for all words, flags, and locations where the word contains the element "smēa":

word	flag	groop	sub	num
a_sme_agung	o	06.01.01.01	10	1
ymbsme_agung	og	06.01.01.01	10	6
sme_a(g)ung		06.01.01.01.01		3
sme_a}	og	06.01.01.01.01		4
sme_agendlic		06.01.01.01.01	01	2
asme_agan		06.01.01.01.01	02	3
(ge)sme_a(g)an		06.01.01.01.01	02	14
(ge)sme_a(g)an be/on/ymbe		06.01.01.01.01	02	15
besme_agan	o	06.01.01.01.01	02.01	1
(ge)sm_a(g)an		06.01.01.01.01	04	7
(ge)sm_a(g)an be/on/ymbe		06.01.01.01.01	04	8
sme_ali_ce		06.01.01.01.01.01	04	4
sme_alic		06.01.01.01.01.01	08	3
sme_a}ancol		06.01.01.01.01.01	09	1
foresme_agan		06.01.01.01.01.02	02	1
rihtsme_aung		06.01.03.01	02	2
sme_agelegen	og	06.01.03.02	06	1
sme_a}ancolnes		06.01.07.01.01		1
sme_agendli_ce		06.01.07.01.01	03	1
sme_ali_ce		06.01.07.01.01	03	2
sme_a}ancli_ce		06.01.07.01.01	03	3
sme_a}ancole		06.01.07.01.01	05	1
sme_a}ancolli_ce		06.01.07.01.01	05	2
sme_agan		06.01.07.06.01		1
(24 rows)				
End of Request				

We welcome inquiries about both the database and the forthcoming book.

From HT to TOE (or vice versa)

Christian Kay
Univ. of Glasgow

The Glasgow *Historical Thesaurus* (HT) is the parent of *A Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE), but is in the somewhat unusual position for a parent of seeing its child leave the nest before it itself is fully fledged. HT includes most of the vocabulary of English as recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, together with the TOE materials. About 80% of the material overall has been organized either wholly or partly under the heads of the Glasgow system of classification, while the remainder is in process of transfer from the original Roget filing system. There will be some 805,000 records in the finished work, of which 360,000, comprising almost 80 major categories, have already been entered into the database, which is in the process of conversion to INGRES. Approximately 20% of these records are headings rather than word entries; the percentage of headings is high since, as Lynne Grundy has shown, they play an important role in defining the synonym groups and guiding the user through the intricacies of the classification. A completion date of 1997 is projected for HT, with both paper and electronic publication following thereafter.

The reasons for completing the two works in reverse order of what might have been expected are various. At about one-thirteenth of the size of its massive parent, TOE was simply a more manageable project. More importantly, as Jane Roberts has indicated, completing TOE in advance gave me, as a classifier on both projects, the chance to work through the totality in miniature, thus gaining a bird's eye view of the lexicon as a whole. This experience has proved particularly valuable for HT classification in sections where we are departing radically from Roget's framework. TOE in turn has gained from being able to draw on completed sections of HT, such as the theses by Chase (1983), Thornton (1988), Reay (1991), Sylvester (1991), and Coleman (1992), and the many sections completed in house at Glasgow by Irené Wotherspoon.

Producing a smaller section from a larger one is not always, however, a simple matter, especially when one work covers a period of 400 years and the other nearly 1300. We have programs which will download TOE sections from HT materials and in theory save a good deal of the TOE classifier's time. Sometimes, as with **Religion**, where there is a relatively well-developed terminology in Old English, this procedure has worked well enough. The basic HT categories are also lexicalized in Old English, and the more specialized categories, such as "Protestant Sects," which are obviously irrelevant, can be discarded without disturbing the overall structure unduly. In other cases, such as the classification of **Music** described below, the differences, whether because of sociohistorical factors or non-survival of words, are so great that a complete rethinking of the classification is required.

The field of **Music**, classified for HT by Irené Wotherspoon, has increased greatly in size and complexity since Anglo-Saxon times. At the last count, it contained 7597 lexical items, arranged in 3115 categories. It is a good example of a section which has expanded steadily over the years, developing a formidable technical vocabulary by borrowing from French during Middle English, French, and Italian during the Renaissance, and so on. A glance at reference works on the subject will reveal that musicologists have expended energy on devising classifications for the things associated with the subject if not the words. The equivalent Old English section, on the other hand, contains only 227 lexical items, displayed in 97 categories. As is the case in many Old English categories, the number of exponents of each concept is small. The largest category, for the general concept of "Melody, sweetness of sound," contains 11 nouns and 8 adjectives, but many categories contain from 2-4 words, and 48 categories only one. A large number of such monolexemic categories is a particular feature of TOE, partly because of the semantically very specific poetic compounds. Thus the category for **Trumpet** contains 8 words, but also covers the subcategories **.heavenly trumpet** (1), **.war trumpet** (3), and **.ship's trumpet** (1). In HT it has to be confessed, categories of this kind are often subsumed under a more general heading such as "Types of Trumpet" if the number of exponents is small.

The classifications for both HT and TOE are based on semantic fields. Within each field categories are arranged in hierarchies of meaning, moving from the general to the specific. A guiding principle for classifiers is that the taxonomy should derive from the data rather than be imposed upon it according to some predetermined structure. The HT **Music** classification consists of eight major sections: **Musical Sound, Piece of Music, Type of Music, Act of Composing Music, Written/Printed Music, Performing of Music, Musician,** and **Musical Instrument.** When the post-Old English material was removed from this structure, the Old English words were left marooned in isolated clusters among stretches of empty categories. Partly this was because of the small number of words, and partly because many of these refer to the more concrete aspects of the subject--the instruments, their parts, and players--rather than to its technical aspects. It was clear that a different classification was needed.

The classification devised for the Old English material is given below. It is obviously much simpler than that for HT, with only three main categories. These categories cut across some of the divisions of HT. In HT, for example, "harpist" is classified with **Musician,** "to play the harp" with **Performing,** while in TOE both concepts are placed alongside **A Harp.** The TOE classification thus mirrors the more concrete nature of the Old English vocabulary; that of HT shows the subsequent development of more abstract and theoretical categories. Neither classification is superior to the other: they simply represent different throws of the kaleidoscope in response to different historical periods.

TOE: Main Categories in the Classification of **Music**

18.02.07	Music
18.02.07/01	.A Kind of Music
18.02.07/02	.Musical entertainment
18.02.07/03	.Musician's art
18.02.07/04	.Pleasure caused by music
18.02.07/05	.Melody, sweetness of sound
18.02.07/06	.United voice, harmony
18.02.07/08	.Fair, melodious
18.02.07/17	.To make melody
18.02.07.01	Singing, song
18.02.07.01/05	.Skill in singing
18.02.07.01/07	.A singer
18.02.07.01.01	A song, poem to be sung/recited
18.02.07.01.01/01	.A songbook
18.02.07.02	A musical instrument
18.02.07.02/01	.Sound of a musical instrument
18.02.07.02/02	.Art of playing an instrument
18.02.07.02/03	.An instrumentalist
18.02.07.02.01	Percussion instruments
18.02.07.02.02	Wind instruments
18.02.07.02.02.02	A trumpet
18.02.07.02.03	Stringed instruments
18.02.07.02.03.01	A harp
18.02.07.02.03.01/06	.To play the harp
18.02.07.02.03.02	Psaltery
18.02.07.02.03.03	A cithara
18.02.07.02.03.04	A fiddle

(Some subcategories are omitted, as non-consecutive numbers indicate.)

Jottings on "Junius"

An Aid to Users of Old English Letter Fonts

Christian Liebl
Vienna

In *OEN* 27.1 (App. B) Peter S. Baker presented us with "Junius," a scalable font which he devised on the basis of types originally made for Franciscus Junius. I for one heartily welcome this splendid set of Old English letters bound to make an end to all those futile attempts at trying to create such fonts myself. Now, in order to facilitate the use of "Junius" (as well as "Times Old English" and "Anglo-Saxon Capitals," both part of the same package for Windows) I have produced three tables showing the characters alongside their key board assignments and (numeric) key codes; ordinary punctuation marks have, on the whole, been omitted.

JUNIUS ROUGH: This is basically a bold version of "Junius" with identical key codes, but somewhat reduced in characters (no letters with added macrons, etc.); ß (Alt+0177), ﬅ (Ctrl+Alt+3), ﬆ (Ctrl+Alt+2) and † (Alt+0134) are however unique to "Junius Rough".

TIMES OLD ENGLISH

Ā	A	ā	a	þ	Alt+0254
		ă	ä	⁊	&
Æ	#	æ	$	ƀ	b
Ǣ	Alt+0198	ǣ	Alt+0230	đ	d
		ӕ	%	l	l
Ċ	C	ċ	c	ꝑ	P
Ē	E	ē	e	ꝑ	p
		ĕ	Alt+0235	ꝙ	q
Ę	*	ę	0	ȝ	1
Ġ	G	ġ	g	ꝛ	2
ȝ	H	ȝ	h	ꝯ	3
Ī	I	ı	i	ꝫ	4
		ĭ	Alt+0239	ꝯ	5
Ō	O	ō	o	ꝰ	6
		ð	ö	÷	Alt+0247
Ǫ	+	ǫ	Ctrl+Alt+Q	ː	:
Ū	U	ū	u	ꝛ	?
		ŭ	ü	ꝛ	:
Ꝑ	W	p	w	¯	Alt+0175
Ȳ	Y	ȳ	y	´	Alt+0180
		ў	Alt+0255		

ANGLO-SAXON CAPITALS

A	A	Ā	a
B	B	B	b
C	C	C	c
D	D	ꝺ	d
E	E / e		
F	F / f		
G	G	G	g
H	H	ƕ	h
I	I / i		
J	J / j		
K	K / k		
L	L / l		
M	M	ᗰ	m
N	N	N	n
O	O / o		
P	P	P	p
Q	Q / q		
R	R	R	r
S	S / s		
T	T / t		
U	U	U	u
V	V / v	ᴠ	0
W	W / w	ᴡ	1
X	X / x	ᴋ	2
Y	Y / y	ᵞ	3
Z	Z / z	ᶎ	4

JUNIUS

A - Z	A - Z	a - z	a - z	o - 9	0 - 9
		i	Alt+0186	ﬗ	Ctrl+Alt+7
		ſ / s	= / +	ﬂ	Ctrl+Alt+<
		y	Alt+0185	ﬁ	Ctrl+Alt+0
Æ	Alt+0198	æ	Alt+0230	ﬀ	Ctrl+Alt++
		ę	Alt+0234	þ	$
Ð	Alt+0208	ð	#	⁊	&
		ð	Alt+0240	ꝛ	Ctrl+Alt+M
Þ	Alt+0222	þ	Alt+0254	ː	Alt+0182
Á	Alt+0193	á	Alt+0225	·	Alt+0183
Ā	Ä	ā	ä	ː	Alt+0184
Æ	Alt+094	ӕ	%	‘	Alt+0145
		ę́	Alt+0231	’	Alt+0146
Æ	*	æ	Ctrl+Alt+Q	“	Alt+0147
		ę	Alt+0232	”	Alt+0148
É	Alt+0201	é	Alt+0233	`	Alt+096
Ē	Alt+0203	ē	Alt+0235	´	Alt+0180
Í	Alt+0205	í	Alt+0237	ˊ	Ctrl+Alt+3
Ī	Alt+0207	ī	Alt+0239	¯	Alt+0174
Ó	Alt+0211	ó	Alt+0243	-	Alt+0175
Ō	Ö	ō	ö	–	Alt+0150
Ú	Alt+0218	ú	Alt+0250	—	Alt+0151
Ū	Ü	ū	ü	\	Ctrl+Alt+B
Ý	Alt+0221	ý	Alt+0253	[	Ctrl+Alt+8
Ȳ	Ctrl+-	ȳ	Alt+0255	]	Ctrl+Alt+9

Computing in Anglo-Saxon Studies: A Representative Retrospective

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Computers have become part of the stock-in-trade of Anglo-Saxonists everywhere. Scholars at work in the related disciplines that focus on pre-Conquest England have been using, refining, developing some of the cutting-edge technology and software available to academic researchers today. Where ten years ago colleagues used computers mainly for word-processing, today a substantial number have become adept at logging on to e-mail, importing files through anonymous FTP, summoning up databases, or developing hypertext designs for editing and teaching purposes. A representative retrospective will indicate the degree to which this marriage of Anglo-Saxon studies and computer technology has been in many ways a perfect union.

Dictionary of Old English

The great flagship of computer technology in Anglo-Saxon studies is Toronto's *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), conceived by the late Angus F. Cameron. DOE has converted all Old English texts, some 3025 in number, to machine-readable form, which has made possible the timely publication of the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English*, as well as the first four fascicles of the dictionary. A valuable development of the project is the "Catalogue Database," which contains bibliography on the texts, and which is being expanded to include manuscript information.[1] To make the material more easily searched, the editors are planning to convert the files into Standard Generalized Mark-Up Language (SGML);[2] this will supplement the work of Lou Burnard of the Oxford Text Archives (ota@vax.oxford.ac.uk), who has already made available to the scholarly world a general markup of the DOE corpus in SGML.

ANSAXNET and ANSAXDAT

The nerve-complex by which information about Anglo-Saxon cybernetic research is conveyed is the e-mail discussion list ANSAXNET, which began in 1985. Its editor and owner, Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia Univ.) has established a forum where "everyone, graduate student or renowned expert alike" can "feel at ease when addressing anyone else on ANSAXNET."[3] The roughly 800 subscribers in two dozen countries send an average of 40 or 50 messages every day. These serve the research needs of scholars, and, as more instructors encourage their classes to log on to the discussion, can provide an ever-expanding pedagogical tool as well. Undergraduates just beginning Old English at my university were able to watch with rapt fascination in November of 1992, as the most recent findings at Sutton Hoo, including possible evidence of human sacrifice, were presented on-line by the project's Director, and then discussed by all comers on both sides of the Atlantic. And the Hoxne treasure, found shortly thereafter and representing the richest trove to date of Roman Britons fleeing the Germanic invaders, was reported on ANSAXNET within a day of its discovery: the discourse that followed breathed new life into our reading of Bede's account of the coming of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes to England.

William Schipper now manages ANSAXNET as well as a complete bank of subject files, called ANSAXDAT, at Memorial Univ. in Newfoundland. The files are maintained in two different forms. The primary one, a SPIRES database stored with the university library's catalogues and databases, can be searched via telnet (mungate.library.mun.ca). The second one, still experimental, is accessible by gopher (cwis.ucs.mun.ca); files are kept in subdirectories named by month (e.g. 93-04) and are updated daily.[4]

Other Databases

Database technology is being used in applications that range from smaller, individual efforts to large international undertakings, and the following represents only a sample of ongoing research. Among the larger projects is *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, which seeks to provide a register "identifying all written sources which were incorporated, quoted, translated or adapted anywhere in the texts, English or Latin...written, or are likely to have written, in Anglo-Saxon England."[5] An outgrowth of *Fontes* is the *Directory of Individual Liturgical Sources* (D.I.L.S.) at Trent Univ. The *Thesaurus of Old English* (TOE; see pages 23-29 for detailed reports), is also compiling its information on a database, as is the *English Place Name Society* (EPNS), which is preparing a new dictionary of place-name elements.[6] Thomas Ohlgren and Mildred Budny are heading an international collaborative effort called *Corpus* that is about to release a database of pictorial and textual information about manuscript illustration produced in the British Isles between *ca.* 625 and *ca.* 1100 A.D.[7] Ohlgren (ohlgren@mace.cc.purdue.edu) has already developed a HyperShell program for Anglo-Saxon art history that contains the iconographic descriptions in *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration: Photographs of Sixteen Manuscripts with Descriptions and Index*. William Schipper is presently developing two databases: one of all English church dedications, the other of manuscripts that have any kind of annotations or marginalia. The *Labyrinth* project, directed by Deborah Everhart and Martin Irivine, provides access to electronic resources in Medieval Studies (labyrinth@gusun.georgetown.edu).

Archaeology: Virtual Excavations

Computer technology has also become ubiquitous within the field of Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Julian Richards (Univ. of York), for example, uses a database to record the finds at the Spong Hill dig. Even more specialized forms of computing are being applied, this time at the Sutton Hoo dig itself. A computer program "reconstructs the site" which is so often damaged or destroyed by digging. Such a program leads naturally to simulated virtual excavation exercises in both the classroom and the laboratory, and opens new dimensions in Anglo-Saxon archaeological procedure.[8]

Manuscripts: Digital Image Processing

The *Electronic Beowulf*-project, under the direction of Kevin Kiernan and Paul E. Szarmach, has begun using digital image processing and scanning, once considered the province of NASA or modern medical technology, to study the *Beowulf* manuscript (http://www.georgetown.edu/labyrinth/labyrinth-home.html). This technology holds out the possibility of recovering lost readings, and offers a potentially valuable new tool for paleographers.[9] Rochelle Altman is turning some of the same technology to the study of medieval musical manuscripts.

Metrics: Statistical Analysis

Duncan Macrae-Gibson (Aberdeen) is developing a custom-written C program on UNIX that explores the statistical significance of "Bliss's contention that different metrical types show characteristic differences of distribution between the categories of '1st half line, double allit.', '1st half-line. single allit.' and '2nd half line.'" Analyses to date are "sufficiently accurate to allow meaningful comparison of one text with another, and a report on whether that comparison exhibits significant differences,"[10] but the project is still in its infancy.

Editing

The ability of computers to organize and store material in complex ways makes them particularly valuable for editing texts; not surprisingly, many scholars are working on new editions. While some of these seem destined for larger distribution, none have so far been "published," and so a representative sample will be discussed below under teaching. A valuable tool for editors is Peter Robinson's Macintosh-based program, COLLATE, that can handle "simultaneously up to a hundred texts"; among its features is one that will allow complex searches of groups of variants."[11] The largest of the text-editing initiatives is an ambitious project developed by Hoyt Duggan (Univ. of Virginia, Charlottesville), and Thorlac Turville-Petre (Univ. of Nottingham), called SEENET (Society for Early English and Norse Electronic Texts), and modelled on the EETS: see pp. 7-8 for a description.

Teaching

The student has not been forgotten in this new dimension of technology: computer-based learning programs for both language and literature have been developed on both sides of the Atlantic. *Beginning Old English: An Elementary Grammar for Use with Computerized Exercises*, by Constance Hieatt, Brian Shaw, and Duncan Macrae-Gibson, has recently appeared as *OEN Subsidia* 21; it supersedes earlier versions called *Beginning Old English* and *Learning Old English*. Allen Frantzen (Univ. of Loyola, Chicago) and John Ruffing (Cornell Univ.) have designed a Hypercard program called *Seafarer 2.0* which is presently "intended solely for use in instruction at Loyola Univ., Chicago."[12] It consists of learning modules, each containing narrative, a lexicon, links, images, six texts, and interactive learning space. In Britain, a number of computer-assisted learning projects are being developed for DOS as well as Macintosh platforms; an example of this work comes from Nottingham, which has produced "teaching support packages for beginners' Old English (first-year undergraduates) using Guide for the PC. [They] have trial versions of *Wulf [and Eadwacer]* and two Old English riddles...and are currently working on material related to *Cædmon's Hymn*."[13]

The following, only several among several hundred such electronic and hypertext editions in progress, serve to indicate the range of individual projects under way since the early 1990's. Judith Weise (SUNY-Potsdam) designed a Hypercard stack for *The Dream of the Rood* and the Ruthwell Cross on a Macintosh platform, which has been adopted by Apple "to serve as a model for research and teaching since November 1991."[14] Allen Frantzen's *Scriftboc* concerns the Old English penitential materials.[15] Leslie Donovan (Univ. of Washington) is preparing an e-edition of *Old English Lives of Saints Eugenia and Eufrasia*.[16] Lynne Grundy and Harold Short (King's College, London) are working on *The Battle of Maldon* and *The Dream of the Rood*.[17] Joy Jenkyns (Oxford Univ.) has a hypertext program for *The Wanderer*. Perhaps the most widely-known of all computer-based text programs is Patrick Conner's *Beowulf* Workstation, a series of HyperCard stacks designed to aid students in their preparation and understanding of Old English poetry.[18]

Conclusions

Thus we may see that this combination of communication, textual presentation, and factual storage and organizational technology has already revolutionized the way in which Anglo-Saxon research is being conducted, and pre-Conquest language, literature and culture taught. The possibilities are exponentially impressive, and in defiance of the gloomy economic climate, the immediate future promises to be exciting and innovative. A retrospective in 1998, covering our next five years, will in all probability encompass several times as many categories as this brief summary has tried to present.

Notes

1. Nancy Speirs, "Computer Technology at the Dictionary of Old English Project"; Handout for I. Lancashire, "Research and Technology at the Univ. of Toronto," 1992. See also Speirs and Lubo Cippin, "The Catalogue Database of the Dictionary of Old English," *OEN* 25.1 (1991), 44-53.

2. Joan Holland, "Dictionary of Old English: 1992 Progress Report," *OEN* 26.1 (1992), 23-24; see also the 1993 report, *OEN* 27.1 (1993), 25-26.

3. "Networking in the Humanities: Lessons from ANSAXNET," *Computers and the Humanities* 26 (1992), 196.

4. See Schipper, "ANSAXDAT: ANSAXNET's Sibling," *OEN* 25.3 (1992), 14-15.

5. *Guidelines for Contributors*, Fontes Anglo-Saxonici (January, 1988), 1. See also pp. 19-20 for the Ninth Progress Report.

6. Christine Fell, "A Survey of the Language of English Place-Names: The Linguistic Evidence of Place-Names," *OEN* 25.1 (1991), 39.

7. See "Corpus of Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts; Statement of Goals and Organization," *Old English Newsletter*, 26.1 (1992), 27. The work is based on Ohlgren's *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue* (1986); the 232 entries have been thoroughly revised and expanded with the help of 24 scholars. *Corpus* does not contain the images themselves, although their inclusion on a CD-ROM is a goal of the project.

8. For a broader description of this application, see Paul Reilly and Julian Richards, "New Perspective on Sutton Hoo: the Potential of 3-D Graphics," *Computer and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology*, British Archaeological Reports, International Series 393 (Oxford, 1988), pp. 173-85.

9. See Kiernan, "Opening the 'Electronic *Beowulf*,'" *OEN* 27.1 (1993), 35-40.

10. Macrae-Gibson, in private e-mail correspondence, January 26, 1993.

11. Robinson, in private e-mail correspondence, January 13, 1993. See also Robinson, "COLLATE: A Program for Interactive Collation of Manuscripts," *OEN* 24.1 (1990), 27-31.

12. "Seafarer: Software for the Study of Medieval Culture" (Copyright 1992), 1.

13. Judith Jesch, in private e-mail correspondence, December 14, 1992.

14. Weise, in private correspondence, January 26, 1993.

15. Frantzen, in private e-mail correspondence, January 18, 1993.

16. Donovan, in private e-mail correspondence, January 17, 1993.

17. Grundy, in private e-mail correspondence, January 12, 1993.

18. See "The *Beowulf* Workstation: One Model of Computer-Assisted Literary Pedagogy," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 6.1 (1991), 57.

19. This essay is based on a paper read at Humanities Research Day, Trent Univ., Peterborough, Ontario in December 1992.

A Decade's Worth of Beowulf Scholarship: Observations on Compiling a Bibliography

Robert Hasenfratz
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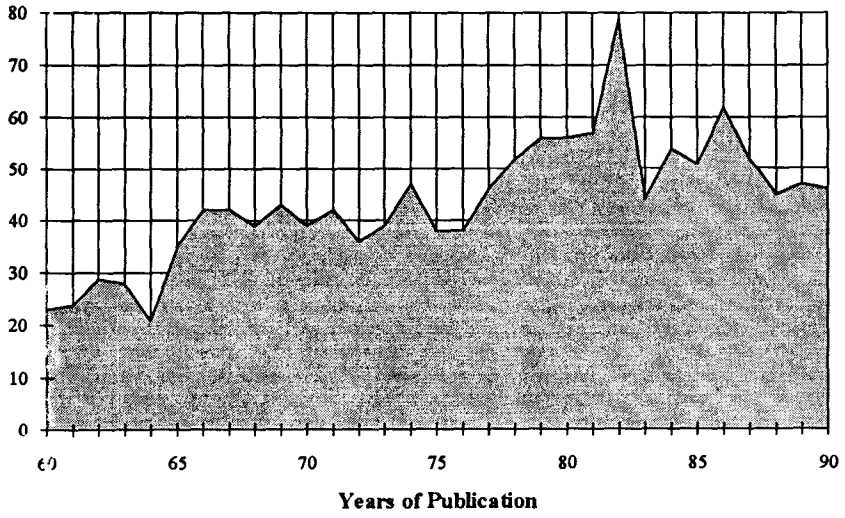
Besides summarizing the trends in *Beowulf* scholarship in the 1980s, this article will discuss some features of *Beowulf Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography, 1979-1990* (New York: Garland, 1993; hereafter my *Beowulf Scholarship*), a continuation of Douglas D. Short's *Beowulf Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1980), which covers *Beowulf* criticism from 1705 through 1949 selectively and from 1950-1978 exhaustively.

Beowulf in the Eighties

To begin with a superficial count of both books and articles produced each year, it may startle some that the sheer number of studies dropped by the end of the eighties after a peak in the earlier part of the decade. *Beowulf* scholars love to count things: the statistical topos is an enduring quirk in the field, perhaps a vestige offrom the German positivism of the nineteenth century or perhaps a subtle effect of generations of metrical studies. Whatever the cause, the chart below runs counter to the intuition that *Beowulf* scholarship has been increasing nearly exponentially.



Three Decades of Beowulf Publication

What accounts for the surge of activity in 1982? Clearly the early eighties formed a watershed for *Beowulf* studies mainly because of the renewed discussion of the dating of the poem, prompted by the Toronto conference on dating and Kevin S. Kiernan's controversial book, *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*. After this vigorous debate subsided somewhat, the rough output of items resumed an average only slightly higher than that for most of the seventies.

Familiar Styles of *Beowulf* Scholarship

Perhaps it is reassuring that much of the scholarship of the 1980's falls into traditional categories: as one might expect, work on the text of *Beowulf* continued, but with a decided turn towards textual conservatism. Scholars like Kiernan, Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., and Paul Beekman Taylor each in their own way insist that editors preserve manuscript readings, difficult as they may be, before rushing to emend. Kiernan's work on the Thorkelin transcripts also suggests that we view the B transcript much more skeptically as an edition-in-progress rather than an independent transcription.

Lexicographical issues consumed a fair amount of energy, with a number of contributions by Alfred Bammesberger and Caroline Brady, as well as the Japanese series *Keyword Studies in Beowulf*. The *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* produced by the *Dictionary of Old English* seems to have provided a fresh impetus for smaller word studies referenced in the word index of *Beowulf Scholarship*. Work on the grammar and syntax of individual lines also continued (listed under "textual reconstructions" in the subject index), with contributions by E.G. Stanley, Alfred Bammesberger, and others, and ambitious studies of Old English syntax by Bruce Mitchell and Daniel Donoghue, both of whose line indices were incorporated into the master line index of *Beowulf Scholarship*. The decade also showed a healthy interest in metrical issues, with major new theories offered by Wolfgang Obst, Geoffrey Russom, and Robert P. Creed, and with contributions by Donoghue, Calvin B. Kendall, Jeffrey Vickman, and others.

The search for sources and analogues continued as well. The subheadings under the subject listing "analogues" in *Beowulf Scholarship* tell an interesting story in themselves: African (with 2 items), African American (1), Armenian (1), Biblical (2), Chinese (1), classical (1), Greek (2), Indian (6), Irish (3), Japanese (1), Latin (2), Old Norse (34), Russian (1), and Scottish (1). Similarly, the listings under "source studies" include Biblical (6), classical (3), learned Latin (1), liturgical (2), and patristic (8). Clearly, scholars most often saw analogues in Old Norse texts but sources in the Church Fathers. Folkloristic studies also enjoyed robust health in this decade, with at least eight studies of Proppian-style folktale morphology and several others noting analogous folktale motifs in *Beowulf*, the two most discussed of which were the "Hand and the Child Folktale" and the "Bear's Son Folktale" and treated at length, respectively, in the books of Martin Puhvel and Stephen O. Glosecki.

The poem continues to attract translators, with over a dozen new translations into modern English, and several into other languages: Danish, Dutch, French, Frisian, Icelandic, Italian, and Japanese. Notable among the new English translations are Stanley B. Greenfield's *Readable Beowulf*, which attempts a comprehensible verse translation that remains as close as possible to the original, Ruth Lehmann's "imitative translation," which approximates the Germanic four-stress alliterative line, and a postmodern adaptation, *Beowulf: A Likeness* (a collaborative effort of Randolf Swearer, Raymond Olivers, and Marijane Osborn, with an introduction by Fred C. Robinson), a sort of *Beowulf* on acid, with its ghostly images and a free adaptation, a realization rather than a translation.

New Developments

The eighties will probably best be remembered as the decade in which the dating of the poem broke loose from its moorings, with serious advocates for dates anywhere between the eighth and eleventh centuries. Most scholars, it is true, still declined to follow Ritchie Girvan into the seventh or Kiernan into the eleventh, but probably for the first time since Schücking, it became plausible to advance a ninth or tenth century date for *Beowulf*. In fact, Schücking's decade finally arrived, as scholars like Kiernan and John D. Niles built on his suggestions about the dating and provenance of the poem. It would be a mistake to say that in the eighties *Beowulf* became a decisively younger poem, but one can say with certainty that Whitelock's terminus *ad quem* for the poem (the Viking invasions) came under serious

attack (see especially the essays by Alexander C. Murray, Roberta Frank, and R.I. Page, in the *Dating of Beowulf* volume). Ashley Crandell Amos' study of linguistic tests for dating poetry further eroded hopes for a decisive solution to the dating dilemma, after she pointed out that most such tests remain far from dependable, an issue which Robert D. Fulk addresses in a recent study.

Interest in the oral backgrounds of the text represents another clear trend. Several book-length studies on this topic appeared by such scholars as Niles, Jeff Opland, Ward Parks, Edward B. Irving, Jr., along with a number of articles by Creed. Though the legacy of Milman Parry, Albert B. Lord, and Francis P. Magoun continued to exert its influence (particularly on Niles), a number of scholars turned increasingly to the theories of Walter J. Ong (*Orality and Literacy*). For this reason, it seemed logical in *Beowulf Scholarship* to change the index headword from Short's "oral composition" to "orality and literacy." John Miles Foley's work undertook the task of comparing formula systems in Greek, Serbo-Croatian, and Old English, while other scholars, particularly Niles, Alain Renoir, and Irving, focused on narrative structure and characterization in oral narrative, with Creed showing a fascination for the way oral-derived verse serves as a source of cultural memory.

The decade also revived interest in the poem's Norse and Germanic relations. Frank pursued this topic in several important articles, exploring *Beowulf*'s relationship to skaldic verse, Old Norse memorial elegies, and the northern heroic age (as reconstructed by various historiographers), while Carol J. Clover drew several new connections between flyting scenes in Old Norse literature and those in *Beowulf*, a topic approached from a different angle by Parks. Traditions of Germanic kingship in *Beowulf* received the attention of several writers, including Michael Enright, Michael Swanton, and W.T.H. Jackson. Finally, Joseph Harris made the case for tracing various Germanic genres in *Beowulf*.

At first glance, it seems that Christian interpretations of the poem were a less potent force in the eighties than in previous decades. The most energetic Christian reading, and perhaps the most polemical, came from Bernard Huppé, whose translation and reading are firmly anchored in Augustinian values. Reviewing the case for the poem's Christianity, Mary Parker found that pagan and Christian elements are inextricably mixed. However, the most sophisticated of the Christian readings, Robinson's *Beowulf and the Appositive Style*, makes a case for a dual perspective in the poem, one in which the contemporary Christian audience sees the paganism of the characters in an ironic light, with words echoing different layers of meaning: pagan for the characters, but Christian for the audience.

To sum up the decade's developments on this front, one might say that the basic terms of the old pagan-Christian debate have shifted significantly. Scholars inclined to emphasize pagan or, better stated, Germanic elements of the poem have found a much more coherent approach in orality theory and renovated folkloristic approaches. Whereas before they might have been accused of harboring the reactionary sentiments of the nineteenth-century German Romantics, they now can call theories to their aid which themselves have a great deal of internal consistency and interpretive power. One shortcoming of the orality approach, however, is its tendency to interpret perhaps too much, before the fact, that is, to imply that we should not expect complex literary irony or three-dimensional character development. At its worst, orality theory provides too wide a scope for *a priori* interpretation. It sometimes seems that scholars in this field have yet to come to a balanced understanding of the interplay between orality and literacy, focusing sometimes one-sidely on purely oral elements, which after all are preserved in a written text with some sort of textual transmission, however short. Despite the energy of the orality theorists, it would be a mistake to pronounce the death of Christian/exegetical interpretations. In fact, as Robinson's reading shows, Christian readings do not have to flatten out the subtlety of the text.

One surprising development, or non-development, is that *Beowulf* more or less escaped the attention of post-modern critics in the eighties. Apart from Gillian Overing's book-length study of metonymy,

semiotics, and gender in the poem, and Allen J. Frantzen's critique of thematic criticism on *Beowulf*, there was a scant handful of post-modern approaches to the poem (for example, those of Ian Duncan and Robert Denton). It is hard to escape the conclusion that *Beowulf* Scholarship remained, on the whole, very conservative, and perhaps even hostile to new approaches.

Compiling the Bibliography

Compiling and annotating *Beowulf Scholarship* proved to be a rewarding though sometimes frustrating experience. Harry Hahne's *Library Master*, a flexible database program, provided immeasurable help in compiling the indices and in ensuring their accuracy, and may make it easier to offer future *Beowulf* bibliographies in electronic form, perhaps over the Internet, with the bibliography of the New Chaucer Society serving as a model.

The volume stands in great debt to the *Old English Newsletter* bibliographers and reviewers, whose work made the task of compiling the bibliography much easier. With a few exceptions, however, my summaries do not depend on those in the *Year's Work in Old English Studies*: only when an item proved unobtainable is the *OEN* summary quoted. Another difference is that my annotations focus more on detailed summary than on evaluation--both useful but separate enterprises. At times, the goal of relative objectivity imposed something of a psychological burden, and I often envied the more untrammeled latitude of the *OEN* reviewers. I hope, however, that I have succeeded in suppressing my most obvious and subjective opinions, good or bad, and in the abstracts. The job called for a constant renewal of interpretative innocence, though others must judge if I have managed it.

Sometimes it was very difficult to predict how easy or difficult it would be to summarize a book or article. Some relatively short pieces seemed to take a lot of space to describe while some books required only a concise paragraph. For this reason, relative length of an item has little to do with its perceived importance. The indices, as it turned out, demanded the most gruelling work and editorial judgment, but perhaps will prove to be the most useful feature of the volume. The line index, for example, aims at exhaustive coverage from 1950-90, and makes it possible to find scholarship on individual lines (supplementing Donald K. Fry's line index which covers the beginnings to 1967). The word index is another new feature. In general Short's format and layout worked admirably well, though a few smaller innovations were introduced: a sample (lines 4-11) of each translation is included for comparison; and in the author index, item numbers referring to books are now underlined (to help distinguish them from articles).

I would like to express my thanks (regrettably left out of the acknowledgments) to Thomas J. Jambeck, Univ. of Connecticut, for having read through the entire manuscript carefully. Despite the experienced eyes of a number of readers and editors, however, some errors remain (see the errata list below). Most of the corrections are routine, but the extensive glosses in the 1987 printing of Howell D. Chickering's *Beowulf: A Dual Language Edition* were inadvertently overlooked.

Potentially confusing is a minor problem in the subject index. A few items in the bibliography, which turned up late in the project, are identified with an a or b (for example, 1445a or 1703b): regrettably these may not appear in numerical order in individual subject entries. It is therefore necessary to scan the entire entry for item numbers appended with an a or b. Fortunately, this problem does not involve the loss of any information.

If circumstances permit, I hope to compile the next installment of this bibliography and would welcome criticisms and suggestions for added features as well as missed items. (Contact me at the following address: English Dept., U-25; Univ. of Connecticut; Storrs, CT 06269; internet address: hasenfra@uconnvm.uconn.edu).

Errata

p. ix, Acknowledgments	Eric Schwab > Erik Schwab
p. xiv, *Dating of Beowulf*	Center for Medieval Studies > Centre for Medieval Studies
p. 82, #1244	gi/gantas > gi-/gantas
p. 110, #1300	[first sentence] early Germanic peoples with thought > early Germanic peoples thought
p. 286, #1623	Tubingen > Tübingen
p. 311, #1673	[last sentence] Find the image \ Finds the image
p. 318, Item 1687	[add] Includes a new lexical and grammatical glosses to eight select passages (ll. 391-416); Scyld Scefing (ll. 1-52), the Song of Creation (ll. 86-114), The Fight with Grendel (ll. 710-836), The Description of the Mere (ll. 1345-96), The Lay of the Last Survivor (ll. 2231b-77), Wiglaf's Speeches Before Battle (ll. 2631-68), Beowulf's Last Words (ll. 2792b-2820), and Beowulf's Memorial (ll. 3156-82). Also provides a brief bibliography of introductory Old English grammars and readers.
p. 349, #1733	and relineating > and relineates
p. 403, Word Index	[add] **brim-leade**: 1676.

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APPENDIX A

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Robert L. Schichler
with the assistance of Steven Campbell

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 — and, if possible, a WordPerfect 5.1 or 6.0 version of the abstracts on diskette — to the feature editor:

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An Author-Index follows.

I. The Twenty-Seventy Annual Conference, "On the Margins," Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, Binghamton Univ., October 15-16, 1993:

Session 1: "Women on the Margins"

Janice Norris (Binghamton Univ.)

"Wife as Missionary: The Case of Bertha of Kent"

Between the sixth and tenth centuries, during the conversion period in Europe, many Christian noblewomen were married by their families into the kingdom of a pagan, or worse, Arian Christian, ruler. These marriages were meant to cement friendly relations between two royal houses, and by extension, between two kingdoms. Chronicles and histories of this period — almost all written by Christian clerics — tell tales of how these Christian women affected the conversion of their husbands (kings) and, by default, their children (future kings), thereby opening the kingdom to Christianization by a combination of royal and clerical efforts.

Clotilda (d. 544), wife of Clovis, King of the Franks, is the earliest example of Christian wife as missionary. Although she had attempted to lead him to Christianity and had contrived for the baptism of two of their sons, Clovis not only rejected her religion, but blamed baptism for the premature death of one son. According to Gregory of Tours (*History*, II.30), only when confronted with a battle in which his forces were losing did Clovis, in desperation, look to the "son of the living God" for victory. In the tradition of Constantine (a point emphasized by Gregory), Clovis won the battle under the auspices of the Christian God. When Clovis told Clotilda that he had won the victory with the help of her God, she summoned Remegius, Bishop of Reims, to instruct her husband and lead him to Christian baptism. As in an almost identical story later told by Bede about Edwin of Northumbria (*H.E.* II.9), Clovis, realistically, was concerned about how his warriors might react to such a change in tribal gods. Of course, the problem was easily solved and he went on to baptism (Gregory, *History*, II.30).

Bede picked up yet another theme found in Gregory, that of royal wives as missionaries, with Clotilda's great-granddaughter, Bertha of Kent (*H.E.* I.25). Bede, Gregory of Tours, and Pope Gregory the Great together make note of Bertha, her parentage, her siblings, her marriage to Ethelbert of Kent, her Bishop Liudhard, her place of worship in Kent, her place of burial, and her responsibility to convert her husband to Christianity. Ethelbert was not a battlefield convert like Constantine, Clovis, or even Bertha's son-in-law, Edwin of Northumbria. Bede tells this story of the gradual conversion of a man who was afraid of Augustine's "magical arts" when he first met him and his monks at Thanet in 597 (*H.E.* I.25). This emphasis on "magical arts" gives some indication of how Ethelbert probably viewed the religious practices of his wife and her Bishop, Liudhard. Bertha did not fit the wife-as-missionary paradigm established by either Clotilda or Bertha's own daughter, Ethelburga. Even with the help of Liudhard, she was not able to affect the conversion of Ethelbert until Pope

Gregory I sent Augustine to England. In addition to Ethelburga, furthermore, many other women of Bertha's family found themselves in foreign marriages in which their husbands were not Roman Christians.

Session 8: "Jews: Images and Ideology"

Andrew P. Scheil (Univ. of Toronto)

"Ælfric, Jews, and the Production of Ideology in Anglo-Saxon England"

Though historical evidence for Jewish communities in pre-Conquest England is virtually non-existent, Jews were present in England through the writings of authors such as Ælfric. In the absence of physical Jews as a reference point, the Anglo-Saxon understanding of Jews was primarily textual. Scholarship rightly treats these representations as highly conventional, but the construction of the textual Jew had profound repercussions for social ideology in the late Anglo-Saxon England. The "pre-history" of Jews in England is not simply an unproblematic matter of translation and source commentary, but rather a process of textual and ideological negotiation that provided precedents for later Anti-Semitic traditions in England.

Homiletic texts of Ælfric such as *Maccabees* explore aspects of Jewish culture and theology relevant to the sensibilities of a late tenth-century Christian audience. From explanations of Jewish dietary prescriptions to analyses of the relationship between Old and New Testament, his works attempt to integrate to the framework of Anglo-Saxon culture a perilous but inescapable cultural Other. Ælfric articulates the antagonistic dialogue between Christianity and Judaism as he endeavors to explain a Semitic culture to an Anglo-Saxon audience; in doing so he creates Jews that are representations of Anglo-Saxon desires and fears. As *loci* of desire, these representations are unstable linguistic and cultural signifiers appropriated by the workings of Benedictine ideology. In Ælfric's texts Jews are not portrayed consistently as either Anti-Semitic or sympathetic. Instead, attitudes toward Jews shift and vary according to ideological agendas utilized to enable a Benedictine vision of society. Ælfric's texts reveal a process which informed subsequent Anti-Semitic attitudes in the presence of actual communities of Jews.

Session 9: "Impersonation and Concepts of the Marginal: Actor, Wildman, and Transvestite"

Dana-Linn Whiteside (Binghamton Univ.)

"Cross-Dressing for God: Transvestism in the *Life of St. Euphrosyne*"

The Latin title given to the *Life of St. Euphrosyne* by its Anglo-Saxon translator, "Natale Sanctae Efraslae Virginis," does not emphasize the title character's reliance on transvestism either to retain her status as holy virgin or attain that of saint. Cross-dressing (at least for women) for the sake of God is portrayed as absolutely acceptable by the author of this text, which contains no statement to the contrary. Yet according to medieval church doctrine, the existence of transvestites was, at best, problematic if not heretical. Because the church fathers in their texts are so adamantly opposed to accepting women in any capacity in the male church, strictly confining them to nunneries, one wonders at the appearance of texts such as the *Life of St. Euphrosyne* that virtually advocate cross-dressing as a means for women to attain the fullest Christian life possible. The way to sainthood for Euphrosyne entails *her* choice to cloak her femininity in order to become a monk, purposely deceiving her father and community in the process, as well as, of course, the monks who reluctantly accept the young novice they are told is a male into their community. Because she does not become part of the monastic community, living the remaining thirty-eight years of her life spent at the monastery in seclusion, Euphrosyne becomes less monk than ascetic. Transvestism thus is employed in order to enter into and remain at a monastery, but does not allow Euphrosyne to escape the masculine gaze, which determines not only her actions but eventually rewards her casting aside of her femininity with sainthood.

Session 18: "Marginalization in Anglo-Saxon Literature"

Hoyt Greeson (Laurentian Univ.)

"Bothvar, Grettir, and Wiglaf on the Threshold: Ritual Marginalization and Rites of Passage"

The ongoing work of Martin Carver, Carol De Vegvar and others engaged in Anglo-Saxon archaeology has continued to focus interest in the paraphernalia of royalty found in the graves of kings. Critical discussion of *Beowulf* carefully notes such regalia and its transference as symbolic of the transference of power to the successor to the throne — or as a symbol of loyalty to the reigning monarch,

as when Beowulf presents Hygelac with the treasures given him by Hrothgar. Such exchanges obviously involve those at the center of power.

Ongoing work in the area of oral formulaic theory, particularly in Type Scene theory, has extended the parameters of the essential, constitutional images and actions of "The Hero on the Beach" Type Scene. Alain Renoir and, more recently, Sarah Lynne Hygley have encouraged us to move from the margins of the ocean to quite different locations: gates of towns, doors, and, in the case of Hygley, to the brink of the Haunted Mere in *Beowulf*.

The work of cultural anthropologist Victor Turner suggests a particular kind of marginalization: liminality, the state of separation of the individual from the social unit during the Rites of Passage. During the liminal stage, in archaic societies, the candidate is frequently shown the Sacra, objects of socio-religious significance to that tribe.

The focus of my own paper is this liminal period in the transition of Wiglaf from member of Beowulf's comitatus to position of leadership, the period when he is "marginalized" and, in fact, shown the Germanic Sacra in the dragon's barrow. I look at similar ritualistic counterparts in the analogues to *Beowulf*, particularly at Bothvar Bjarki's tutelage of Hott after he himself has claimed his father Bjorn's gift of succession, the sword in the wall of the bear cave; and I look at Grettir's mystical but negative encounters with Karr the Old and Glam. In each encounter, it seems to me, the emphasis is not merely on the physical acquisition of the symbols of regalia or warrior status, but on the transference of socio-religious values of the *communitas* — or, in Grettir's case, in the isolation of the individual from shared communal values. In the case of Wiglaf, the poetic handling of his visual encounter with the hoard suggests that he does not merely acquire the regalia of office but is given an implicit lesson in Germanic ethics, which becomes apparent after his experience in the barrow.

Jerome Denno (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

"Bonds of Creation in Three Anglo-Saxon Poems"

What I propose to show is how three Anglo-Saxon poems represent a paradoxical concept of the creative act as confining rather than liberating. Using two Exeter Book riddles — #19 (plow), #1 (storm) — and Caedmon's *Hymn,* I argue that, in each case, a marginalized speaker is released from its figurative exile long enough to assume consciousness and voice, and long enough to express the circumscribed nature of its existence.

The Exeter Book riddles celebrate the marginal things of the world, the furniture of everyday life that might not otherwise attract the imagination. But the riddled "thing" is further de-centered since the inspired objects tend to become identified with otherwise silent, marginal figures in Anglo-Saxon society. Similarly, Bede's Caedmon, another marginal figure, may be read as a human analogue to the riddled objects, only now with a divine riddler. Moreover, the process of imaginative inspiration in each of these poems follows a like pattern: The poet-inspirer starts with a marginalized figure (whether object or person); the object is then "inspired" (i.e., infused with greatly enhanced consciousness); finally, the inspired thing, which one might suppose would be freed by this creative transformation, is in fact further marginalized by virtue of this "gift" of consciousness. In short, the inspired thing now perceives what had before been invisible bonds.

At last, the correspondence between the process and effect of poetic and divine creation exposes an attitude about human existence and about creation, human and divine — namely, that to create is to confine, and to be created is to be separated from one's element, to be cast into a kind of exile.

Helene Scheck (Binghamton Univ.)

"Marginalizing Mary: A New Attitude towards Anglo-Saxon Women?"

In Mary Clayton's survey of the Cult of the Virgin, it is possible to trace the development of Mary as a figure, reflecting, perhaps, changing attitudes towards women throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The ninth-century *Old English Martyrology*, for example, gives a no-frills account of the annunciation:

> On the twenty-fifth day of the month Gabriel came first to St. Mary with God's message; and on that day St. Mary became pregnant in the town of Nazareth through the word of the angel and through the hearing of her ears, like the trees when they blossom through the blowing of the wind. In that same place where her house was when the angel once met her, Christian people built a large church. (Cited in Clayton, 214.)

Here the potency of the word is underscored, as is the fruitfulness or virginity in the images of the blossoming trees and the erection of a church at that spot. Conception is achieved through God's message and Mary's hearing, in the traditional

apocryphal manner, and all sex organs are obviated. More than anything, this seems to be a symbolic account of the event.

Constructions of Mary become increasingly sexual and, at the same time, display what seems to be classic paranoia of female sexuality in relation to the Annunciation. In the tenth century, Annunciation homilies appear in the Blickling collection and in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. In both cases there are disturbing overtones that, I think, warrant attention. In the Blickling homily, Mary is first placed in direct opposition to Eve. Moreover, the homily not only follows its Latin source in its use of bridal imagery to describe the conception, but even goes further in adding an image of the Virgin as Solomon's bed, as Mary Clayton notes. Her opinion on this is simply that "the homilist must have been a man of esoteric learning" (227), which is certainly true, but does not account for the disturbing implications of that image. This image, according to Clayton, was associated with the Virgin early on in the writings of Jerome and Ambrose, but became rare after Ambrose. It is noteworthy that Bede, writing in the early Anglo-Saxon period, saw no connection between the bedroom imagery and Mary. The interpretation was rare, but still in circulation, however, and by the late Anglo-Saxon period, regained popularity.

For Ælfric, the homilies related to the Virgin Mary are focused specifically on her virginity. Her major qualification is as a link in the male blood line of King David. Moreover, she is not just any virgin, but is purged of all womanliness so that she may be fit to bear Christ. This process, especially as Ælfric describes it, makes her into a gilt vase, a pure vessel; she is bereft of all humanity. Indeed, she defies human limits, Ælfric tells us, as she remains a virgin "before the birth, during the birth, and after the birth" (*Catholic Homilies* II.10).

Mary's objectification is even more marked in the first Annunciation homily, when Mary graciously accepts her position as God's handmaiden and participates in her own objectification, saying to the angel: "Let it be as you say, that almighty God's Son will come into my womb, and take human substance from me, and for the redemption of the world, he will step forth from me, as a bridegroom from his bride-bed" (*Catholic Homilies* I.200). This passage is interesting in several ways for what it suggests about the various relationships between God and Mary — she is at once mother, bride, and daughter. But even more intriguing is her construction, not as person, but as place. She is used here as a vessel, providing the fleshly substance Christ takes on, and, at the same time, the bride-bed that the bridegroom would leave, presumably upon consummation of the marriage of divine and human. The sexual imagery here is too explicit to ignore, but ultimately it has nothing to do with Mary, even though it is her body. She is only the locus of the event.

The construction of Mary as place in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon homilies reflects a more pervasive material reality — the categorical restriction of women's active participation in Church affairs through the Benedictine reform movement, as recent scholars have shown (Jane Tibbets Schulenburg, Stephanie Hollis, Barbara Yorke). The cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England, then, seems to glorify one woman, but actually ritualizes and idealizes the marginalization of all women.

Session 24: "Between Two Cultures: Normans and Anglo-Saxons and Normans and Welsh"

Timothy J. Lundgren (Ohio State Univ.)

"A Position of Resistance: Hereward, Fenland Culture, and Topography"

The fenlands of the East Midlands were a border zone in the Middle Ages not only between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia, but also between the land and the sea. As marshlands, difficult to access and with few and scattered settleable areas, the fenlands remained on the margins of social and political life in Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England, developing their own unique borderland culture. Prominent in this culture were the kinds of marginalized societies that the environment fostered: hermit monks, outlaws, and political refugees. The eleventh century outlaw Hereward, in the various legends that surround him, best typifies the borderland culture of the fenlands. He is representative, not only of the outlaws, but as one chronicler noted approvingly about him, "he was a man of the monks." Outlawed, according to legend, during the reign of King Edward, Hereward's return to England during the early part of the reign of William and his open defiance of the king served as a rallying point for those who were pushed to the margins of society by the new Norman power in England. Using as his base of operations the East Midland fenlands, Hereward rallied the discontented and launched his guerilla warfare. He and his legends serve to illustrate the peculiar attitudes and sympathies of this politically marginal, but socially and culturally significant portion of England, home to a rich literary and oral tradition that made heroes of those like Guthlac,

Hereward, and Earl Waltheof, who crossed social and political boundaries. This study identifies the borderland culture of the Anglo-Saxon fenlands as it reaches its culmination in the local legends surrounding Hereward, both in terms of its physical environment and in the stories that culture tells about its heroes.

Mary Lynn Rampolla (Colgate Univ.)

"On the Borders of the Supernatural: Dreams and Visions in Twelfth-Century Worcester"

In the decade following the Norman Conquest, English society underwent a major restructuring. By 1075, all of the English earls had been deposed, and only one Anglo-Saxon bishop retained office — Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester. As the new Norman secular and ecclesiastical regimes began to challenge their traditional values and practices, English monks increasingly saw themselves as marginalized. This was particularly true for the monks of Worcester cathedral priory, where the longevity of the last Anglo-Saxon bishop, Wulfstan, ensured the survival of Anglo-Saxon culture into the early twelfth century. in an attempt to defend their traditions and establish a new sense of identity in the face of social and political disruption, the writings of the post-Conquest monks of Worcester often turned to the supernatural, focusing particularly on dreams and visions.

Post-Freudian discussions of dreams acknowledge that they fulfill several functions for the dreamer: they reflect ambiguities and concerns, expressing his fears in concrete images, and sometimes answer those concerns either by suggesting a course of action or by providing hope in a hopeless situation, especially in times of illness, stress, or loss. For medieval writers, the importance of dreams and visions lay in the belief, rooted in classical tradition and incorporated into Christian thought via Macrobius, Augustine, and Jerome, that some visions were direct revelations from God, revealing the divine will in symbolic language.

The dreams that are included in the narrative sources of the period, however, have acquired meaning beyond that which they had for the dreamer himself, and fulfill a broader social function. The dreams an author chooses to record are presumably significant to him, reflecting his own interests and concerns. Thus, the dreams and visions which are found in the texts of this period must be considered, not just as windows into the individual psyches of the dreamers, but as literary constructs which fulfill specific functions in the narrative in which they appear. Four such functions are prominent. First of all, dreams and visions are used to legitimize aspects of the past. Second, they lend support to certain aspects of the corporate identity of the monastic community, and reinforce traditional values. Third, they reflect contemporary anxieties and concerns, responding to perceived threats by invoking Divine approbation for customs or traditions threatened by change. Finally, they serve as a source of critical commentary on political institutions and eminent persons, legitimizing the author's opinion on controversial subjects.

An examination of the dreams and visions included in the Worcester sources will help to illuminate the anxieties and changing self-definition of a group of people who increasingly saw themselves as "marginalized" by their society — the English monks of post-Conquest Worcester.

Marjorie Brown (Binghamton Univ.)

"From Holywell to Shrewsbury: Two *Vitae* of St. Winefred of Wales"

In the twelfth century, a group of Benedictine monks translated Saint Winefred's bodily relics from Wales to England, claiming to have been guided by the saint herself. The two *vitae* produced shortly afterwards are, I believe, the work of rival monastic houses in Wales and England, one controlling Winefred's holy well and the other her translated relics in Shropshire. The Benedictine Abbey of Peter and Paul in Shrewsbury was in the keeping of the King of England and therefore suffered in the twelfth-century struggles between supporters of Empress Matilda and King Stephen. This Norman house needed the support of a local saint with tangible relics and so co-opted a seventh-century Welsh saint's bones from across the border, not without resentment from the local inhabitants. At the same time the Cistercian abbey of Basingwerk (founded 1131) looked to the saint's original burial site and her healing fountain in northern Wales for both spiritual and economic profit.

Certain elements in the *vitae* appear to bear out these conflicting interests. In the first and shorter version, Winefred makes a pilgrimage to Rome but also lives in the wilderness, suggesting a Cistercian rather than Benedictine or Celtic orientation. The account of her posthumous miracles emphasizes the punishment of those who attack her sanctuary in Wales while demonstrating the powers of her healing well. The second *vita* contains the account of Winefred's translation and miracles accomplished at different sites beyond her well, moving the focus

of her divinity away from the site in Wales. The miracles occur in conjunction with Winefred's bodily presence, as would be natural in a text written to celebrate her relics in Shrewsbury.

The physical movement of Winefred's relics across the English-Welsh border demonstrates the use of the indigenous Celtic and Anglo-Saxon culture by the Norman church to gain legitimacy during threatening times in English history. In effect, the Normans colonized England much as the Anglo-Saxons had before them. In addition, the bodies employed were usually female; north of Shrewsbury the church in Chester held the remains of Saint Werburga, who protected the city, while to the south the remains of Saint Milburga had been newly re-discovered in Wenlock. Saint Winefred's holy bones and her holy well represented not only an oppressed culture but the remnants of the Celtic church, co-opted by the latest rulers for the enhancement of their prestige and power. The contest between two rival monastic houses for the greater legitimate claim on her sanctity demonstrates the importance of these remains to the Normans.

Session 30: "The Exile in Anglo-Saxon Literature"

Pauline Head (York Univ., Ontario)

"Community and Geography in *The Wanderer*: The Construction of an Exile's Identity"

The definition of speech boundaries in *The Wanderer* has been much discussed, with almost as many solutions proposed as there are commentators. Several identifiable kinds of speech compose the poem — the uncontextualized voice making descriptive statements that are beyond question, another disembodied voice-over providing structural information (*swa cwæð*), and several contextualized voices, designated to specific speakers; but these are not discrete, and their merging causes the reader confusion. It seems to me that the problem begins with the nature of the speaker's identity. The identity of "I" in *The Wanderer* is questionable: what distinguishes his voice and where are its limits?

In this paper, I consider boundaries of speech as related to those of geography in the construction of an exile's identity. The voice of the *eardstapa* seems to guide the reader through several landscapes, but since his relationship to the "other" characters (who sometimes are represented as the source of the visions) is ambiguous, the reader does not see the landscapes from a defined perspective. Voice and vision are split, with the poem's scattered scenes reflecting the speaker's multifaceted identity. The exile's dislocation provokes the reader's disorientation.

From his exile, the *eardstapa* speaks in contradiction to social precepts demanding discretion from one of his class, and he demands sympathy in face of his status as suspicious foreigner. In the society the poem represents, recognition and identification come through others, through the community that surrounds and contains the individual; the path leading to the wanderer's thoughts about himself passes first through his reflections on the customs and behavior of others. By means of his speech, the wanderer recreates a community — this time a community of understanding — to replace the one he has lost; through this process he constructs his identity.

Wendy R. Larson (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

"On the Inside Looking Out: *The Wanderer* and Its Audience"

Exile existed in Anglo-Saxon society as a criminal punishment, a spiritual practice, a poetic topos, and as a Christian metaphor. The term *wræc* was applied to a wide variety of conditions: a hermit saint, an outlaw, even a sword deprived of its owner. Exiles appear throughout the literature, indicating that this was a topic of interest to Anglo-Saxon audiences. This concern with those outside the margins of society suggests a more general interest in the margins themselves.

My investigation of exile focuses on subjectivity, reading exile as a gap opened between the individual and society, exposing the play of social forces upon the subject. Exile offered Anglo-Saxon poets and their audiences a unique opportunity to consider a person outside of the institutions and expectations which defined their society. The fact that many of these texts are "subjective" in their focus on the emotional turmoil of the exile is also what makes them explorations of subjectivity, in their portrayal of how social forces act on the subject, even when removed physically from the community. The suffering of the exile demonstrates that individuals and their societies belong to each other in complex ways.

The Wanderer is the classic example of a text which focuses on the suffering exile. Reading it as an exploration of the interrelatedness of individual and society allows us to appreciate the poet's intense portrait of an exile, and perhaps to understand more about the society from which he

came. By moving our focus to the edge, the whole picture becomes more clear.

Erick Kelemen (Univ. of Delaware)

"The Formulaic Expression of Return from Exile in *The Wanderer* and in Christian Texts"

A central passage in *The Wanderer*, containing the alliterating pair of verbs *clyppan* and *cyssan* (42), bears striking resemblances in wording and detail to certain similarly key passages in a dozen widely disparate Christian texts. These resemblances are specific enough and unusual enough to indicate a formulaic construction — a type-scene, welcoming the exile, signaled in part by a narrative formulaic phrase for a hug and a kiss. Because type-scenes and formulae require audiences to decode meanings which are current in the cultural context rather than in the definitions of the words themselves, they function iconographically, attaching themselves to specific — almost programmed — cultural or ideological responses. This formula, *clyppan and cyssan,* and its companion type-scene therefore form an intertextual web which presents an opportunity to theorize the dynamics of cross-culture negotiation and translation in Anglo-Saxon England in general in that it shows the specific confluence of Christian and Germanic ideas of exile and security.

My argument bases itself in the ideas of John Miles Foley and Mikhail Bakhtin, among others, and takes as its starting point the task of establishing the type-scene and formula which link my miscellaneous texts, afterward entering into a discussion of the structures and connotations of those entanglements as well as their implications for the notions of exile and refuge. I bring visual media of the period and texts from other periods to bear on my discussion.

Even the Patristic apologist Bernard suggests that these verses from *The Wanderer* are a survival from the Germanic-heroic culture, and though much recent work has pointed out the poem's Christian debts, few would disagree that the poem draws its Christian consolation out of a Germanic-heroic detail of loss. But this scene, one in which the wanderer remembers his former good life in the duguth, shares much with scenes from important biblical narratives, like the parable of the Prodigal Son (Luke 15), including the pivotal formula *clyppan and cyssan.* In each case the protagonist returns (or imagines that he does so) in a scene which contrasts the bitterness of exile with the security and happiness of home or refuge through a familiar physical gesture. Virtually every text which contains the conjunction of *clyppan* and *cyssan* also shares with the other texts certain elements of the narrative moment. Nearly every instance of the formula occurs in the context of a reunion or recognition scene after a journey or exile. Nearly every instance has an elder kinsman (the phrase is nearly always homosocially male) moving toward the refugee and welcoming him with a hug and a kiss. The overwhelmingly Christian connotations of the type-scene and formula in almost every instance besides in *The Wanderer* make it difficult to sustain unquestioned the notion that the idea of the exile in that poem is a purely Germanic-heroic one. At the same time, it raises the distinct possibility that the translators of the Christian texts applied distinctly Anglo-Saxon notions of exile to distinctly foreign texts. Of course, neither paradigm is exclusive of the other, and it is probably far more accurate to state that the type-scene and formula indicate a more complex dynamic of cultural exchange than one normally acknowledges. Like the wanderers in these passages, Anglo-Saxon ideas of exile and return show evidence of having moved through cultural boundaries and having been recognized and embraced as kin.

Laura Renick (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

"Poems of Exile and Exiled Poems in the Exeter Book"

As Anglo-Saxonists, we know all about marginalized figures — the Wanderer, the Seafarer, the enigmatic scop Deor — but, in our fascination with the exiles of the Exeter Book, we have in fact exiled much of the manuscript. This canonical exile of many Exeter Book poems is the subject of this paper. Why are some poems, such as *The Wanderer* continually anthologized and studied, while others, such as *The Order of the World* and *Judgment Day I,* gather cobwebs? What does this exile say about our agendas and methodologies? And how might these neglected poems, given a good critical dusting, change these agendas and methodologies? Such questions, as Hans Robert Jauss points out, arise from the gap between the critics' current agenda for a text and the text's own agenda in its primary historical context. Whoever chose the poems to be compiled in the Exeter Book did not do so to provide modern critics with academic employment but to be read (or heard) and contemplated by members of an Anglo-Saxon monastic community; the compiler apparently found *The Order of the World* as appropriate for this audience as *The Wanderer*. The two poems are not, in fact, so

different as critical opinion and genre grouping have intimated; both require the audience to internalize the text's "mood" as it progresses from fear to faith, whether by identifying with a clearly defined "I"/speaker in the case of *The Wanderer* or a clearly defined "you"/audience in the case of *The Order of the World.* We do the Exeter Book a disservice to valorize only poems that focus on speakers; after all, a poem needs an audience as well. Paying more attention to this audience means, in part, welcoming poems that prioritize it back into the hall of critical credence. Even if the Wanderer does not, perhaps the neglected portion of the Exeter Book "findan meahte / þone þe in meoduhealle min mine wisse, / oþþe mec freondleasne frefran wolde, / weman mid wynnum" (*The Wanderer* 26b-29a).

II. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, Toronto, December 27-30, 1993:

Session 53: "The Language of Old English Literature"

Hal Momma (New York Univ.)

"Grammar as Performance for Competent Anglo-Saxon Poets"

Although it is often believed that Old English poetry has loose — or even no — syntax, it does follow very strictly a syntax distinct from that of prose. This syntax has incorporated prosody into its system, since it applies three different rules to three different word classes that are defined by the metrical and syntactic status of individual words. I propose that these seemingly peculiar rules of prosodical syntax are, in fact, designed to assist communication between the poet and the recipient. Prosodical syntax allows much freedom to metrically stressed words, since they are marked by metrical stress and protected by the prosodical frame of the half-line, and are thus unlikely to confuse the recipient. On the other hand, this syntax designates a fixed order to metrically unstressed words, since they lack prosodical support, and are thus likely to confuse the recipient.

Prosodical syntax seems further to indicate that, at least in its origin, Old English poetry was meant to be received aurally rather than visually, because the cues that the syntax provides to the recipient depend on sound, confirming the oral origin of the poetry. Prosodical syntax can also explain how Anglo-Saxon poets could combine not only formulas but "unformulaic" words into an appropriate linear order. Such syntax thus constitutes the productive power of competent Anglo-Saxon poets who could compose new poems at every performance.

Edwin W. Duncan (Towson State Univ.)

"Word Boundaries, Scribal Practices, and Old English Prosodic Techniques"

Although the conventions regarding double alliteration were an integral part of the composition of Old English poetry, most scholars ignore this feature in their descriptions of Old English versification. To date, only A. J. Bliss has given the topic the attention it deserves; unfortunately, there are problems with his sometimes complex explanations. Besides, there is a much simpler way to explain double alliteration: in initially-stressed on-verses of three or more words, double alliteration was a rule; in those with one or two words, it was optional. Thus, in Klaeber's *Beowulf* over 97% of the types A, D, and E on-verses (excluding A3) with three or more words have double alliteration, while the remaining 3% fall into two categories: controversial verses rejected by others on different grounds (e.g., *eam his nefan*) and verses with *ond* as the middle word (e.g., *sæla ond mæla*).

This rule may also explain the double alliteration of another large group of initially-stressed on-verses. A study of Old English poetic manuscripts reveals that compounds like *geardagum* are generally written as two words instead of one, while function words such as *ond* are normally written next to the word following without any intervening space. If one considers Old English poetic compounds as two separate words as the scribes normally wrote them, then verses such as *feasceaft* (written *fea sceaft* in the MSS) *funden* would count as three-word verses. And these verses, like the three-word on-verses in Klaeber, almost always have double alliteration (96%).

These findings provide insight into Old English beliefs regarding word composition and also offer plausible guidelines for the poetic use of double alliteration. In doing so, they support Geoffrey Russom's arguments that word count is a central feature of the Old English metrical system and reveal new information about Old English verse structure.

Tracy A. Crouch (Stephen F. Austin State Univ.)

"Arguments for the Clitic Status of the Old English *ge-*"

Morphemes are traditionally classified according to syntactic and inflectional categories, but recent work in typology and universals has called attention to a different way of categorizing these basic units of the sentences: morphemes may be distinguished as either *lexical* or *grammatical.* Previous scholarship has classified the Old English form *ge-* (associated with a finite verb) as a grammatical morpheme. I would like to suggest, rather, that it functions synchronically as a member of the lexical morpheme category, specifically as a *clitic,* and, furthermore, that there are solid diachronic reasons for this behavior. Although *ge-* functions in Old English as a clitic, I must acknowledge that, as Jerzy Kurylowicz argues regarding the Gothic *ga-*, it is possible that the clitic form of *ge-* existed in Old English alongside a more grammaticalized form. Nevertheless, it seems clear that all instances of *ge-* do not represent a grammatical marking of the past participle, and all past participles are not marked by *ge-*. The very definition of a clitic is that of an in-between form — a morpheme both free and bound. It seems reasonable then to speak of degrees of cliticization (or grammaticalization). While some cases of *ge-* in Old English may seem to be past participle forms, others seem better interpreted as a continuing usage of *ge-* along the lines of its development in Proto-IndoEuropean and Proto-Germanic. Indeed, such a state of flux suggests the reason for the demise of our morpheme in Middle English.

Robert D. Fulk (Indiana Univ.)

"Language, Form, and Rhetoric in Old English Verse: Toward a Synthesis"

Recent Old English metrical theory tends to stress the dependence of metrical structure on linguistic structure, rather than viewing it as a wholly autonomous set of rules. Similarly, the rhetorical and formal patterns employed in Old English verse are not solely the result of aesthetic choices. To a remarkable extent they depend on the structure of the language itself, and the metrical forms dictated by linguistic structure; or, more precisely, rhetorical and linguistic structure are mutually dependent. The chief poetic effects of Old English verse are predicated on the principles of contrast and poetic diction. Variety of diction as a poetic aim produces the rhetorical effects of variation and parallelism, which in turn promote a stichic verse form. By contrast, eddic verse is strophic, and contains little poetic variation. The need for lexical variety also governs the invention of compounds, which in turn produces metrical variety — a point confirmed by transitional and early Middle English verse, in which declining lexical and metrical variety go hand in hand. Similarly, the relatively high incidence of clitics in Old English affects the metrical structure, but it also has rhetorical consequences, since it makes possible a more complex syntax that is particularly suited to engaging contrast, as with the *oþþæt* and *siððan* clauses studies by Edward B. Irving, Jr., and Thomas Shippey. This again is in contradistinction to eddic verse, which employs little direct contrast, few clitics, and generally simpler syntax.

Session 515: *"Beowulf"*

Josephine Bloomfield (Ohio Univ.)

"Reflections of Cultural Ideology in Textual Editing: Frederick Klaeber and Kinship"

Frederick Klaeber was very conscious of the dangers, in scholarship and translation, of falling into the expectations of one's own culture; indeed he scolded Trautmann for such a lapse when Trautmann criticized the *Beowulf*-poet for what he called — using modern poetic standards — roughnesses in style. But despite Klaeber's insight into Trautmann's cultural bias regarding poetic standards, he seems to have been unconscious of his own cultural expectations in a different area, that of kinship bonds.

In this paper, after noting numerous instances in Klaeber's articles, notes, editing, and glossing where he "softens" relationships between kin, I examine political, religious, social, intellectual, and literary forces and influences in the stratum, period, and place in which Klaeber was reared and educated, looking particularly at political and intellectual relationships to the nineteenth-century German bourgeois notion of family. I examine in somewhat deeper detail laws, literature, and public and personal documents of the Anglo-Saxon period detailing fostering, blood feud, blood kinship in determination of rights, and resistance to the Church's position on the sanctity of marriage; I also examine etymologically and historically words such as *family* and *home.* I argue that from all etymological and contextual evidence, Klaeber's idea that particular behaviors on the part of Beowulf,

Hrothgar, Wealhtheow, and others were acts of altruism or kindness based on family sentiment is an anachronistic one; however, because it pervades his glosses and notes, and because his glosses are accepted by most translators, his view pervades and even forms the texture of the poem as we know it.

Peter Richardson (Univ. of North Texas)

"Point of View and Identification in *Beowulf*"

The *Beowulf*-poet manipulates a small repertory of linguistic devices — especially motion and perception verbs — to establish distinct points of view from which we view the action. As in the modern horror film, the first half of *Beowulf* invites us to share a number of different perspectives, including the attacker's. If we trace the sequence of these invitations throughout the poem, however, we find an increasingly tight organization around the thanes' perspective, and a special interest in Wiglaf's point of view at a crucial moment in the poem.

After surveying previous criticism (especially Lumiansky, Renoir, and Earl), this paper attempts to answer the question: why would the poet direct us to identify with these thanes, and especially with Wiglaf? While the interest in thaneship in *Beowulf* and throughout Anglo-Saxon literature is overdetermined, both thaneship and literacy were crucial to the dramatic expansion of royal power in Anglo-Saxon England. Religious and secular authors were assiduously scripting thaneship during this period, mostly by encouraging two postures: obedience (in addition to traditional loyalty), and a preference for political rather than kinship forms of social definition. The *Beowulf*-poet mediates these potentially conflicting principles, first by inducing identification with the characters who would host such conflicts, and then by prescribing their proper resolution.

B. R. Hutcheson (Wesleyan College)

"The Significance of Oral-Traditional Elements of Old English Poetry: Towards an Interpretation of *Beowulf*"

This paper briefly examines four well-known metrical indications that the Old English verse form stems from an oral-formulaic tradition — alliteration of palatal <g> with velar <g>, contraction, parasiting, and Kaluza's law — and examines some of the ramifications of an oral-formulaic genesis of *Beowulf* for an interpretation of the poem. If parts at least of *Beowulf* are formulaic — and if we take "formulaic" to mean that the parts of the poem that we deem formulaic were not composed by the *Beowulf*-poet but by an earlier generation or earlier generations of poets — then we might expect to be able to detect in *Beowulf* not only the linguistic structures of this earlier poetry but perhaps some of its themes as well.

Richard Sacks, in his unfortunately as yet unpublished work on *Beowulf,* has shown that there was a restriction in Old English (as well as in Old Norse) against using the word *heall* as the first element of a compound due to possible confusion of the compounding form of this lexeme with the compounding form of *hel(l)* in PGmc., and suggests that the *Beowulf*-poet breaks this restriction in compounds describing Heorot in order to adumbrate the burning of Heorot. I extend Sacks's reading by showing that the language used to describe Grendel has (etymological) associations with hell and with Germanic paganism. One example I focus on is the term *gæstbona,* in which the poet seems to be playing off the Christian and the pagan senses of the term *gæst* against each other. The poet censures the Danes for petitioning the *gæstbona* — i.e., the devil, in the Christian sense of *gæst* — for help, whereas the Danes' prayers are in fact appropriate: they get help from the *gæstbona* — the monster-slayer, in the Germanic sense of *gæst.* The paper concludes by adducing further evidence for Sacks's reading of Grendel as a Tir-figure, not least of which is Jacob Grimm's extended discussion in *Deutsche Mythologie* of Tir as a fierce and bloodthirsty god of the sword (recall that swords cannot harm Grendel).

If *Beowulf* does incorporate pieces of Germanic mythology and legend in its structure — and I think the evidence is in favor of this interpretation — then we should expect the mythological/legendary substratum to be overlaid with later traditions and sources. This makes the earliest layers of the text difficult — perhaps impossible — to isolate. But metrical and linguistic criteria provide strong clues that they are indeed there.

Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State Univ.)

"Seventeen Ways of Looking at an Epic: Toward a *Beowulf* Handbook"

Beowulf scholarship has burgeoned to such an extent since its foundation with Thorkelin's 1815 edition of the poem that few if any students can hope to master all the work that has been and continues to be done on it. *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. Bjork and Niles; forthcoming, Univ. of

Nebraska Press), aimed at non-specialists to Anglo-Saxonists, will help solve this problem of increasing complexity by supplying a succession of chronological guides to, and analyses of, the scholarship on nearly all aspects of the epic from the beginnings to 1993. Eighteen scholars will write seventeen chapters, which will offer readers both a rapid glimpse at scholarly trends in the study of *Beowulf* and an in-depth exploration of selected problems. Each chapter will begin with a 50- to 100-word summary of its contents and a chronology of the most important books and articles on the particular topic it treats. The main body of each will constitute a history of scholarly interest in the chosen topic, a synthesis of present knowledge and opinion, and an analysis of what remains to be done. Beyond its obvious benefit the book will have at least three others: (1) Opening as it does such reservoirs of scholarship, it will underscore the importance of our trying to master as much of the scholarship as possible. Looking into the past revitalizes material that will help the future of *Beowulf* studies and the present and future state of pedagogy. (2) By thoroughly reviewing past scholarship, it will disinter important items previously missed; this will affect our attitude toward specific stages of, and trends in, scholarship. (3) As it demonstrates that the history of scholarship on the poem becomes an integral part of the poem itself, it will help change our tendency to see and too easily ignore past scholarship as irretrievably subject to past theoretical presuppositions and preoccupations.

Session 640: "Unexpressed but Understood Elements of Old English Texts"

Shari Horner (Univ. of Nebraska, Kearney)

"En/Closed Subjects: *The Wife's Lament* and the Culture of Early Medieval Female Monasticism"

This paper proposes a new way to read the gender of the speaker in *The Wife's Lament.* I draw on Judith Butler's recent work on gender performance to suggest that the repeated "acts" of gender in the poem signify a feminine speaking subject; my paper is thus concerned with the speaker's "cultural" (rather than grammatical) gender. The representation of the female self in early English poetry is regulated by a monastic "discourse of enclosure." It is these discursive practices — the historically specific expressions of femininity found in early medieval Christianity — which cause us to read the speaker as "female."

Of all the Old English elegies, only *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* exhibit the kind of physical enclosure which dominated cultural attitudes towards the female body in early medieval monasticism. The "male" elegiac speakers, while similarly exiled, wander freely. Evidence of female enclosure in a number of roughly contemporary Anglo-Saxon texts (the letters of missionary nuns, Aldhelm's *De virginitate,* and the slightly later Life of Christina of Markyate) suggests that those aspects of *The Wife's Lament* which have typically been seen as purely secular reflections of the Germanic-heroic world, can be read as traces of the ideology of female monasticism which governed the enclosed female body. The confined and exiled speaker, lamenting for her *hlaford* within her *eorðscræfe, under actreo, on uhtan,* can in fact be read as the representation of an enclosed female monastic, lamenting for her Lord, under the cross, singing the matins service. The language of the poem which has frequently caused the most critical consternation may in fact encode meanings from early 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"

In this paper I examine the myth of the Fall of Lucifer and the Rebel Angels as it appears in the "exordium" of *Genesis A* and two Anglo-Latin charters of the late tenth century, "King Edgar's Privilege to the New Minster, Winchester" (BL, Cotton Vesp. A.VIII, fols. 2v-33v), and a Burton Abbey charter contained in the Peniarth Cartulary (National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Peniarth MS 390). While many of the details found in the *Genesis A* passage are paralleled in texts from the hexameral and catechetical *narratio* traditions (in both Old English and Latin), the narrative structure and order of events have long been viewed as unique to the Anglo-Saxon poet's treatment of the story of Lucifer's Fall and the subsequent establishment of the created world. These 100 lines are among the most interesting in the entire poem in part because of their narrative vigor, but the motif of Lucifer's fall and the subsequent creation of the material world is even more striking due to the explicit causal relationship the poet establishes between those two events: God creates man in order to repopulate the celestial thrones left vacant by the rebellious angels, and He establishes the earth, sky, and seas for his benefit. From such a

presentation of events one is free to infer that, had Lucifer not fallen, man (and the physical world) would not have been created. This is a relatively pessimistic view of man's place in the scheme of creation that was first formulated by Origen, but rejected or ignored by other commentators including Augustine, who was to develop his own, less radical version of the "Replacement Doctrine" in the *De civitati Dei.* No parallel for the motif as it appears in *Genesis A* has been adduced. This paper examines strikingly similar manifestations of the motif in a rather unusual context: the Latin proems of the two Anglo-Saxon royal charters. In addition to establishing the unique form of the myth in these documents, the paper discusses its manifestation in "King Edgar's Privilege for New Minster" (a foundation document that marked the expulsion of secular canons from the abbey and established reformed monks in their stead) as an instance of Christian myth turned to political use. Moreover, it is argued, the fact that both charters can be dated and placed with certainty raises the very real possibility that they may serve as evidence in the still unresolved debate on the date and provenance of the codex in which *Genesis A* is contained: Junius 11.

Thomas A. Bredehoft (Ohio State Univ.)

"The Development of Textuality and the Genealogies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*"

The genealogical passages from the Common Stock of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* provide a useful locus for the examination of issues related to the study of orality and literacy in Anglo-Saxon England, as the genealogical catalogue is surely the descendent of pre-literate oral genealogies and the chronicle form is a literate genre, based upon Latin learning and chronology. The record of the layout and pointing of the *Chronicle*'s genealogical passages, however, complicates our expectations of a developing literacy which moves ever farther from "orality." For example, we can easily see that the A, B, and C manuscripts of the *Chronicle* each record completely all of the Common Stock's genealogical passages, while the D, E, and F manuscripts show a gradual removal of these passages from their texts. Simultaneously, the genealogies move from being completely unpointed to featuring a regular pattern of metrical post-patronymic pointing. These features combined might at first seem to suggest that this originally oral genre not only needed to be punctuated more and more conventionally as time went on, but also eventually came to be seen as unnecessary and redundant to a "fully literate" audience. But genealogies continued to be copied in equally late manuscripts (such as the *Textus Roffensis*) and the development of metrical pointing seems to stem less from an attempt to encode "oral" information into written texts than from an attempt to recapture the spatial features which characterize columnar genealogies such as those in Cotton Vespasian B.VI. Ultimately, the *Chronicle* genealogies appear to have been treated as written texts (not "oral" throughout the history of the *Chronicle* MSS, and the developments in textuality which they highlight are not movements from "orality" to "literacy," but from one sort of literacy to another.

Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Deor's Threatened 'Blame Poem'"

In spite of a growing consensus that views *Deor* as Christian consolation, the work can be better understood in reference to a genre common in a number of early societies, poems of blame. *Deor,* however, is not strictly speaking a blame poem because the scop within the work stops short of naming the lord who has treated him unjustly. Instead, it is a threatened blame poem; Deor's message to his lord is that if he does not get his position back as court poet, next time he will name him in the poem, and thus associate him with some of the worst tragedies of Germanic legend and history. Establishing the genre allows one in turn to offer an interpretation for the fictional elements — Deor himself appears to be a construct for the occasion — different from Eliason's suggestion that the work is a "begging poem." The Anglo-Saxon poet, I propose, wishes to reflect on a traditional kind of poetry. This interpretation, which frees *Deor* from any particular historical situation, lessens the chance of fixing its date of composition, with one possible exception: the use of the refrain becomes more pointed in comparison to Norse practice.

III. The Eleventh Annual Meeting of the Illinois Medieval Association, Loyola Univ., Chicago, February 18-19, 1994:

Dabney A. Bankert (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana)

"*Ligandi Solvendique* as Narrative Method: The Doctrine of Apostolic Succession in Eddius Stephanus' *Vita Wilfridi*"

The doctrine of apostolic succession, highlighted

by the semantic complex *ligandi solvendique*, permeates the text of Eddius Stephanus' *Vita Wilfridi*. Eddius employs both semantic and metaphorical reflexes of the binding and loosing motif to dramatize Wilfrid's elect status and to reveal his political agenda — advocacy for apostolic authority. A comparison of the *Vita Wilfridi* with Eddius' generic model, the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti*, reveals radical differences both in the narrative strategies and in the construction of subject in the two lives, and the two authors envision the apostolic mission quite differently. Eddius' response to the challenge of constructing a life of a powerful and non-ascetic bishop — the worldly, ambitious, and troublesome Wilfrid — was to adopt a model of spiritual authority fundamentally different from that exemplified by Cuthbert. The *Vita* then might be more accurately categorized as a political biography that casts Wilfrid as a model of apostolic authority. By placing his subject in the midst of contemporary debate, Eddius shifts the emphasis from Wilfrid's personality to Wilfrid's office and to the doctrine which legitimizes his office, that is, apostolic succession — the transmission of the power to teach, rule, and consecrate, conferred on the Apostles by Christ, to consecutive generations of bishops.

Betty Ellzey (Shepherd College)

"Angels in Sodom: Attitudes toward Homosexuality in *Genesis A*"

The modifications to the story of Sodom that the poet of *Genesis A* makes in his biblical source offer insight into the Anglo-Saxon attitude toward homosexuality and possibly into the original purpose and audience of the poem. In each of the three sections dealing with Sodom — the war with the Northern kings, the angels' visit to Sodom, and the city's destruction — the poet emphasizes the otherness of the Sodomites and intensifies the Vulgate's condemnation of them. In his retelling of the angels' visit to Sodom immediately preceding its destruction, the poet makes several subtle but important changes. For instance, he changes the significance of Lot's bow to the angels when they first enter the city; in the Vulgate the bow is a sign of the proper respect to creatures Lot knows are messengers of God while in the Old English poem it is a form of persuasion to creatures Lot thinks are ordinary men in danger of homosexual assault. In the Vulgate, when the Sodomites demand to have intercourse with the visitors, this demand is seen primarily as a violation of hospitality. Although violation of hospitality is mentioned in the poem, the sexual violation is much more important, with the poet's adding an explicit condemnation of homosexuality: it is a sin against nature, useless and unproductive, unlike intercourse between men and women, which is natural (even presumably when it is rape). What is the purpose of the increased emphasis on, and condemnation of, homosexuality? Evidence from the Anglo-Saxon penitentials and other sources indicates that homosexual behavior is a concern in both the lay community and the monasteries. Is the treatment of the Sodomites in *Genesis A* part of a pattern of condemnation of homosexual behavior in Anglo-Saxon England? Although we cannot answer this question definitively, this comparison of *Genesis A* and the biblical Genesis allows us to raise the question legitimately.

Christopher Fee (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Productive Destruction: Torture, Text, and the Body in the Old English *Andreas*"

Writing, in the Old English *Andreas*, is at once both a productive and a destructive activity. The Mermedonians first subvert the "productive" activity of writing into a tool for the destruction of mankind: "Hæfdon hie on rune ond on rimcræfte awriten, wælgrædige, wera endestæfe..." (134-35: "They had, in runes and in counting, written, the slaughter-greedy ones, the end-word of men..."). Later, albeit unwittingly, these same "slaughter-greedy ones" are the agents by which the "destructive" practice of torture is itself transformed, as they "write" upon Andreas' body his identity as a type of Christ. The very words uttered by the devil to incite the Mermedonians against Andreas illuminate the productive nature of torture and the destructive nature of writing in the semiotic context of the poem: "Lætað wæpnes spor, iren ecgheard, ealdorgeard sceoran..." (1180-81: "Let the mark of weapon, edge-hard iron, cut the life-dwelling..."). "Spor" can mean the mark of a wound, but it can also mean a mark, or a trace, of any kind; "sceran" means to cut, shear or shave, and is most often used in regards to the cutting or shaving of hair, or the shearing of sheep. Thus both words, while explicitly referring to an act of torture, also implicitly invoke an image of writing and of the preparation of parchment. It is just this sort of "play" between the terms of production and those of destruction which I explore in this paper, focusing on how Andreas' body ultimately serves as the page upon which this multivalent (and seemingly paradoxical) text is written.

An exploration of the analogy between

productive acts of writing and destructive acts of torture is central to my discussion of *Andreas*. More to the point, I wish to discuss the tangible results of these acts — the "texts" composed through both writing and torture — in the context of this analogy. In a very real way the body of Andreas acts as a page upon which his identity is written through the torture inflicted upon him. The infliction of wounds upon his body, therefore, parallels the inscription of his identity in the text. Tellingly, Andreas' identity is that of a type of Christ, who is "the Word" itself. The torture inflicted upon Andreas is thereby "written" on his body, just as the poet's words are written on the page. In this way the acts of writing and of torture are both likewise subverted, and the relationship between the productive and the destructive nature of each act is made manifest.

Joyce Tally Lionarons (Ursinus College)

"Bodies, Buildings, and Boundaries: Metaphors of Liminality in Old English and Old Norse Literature"

That the human body may be compared to a building erected to house the spirit is a commonplace of medieval literature: the metaphor recurs in poems, sermons, and sagas; it is lexically reinforced in Old English by compounds which refer to the body as a *banhus* or *bansele* ("bone-house" or "bone-hall"). Conversely, a building may be figured as if it were a body: its door may be a mouth, its roof-pole a back that can be "ridden" by a monstrous *draugr*. To enter a house or hall by its doors is quite literally to cross a liminal boundary; however, a building, like a body, may also be penetrated violently, even sexually, and it is in these instances that the building is most likely to be figured as a gendered human body in literature, and in which the liminal boundaries of that building/body are most significant for the understanding of a literary text.

This paper explores the implications of the building/body metaphor in Old English and Old Norse literature, with special emphasis on the permeability of buildings and bodies as the metaphor is played out in *Beowulf*, *Grettis saga*, and Snorri Sturluson's *Skáldskaparmál*. The paper concentrates on the building-as-body side of the metaphor, and by examining this metaphor draws conclusions about the gendered human body as it exists in the thought and literature of the Germanic Middle Ages.

Brian McFadden (Univ. of Notre Dame)

"Deathbeds, Marriage Beds, and Changes of Power in Heorot"

In this paper, I argue that the *Beowulf*-poet foregrounds the precarious role of the female peace-weaver in the Danish and Geatish societies portrayed in the poem. Recent feminist scholarship on *Beowulf* has re-examined the role of Wealhtheow, but with conflicting opinions. Helen Damico and Jane Chance have argued that Wealhtheow represents an active figure who serves to encourage verbally the physical action of the male characters, while Gillian Overing emphasizes the ultimate nonsignification of the female peace-weaver in a society that values masculine proficiency at violent action. I argue for a position somewhere between these two extremes: Wealhtheow is indeed an active and powerful player in the politics of Heorot, but she is also at the mercy of Hrothgar's military fortunes, as the other peace-weavers mentioned in *Beowulf* are tied to the fortunes of their respective courts.

Ultimately, these fortunes change at the death of the lord; if he loses in battle, he dies and his line is interrupted; if he sires an heir in a successful peace-weaving marriage, his line will continue. The feminine body is used as a locus for continuance of the line; if the peace-weaving marriage yields an heir and the peace holds between two warring parties, the peace-weaver has been successful in her task. Changes of power in the courts of *Beowulf* are intimately linked to the marriage bed of the peace-weaver and the death-bed of the king; the social order rests on the physical acts of sex and death. The *Beowulf*-poet is aware of the importance of these two bodily acts and signifies changes in the power structure of Heorot by inserting the words "bed" and "rest" or their compounds into the text whenever power changes hands in Heorot. In addition, the assignment of the term *gebeddan* ("bed-companion") to Wealhtheow and the acknowledgment of her powerful place in court, unusual for a literary peace-weaver, serves as another poetic clue that the struggle for succession depends in large part upon the acts of her body.

Nancy Warren (Indiana Univ.)

"Inner Space: The Hall, the Homosocial, and the Human Body in *Beowulf*"

Beowulf is in many respects a poem of enclosed spaces. Most of the important action in the poem

takes place within walls; for example, Beowulf's three fights occur respectively in a hall, a cave, and a barrow. Other important action (such as feasting and gift-giving) and important speech (such as boasts, songs of the scops, and accounts of Beowulf's adventures) also takes place indoors. Open space in the poem tends to be dangerous; the sea and the haunted mere attest to this fact. Opening an enclosed space, literally or figuratively, also holds dangers, as the disasters resulting from Grendel's invasion of Heorot and the thief's invasion of the dragon's barrow demonstrate.

Enclosed space is not simply a void in which actions take place. It has particular characteristics, especially gender. The hall is the most striking example of gendered space, a concept of space informed by the ideas of Michel de Certeau and Gayle Rubin. It is masculine, an image of the enclosed, homosocial world of the *geoguð* and the *duguð*. Opening the enclosure of the hall need not be the literal arrival of an invader. When a woman is placed in the masculine space of the hall and genders (at least partially) this space feminine, the space is opened and dangerous things happen. Wealhtheow's entries into Heorot, while representing the peaceweaving, enclosing role of women, also seem to bring out sinister references to the future. More obvious examples of this phenomenon are Grendel's mother and Modthrytho, who cause death and destruction. The dangers are resolved by the re-gendering of the space as masculine, thus re-enclosing it.

The idea of the hall as a gendered space points to the connection between spaces enclosed by walls and spaces enclosed by the body. Numerous descriptions of armor in *Beowulf* emphasize the reinforcement of the enclosure of the physical body in an attempt to prevent the dangerous opening of a wound. In addition, Sarah Higley notes the poet's likening of Heorot to a body in the description of its destruction. Just as walls enclose space for physical action, the body also encloses space for emotional and mental action. This enclosure is made literal in words such as *breosthord* and *wordhord*, enclosures which are also dangerous to open.

IV. "Anglo-Saxonism: The Idea of Anglo-Saxon England from the Anglo-Saxons to the Present Day," Univ. of California, Berkeley, March 19-20, 1994:

Janet Thorman (College of Marin)

"The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems and the Making of the English Nation"

The poems recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as tenth-century entries work to produce an ideology that governs a discourse of history. That discourse founds the idea of an English nation. The nation is a symbolic production. In turn, the *Chronicle* produces itself retroactively as a natural history when it produces a nation in writing.

The poems for 942, 973, and 975 are commonly dismissed as imitative, redundant, and generally uninteresting. They are important, however, for the ideological work they perform: They write West-Saxon power and conquest as the continuation of poetic convention. They thereby naturalize West-Saxon hegemony by identifying West-Saxon power as national authority.

Analysis of the poems shows, first, that they imitate the traditional diction of heroic poetry, as well as the conventions of the Germanic praise poem. Second, they draw upon formulas and themes of Christian epic narrative and elegy, reappropriating the language of religious poetry for political purpose. Finally, they read a symbolic guarantee of providential design in human and natural events. God's will, an intention and motivation manifested as events and actions, becomes the origin of meaning in history; events and actions, what happens in time, become signifiers of that meaning.

The discourse of providential history would have long been available for a political ideology in Anglo-Saxon culture. The vernacular *Chronicle* enlists the available, theological discourse only under the particular political conditions of the tenth century that demand an ideology to buttress a particular regime of power. West-Saxon domination may then be read to carry out a national teleology and transcendent design.

Gregory VanHoosier-Carey (U. of Texas, Austin)

"Byrhtnoth in Dixie: The Emergence of Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Postbellum American South"

In this paper I demonstrate how Anglo-Saxon studies in the postbellum South provided a cultural narrative that helped Southerners deal with the consequences of the Civil War. One way in which it performed this function was by linking the struggle between the South and the North with the Norman Conquest. Much of the Anglo-Saxon scholarship of the period dwelt on the notion that although the Normans conquered the Anglo-Saxons in 1066 they were not able to triumph over the Anglo-Saxon language and customs. Eventually the language and

the customs won out, and the Normans were transformed into Englishmen. Many Southerners believed that since the Anglo-Saxon language withstood the Norman occupation, it could be used as a means to safeguard Southern values and customs. Thus, the reason why the study of Anglo-Saxon went from being a minor part of the modern language course work to a major part of the university curriculum at Southern schools was that it provided a discourse and a set of scholarly practices that validated the heroism of the "Lost Cause" and bolstered the belief that the South would "rise again" through its social customs.

Anglo-Saxon studies also served as an arena in which social anxieties created by the emancipation of African-American slaves could be worked out. Southern Anglo-Saxonists conflated the notions of Anglo-Saxon language and the "Anglo-Saxon race" and therefore produced scholarship that implicitly supported the social policy of racial segregation. For example, Sidney Lanier in *The Science of English Verse* (1880) maintains that the natural rhythm of English was an Anglo-Saxon one that differed significantly from the rhythm found in Black minstrel songs. Because Lanier believes that the intrusion of foreign rhythms would endanger the "natural" rhythm of English, he advocates a practice of metrical segregation analogous to the Southern policy of racial segregation.

J. R. Hall (Univ. of Mississippi)

"Nineteenth-Century American Anglo-Saxonism: The Question of Language"

In the mid-nineteenth century many Americans subscribed to "Anglo-Saxonism": the belief that the political tradition of natural rights, popular govern ment, and free institutions originated with the original Anglo-Saxons and that the contemporary English-speaking world had a mission to bring the fruits of Anglo-Saxon civilization to other lands. Despite Anglo-Saxonism, few Americans in the 1840s knew Anglo-Saxon, which was regularly taught at only the Univ. of Virginia. A leading figure in the debate, Charles Anderson (1814-95), was unacquainted with the language and rejected not simply Anglo-Saxonism as a political movement but Anglo-Saxon itself as the historical basis of modern English. In contrast, John S. Hart (1810-77) believed so strongly in the study of Anglo-Saxon he introduced it at Central High School of Philadelphia (1850-54), of which he was principal, and maintained that one of the benefits of teaching Anglo-Saxon would be to establish strong resistance to importing loan-words into modern English. Neither Anderson's ignorance nor Hart's arrogance is pleasing. Had Anderson, a man of wide erudition, taught himself the language (as had a dozen other Americans by the time he wrote), he would not have weakened his political argument by ignorant references to Anglo-Saxon. Had Hart, a gifted educator and philologist, not misapplied his knowledge, he would not have weakened his pedagogic argument on the desirability of teaching Anglo-Saxon as a basic part of the curriculum. "History is bunk," said a later American (Henry Ford) — but only if we choose not to learn from it.

Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State Univ.)

"Napoleon, Scandinavia, and the Birth of Anglo-Saxon Studies"

Scandinavian interest in Anglo-Saxon language and literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries developed hand-in-hand with the rise of nationalism, especially during the Napoleonic era. The titles of many scholarly works on Anglo-Saxon subjects reveal a nationalistic spirit (e.g., Thorkelin's 1815 edition of *Beowulf* titled *De Danorum rebus gestis seculi III & IV, Poema Danicum dialecto Anglo-Saxonica* and Grundtvig's 1841 review essay, "Bjovulfs Drape eller det Oldnordiske Heltedigt" [The Nordic Epic of Beowulf or the Old Norse Heroic Poem]) as do the works themselves. Before Napoleon, for example, Hans Gram (1751) and Erasmus Nyerup (1787) both view Anglo-Saxon as the source of modern Danish. After Napoleon, Thorkelin (1815) insists that Anglo-Saxon actually is Danish; Ludvig Müller (1835) asserts that Anglo-Saxon and Latin literature compare favorably as he urges the study of Anglo-Saxon because of its affinity with Danish; and George Stephens (1853) feels that Scandinavians — especially Danes — should be proud that English, a direct descendent of old Danish, has supplanted Latin and French as the universal language. The most sophisticated nationalistic statements come at the beginning and end of the nineteenth century. Rasmus Rask in his preface to *Angelsaksisk Sproglære* (1817) expresses a bias with philosophic roots in the work of Johann Gottfried von Herder. Apparently for Rask, Anglo-Saxon literature and language were the loftiest expressions of the Danish soul. To recover them was to recover Danish national identity. Frederik Rønning (1885) espouses a more modest kind of nationalism than Rask even as he affirms it. Because Anglo-Saxon language and literature have distinctly northern cultural and aesthetic features,

they have great historic value for Scandinavians. All these scholars illustrate how varied, but essentially the same, Scandinavian Anglo-Saxonism can be. The urge for national survival produced some exaggerated claims but also some works of enduring value for Anglo-Saxon studies.

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

"Who Do These Anglo-Saxon(ist)s Think They Are, Anyway?"

Along with a few other Anglo-Saxonists who have been around for some time (e.g., John P. Hermann, Gillian Overing, Robert Boenig) I find that my recent work has had the curious if not the entirely unwelcome effect of returning me to the status of a newcomer and outsider, at least in the eyes of those scholars who view poststructuralist work in Old English as an invasion. We sometimes find ourselves treated as strangers on the beach, asked who we think we are to be bringing new teachings to hallowed shores. In a recent paper, Thomas Shippey compared the confrontation between theorists and traditionalists to the famous anecdote about Radbod, a Frisian duke about to be baptized by St. Wulfhramn. When the saint explained that, once baptized, Radbod would go to heaven while his noble ancestors would burn in hell, the heathen promptly retreated, preferring the company of his ancestors, however miserably they might be suffering, to an eternity with the blessed who excluded them. Who did Wulfhramn (a Frankish archbishop) think he was to tell Radbod what to do? Who did Radbod think he was to resist? (Some of Radbod's Frisian ancestors had been Christian for decades.) Is the "new wave" of Anglo-Saxonists telling our colleagues what to do? Do we dare to ask each other who we think we are? In answer, I compare Shippey's reading of Radbod to later narratives about Frisia, including Wagner's *Lohengrin*, in which Radbod's descendant, an evil woman named Ortrud, outwits the new arrival to her land, who is Lohengrin. Lohengrin cannot say who he is, and that is why Ortrud can defeat him. But in the process she defeats her own purposes in restoring Radbod's line as she destroys the Swan Knight's plans to establish a new order among the Frisians he has come to rescue.

Velma Bourgeois Richmond (Holy Names College)

"Historical Novels to Teach Anglo-Saxonism to Young Edwardians"

A notable part of nationalism in Britain (and the United States) in the period before World War I is enthusiasm for the Teutonic. Clare A. Simmons' *Reversing the Conquest History and Myth in Nineteenth-Century British Literature* (1990) is a helpful study of the Victorian context that can be applied to children's literature. The impact of *Ivanhoe* (1819), much loved in both adult and children's versions, is crucial, as are Bulwer-Lytton's *Harold* (1848) and Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake* (1866). Advocacy of Anglo-Saxonism for children occurs in the number of versions of *Beowulf* and emphasis upon the period in histories. Less well known are many remarkable historical novels, frequently reflecting Edwardian anxiety about invasion. King Alfred is a favorite focus, since Queen Victoria occupied his throne. Some who wrote about Alfred are Henty, Eva March Tappan, Eliza Pollard, Paul Creswick, and Edward Gilliat. There are fewer accounts of the Norman Conquest, but Henty's *Wulf the Saxon* is notable. Anglo-Saxonism for juveniles praises Teutonic races and shows that the early period defined a British character currently evident in the experience and ideals of Empire. This includes seamanship and love of the sea, manliness expressed through comradeship (often with a public school spirit, earnestly advocated by Henry Newbolt), protection of women, and the establishment of Christianity.

The most dedicated writer of juvenile historical novels is Charles W. Whistler (1856-1913), who wrote a child's version of *Havelock the Dane* and of *Prince Horn and Princess Rymenhild*. His works center on episodes from history, and he demonstrates a knowledge of archaeology as well as chronicles and romance. Whistler's Anglo-Saxonism is present in tales of the Viking Raid of 845, the Danish conquest of East Anglia, the Last Saxon Struggle against the Danes with Ironside and Canute, King Alfred's creation of the first English Fleet, and times of Ina of Wessex, Offa, Olaf Tryggvason, and Hakon. His best novel is *Dragon Osmund: A Story of Athelstan and Brunanburh*. Little has been written about Whistler, but he is part of Anglo-Saxonism at the turn of the century, an exemplary writer of exciting and authentic juvenile fiction that shaped ideals.

Fred Astren (Univ. of California, Berkeley)

"'What has Anglia to do with Jerusalem?': A Biblical Explanation for Anglo-Saxon Ethnogenesis"

In the eighteenth century an idea emerged in

England claiming that the Anglo-Saxons were descended from the ancient Israelites. This religio-historical ideology was derived from a careful literal reading of the Old Testament and a less scrupulous utilization of history. Usually refuted out-of-hand by historians and religious scholars alike, this reading of history is firmly rooted in early modern ethnography, wherein authors used historical claims to link their nation with antiquity. For example, the French were associated with the Trojans, and the Polish nobility professed Sarmatian antecedents. In England authors used similar literary strategies to create a myth of historical continuity linking the Anglo-Saxons with the ancient Israelites, and, thereby, with the divinely sanctioned sacred history and prophecy of the Bible. This reading of biblical and European history is briefly described in order to contextualize it within intellectual currents that contribute to its development. The broad historicization of Anglo-Israelism is derived from speculation by English authors of the period on the pseudepigraphic Fourth Book of Ezra, the so-called Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, and the role of the Jews in the coming millennium. The millennial character of this reading establishes the Anglo-Saxons, as descendants of Israel, in a pivotal role within "God's plan for history."

By means of such historical speculation, the "barbarian" Anglo-Saxons were conceived as inheritors of God's promises and prophecies to Israel in the Old Testament, while the nations of Europe and the Jews were properly recontextualized in relation to Anglo-Israelite historical and genealogical formulations. The British were thus privileged within sacred history, offering an explanation for the mission and success of the Empire. With careful scholarship every act of the nation and the Empire could be understood as the fulfillment of God's plan as prophesied in the Bible. Anglo-Israelism gained wide popularity in the nineteenth century, producing a vast literature. It survives today, with believers found in many Protestant churches in Great Britain and America, and in an extreme form it acts as a central ideology for racism and exclusivity in churches of the Christian Identity Movement.

Nicholas Howe (Ohio State Univ.)

"The Afterlife of Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Auden, Hill, and Gunn"

This paper discusses the ways in which these three major English poets of the twentieth century have been influenced by Old English poetic techniques. Each encountered Old English poetry while an undergraduate, and each made it a part of his idiom. Auden's use in the late 1920s and 1930s of Old English alliterative technique is the most obvious example of this influence, especially when it appears in poems with strong thematic resemblances to Old English elegies (e.g., *The Wanderer*).

The use of Old English poetics can also be located in Geoffrey Hill's collection, *Mercian Hymns* (1971). This work, as it refers to both the historical King Offa and to contemporary England, derives its extensive use of variation from Old English poetry. Although printed as prose, these Hymns may also be read as poems in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript (written from margin to margin) and thus reveal a use of the long Old English poetic line divided by a caesura. *Mercian Hymns* fuses Anglo-Saxon historical subject with Old English poetic techniques. Thom Gunn's recent poems in *The Man with Night Sweats* (1993) display the influence of Old English poetics in their use of an alliterative cadence and elegiac tone.

The work of these three poets, as well as others (Pound, Bunting, Heaney, Hughes), shows that Old English poetry may be read as a significant influence on English poetry of this century.

V. The Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Knoxville, April 14-16, 1994:

Session 8: "Anglo-Saxon England I: History and Literature"

Janet Schrunk Ericksen (Vanderbilt Univ.)

"Discerning Eve in *Genesis B*"

Neither Adam nor Eve in *Genesis B* when faced with the disguised devil can immediately recognize his nature. Neither has the gift of discernment of spirits that Paul mentions in 1 Corinthians 12:10 and that exegetical writers elaborated on in speculative theology concerning the workings of the Holy Spirit. With the gift, Saint Anthony, for instance, could test and ascertain the nature of an unknown spirit. Despite Adam and Eve's lack of this gift, their responses to Satan's messenger are informed by discernment of spirits stories and discussion. Writers on discernment not only recount exemplary use of the rare gift but, more importantly for *Genesis B,* describe a hierarchical response to help deter seduction into sin if a person cannot discern. A comparison of Adam's and Eve's responses to the unfamiliar tempter highlights the characterization of Eve by way of her actions; she is presented as

culpable despite the narrator's positive descriptions of her.

Adam responds to the tempter in exactly the way suggested by those who have discernment of spirits: he acknowledges that he cannot tell the nature of the spirit and so falls back on the word of someone who can: God. Eve, on the other hand, judges for herself. Confronted with a spirit that she does not recognize, she allows appeals to her own authority to take precedence over prudence. Gregory, Athanasius, Origen, and Cassian warm against such weakness. The instances of failed discernment described by these writers parallel the narration of Eve's fall. She could have turned to Adam or to God before responding to the tempter; just as in the Desert Fathers' stories of discernment, submission to the will of another is construed as a virtue. Her actions are, instead, an inversion of Adam's actions and of discernment of spirits theology. Within this hierarchical and exegetical pattern of response, the narrative tension between the positive comments concerning Eve and the negative account of her actions stresses not her goodness or her intentions, but the difficulty of discernment and of responding to temptation. Discernment of spirits discussions structure the narrative to allow a complex presentation of the loss incurred by the fall as well as a kind of commonalty with Eve's situation.

Eugene Green (Boston Univ.)

"Between History and the Future in *Beowulf* and Alfred's Laws"

In meditating on the unfolding of secular history, Alfred and the *Beowulf*-poet place themselves at the gap that cleaves past achievements from the unpredictabilities of the future. So in one passage Alfred reveals some hesitance at codifying a great many laws, because he does not know "hwæt þæs ðam lician wolde ðe æfter us wæren." Likewise, the *Beowulf*-poet reminds his audience that a man's "ellenrof" does not determine "Hwar...ende gefere lifgesceafta," that "leng ne mæg mon mid his magum meduseld buan." This reflection on the unknowable issues, furthermore, forms a consistent pattern of interpreting the past that is common to the laws and the poem. The aim of the essay, then, is to discuss the nature of this pattern and to show how it finds complementary articulation in Alfred's codes and in the poet's narrative.

Several parallels in *Beowulf* and the laws contribute to a sense that understanding and presenting history, as well as addressing the future, bespeak a common Anglo-Saxon sensibility. Both works open with an attention to the secular past and to the acts of God. The poem and the laws center on an awareness, late in Hrothgar's, Beowulf's, and Alfred's realms, that the achievements of each cannot stand as bulwarks of stability against contingency. Each work recognizes that without moral commitment to abet physical power, a kingdom cannot perpetuate itself. The poet and Alfred address matters of succession and continuing security. Formally different, these works evince hermeneutic patterns that the essay systematically explicates.

Session 14: "Manuscripts: Decoration, Iconography, and Patronage"

Catherine Karkov (Miami Univ.)

"The Spaces of Women in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"

Women in Anglo-Saxon art are frequently depicted and described as "marginalized" — pushed to the edges or borders of a scene, diminished in scale, or separated in some way from the primary narrative of both text and illustration. While this is indeed clearly the case in a number of manuscripts — Aldhelm's *De virginitate,* for example — it is not so clear in other cases — i.e., the sequence of the fall of man in the "Caedmon" *Genesis.* Indeed in the latter manuscript there is a distinction made by both poet and artist between the spaces of the visual and verbal narrative to which women have access before and after the fall. This paper focuses on the spaces inhabited by women in a variety of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, including the "Caedmon" *Genesis* (Bodl., Junius 11), Ælfric's *Pentateuch* (BL, Cotton Claudius B.IV), *De virginitate* (Lambeth Palace Lib., 200), and the various illustrated Prudentius manuscripts; it examines the diversity of ways in which women's bodies and the spaces they inhabit serve as bearers of meaning on the page, within the narrative, and in Anglo-Saxon society.

Session 18: "Anglo-Saxon England II: Art"

Peter B.G. Shoemaker (Brandeis Univ.)

"*Communitas Regni Christi*: Sacral Space and the Construction of Unity in Anglo-Saxon England, 950-1040"

Written in response to Panofsky, and later, Radding and Clark, this paper attempts a rapprochement of sorts between two facets of

Anglo-Saxon history that have rarely been used together successfully: the textual record and the architectural record. Specifically, the aim of the paper is to suggest that architecture, like the law codes and the liturgy, participated in an attempt to transform Anglo-Saxon society in the aftermath of the Danish invasions.

The paper initially outlines the background out of which the new architecture of the tenth-century came into being. I trace the development of the ecclesiastical architecture in relation to the evolving conceptions of law and social ordering, stressing the growing need in the mid-tenth century for a new architectural expression of religious and political realities. Following this brief sketch, the central portion of the paper is devoted to suggesting ways in which the architects of the tenth century revolution transformed architecture into a contemporary piece of propaganda.

I argue that as one architectural form gave way to another, integrating the liturgical structure of the church, the law codes, in tandem with the liturgy, articulated a unified concept of community obedient to the king as *rex et sacerdos*. I conclude by suggesting that the new, or rediscovered, transeptal plan not only mirrored, but reinforced, the new relations of authority and unity in millenarian England.

Susan E. von Daum Tholl (Boston Univ.)

"Anglo-Saxon Book Production in an Eighth-Century Continental Writing Center: Cutbercht at Salzburg"

The Cutbercht Gospels (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Codex 1224) is one of the most interesting survivors of a small group of early medieval Gospel books produced for missionary activity on the Continent. The Anglo-Saxon scribe, Cutbercht, is known by inscription, and limited text decoration identifies the scribe with the artist.

This paper discusses several Insular bookmaking practices brought by this itinerant Anglo-Saxon to a regional writing center on the Continent during the early Carolingian period. These habits include: the gathering of Chapter Lists at the beginning of the book (an early Italian practice known to eighth-century Northumbrian scribes); the transformation of an elegant, Continental *per cola et commata* uncial Gospel text model into Anglo-Saxon script; the creative incorporation of Insular structures for Canon Tables and initial decoration; and an Anglo-Saxon reworking of a late antique evangelist portrait archetype from Ravenna.

Vienna 1224 stands alone as an example of Anglo-Saxon work made at Salzburg in the later eighth century, just as it stands apart from Carolingian Court production. Insular features used by Cutbercht reveal his training. Specifically, the essential structural forms of the Canon Tables in Vienna 1224 and one distinctive triangular interlace motif found only in early Canterbury manuscripts, both point to Canterbury as Cutbercht's training ground. This paper finally argues that Insular traits provide internal evidence for associating the Cutbercht Gospels with the earlier period of the writing center at Salzburg and the Irish bishop Virgil (743-84) as patron.

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"Open Book or Silent Image:Insular Gospel Illumination and the Liturgy"

On the function of illuminated manuscripts in early Insular culture, Janet Backhouse recently noted, "A splendid copy of the Word of God, with richly illuminated pages and precious covers, could furthermore be used as a tangible symbol of the faith when paraded before a recently converted and largely illiterate congregation." This paper examines the question as to the extent that Insular Gospel illuminations were made visible, to whom, and in what circumstances. Extant evidence of liturgical practice suggests that Gospel illuminations were not made visible to the faithful during Mass, nor does it seem likely that they were closely studied by catechumens in preparation for baptism (in the context of the third scrutiny of the catechumens in Ordo XI). Although the Bonifacian correspondences suggest the potential for display of a copy of the *Epistles of Peter* written in gold, such tactics of display seem to have been rare in the Insular world. The reverence with which the Gospels were regarded and the association of display Gospels with the cults of monastic saints suggest that if these books were studied, such access was probably limited to the elite of the monastic community and to those in training for the diaconate and the responsibility of reading from the Gospels to the community. Exegetical and liturgical references in illuminations would have been readily apparent to this audience of *literati,* but the primary function of the illuminations may well have been the honoring of the Gospels themselves.

VI. "Violence in the Middle Ages," Fordham Univ., April 15-16, 1994:

Virginia Blanton-Whetsell (Binghamton Univ.)

"Raping the Island, Raping the Virgin: Estate Violence in the Cult of St. Æthelthryth of Ely"

Historical and literary sources provide insight into the fluctuations of cult activity surrounding the shrine of St. Æthelthryth. These fluctuations invite some speculative observations about the cult activities surrounding the saint, the politics, and the history of the monastic community. Focusing on such events as attempted *raptus* of Queen Æthelthryth by her husband Ecgfrith of Northumbria; the violence committed against the Ely monastery when the Danes sacked it; Hereward's repulsion of William the Conqueror; and the various estate feuds which occurred over the course of many years, this project examines the various miracle stories represented in the twelfth-century *Liber Eliensis,* a text compiled of various documents: a hagiographical account of the saint and her family, a history of the ecclesiastical politics at Ely, and an account of the refoundation of the monastery by Æthelwold. In this compilation, the miracle stories portray the violent history of the Ely monastic community as a series of rapes against the community and the virginity of their local saint. The compiler of this history provides a local monastic view of these events, and these embellishments project the image of a powerful, protective, virginal saint who combats bishop or king to vindicate her community, who punishes those who encroach upon her land or community holdings, who holds sway over other saints such as Benedict, and most importantly, who maintains the purity of both her own body and her lands. In effect, the *Liber Eliensis* constructs the monastic community as her body which becomes the signifier for its incorruptibility. Using literary, historical, and visual images, the monks suggest that the rapes of the land and rapes of the virgin will be thwarted by the wrath of St. Æthelthryth.

VII. The Twenty-Ninth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ., May 5-8, 1994. As in previous years dating from 1983, the Institute and CEMERS at Binghamton Univ. 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:

Twelfth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 58: "Iberian Perspectives on Anglo-Saxon Source Studies"

Mercedes Salvador Bello (Universidad de Sevilla)

"*Nemnað hy sylfe*: A Crux in Exeter Riddle 57"

Although the solution "swallows" for Exeter riddle 57 seems to be generally accepted, the meaning of its last line "nemnað hy sylfe" is still an enigma in itself. Krapp and Dobbie's notes, together with Brett's translation "they name themselves," set the grounds for an onomatopoeic interpretation of this line which is not very convincing, as Old English *swealwe* is not an onomatopoeic term such as "cuckoo."

The main aim of this paper is to argue against this hypothesis and propose another explanation based on the similarity with a Latin analogue: Aldhelm's Riddle 47 ("De Hirundo"). In the last three lines of this Riddle, Aldhelm plays with two words: *chelidon,* the Greek term for "swallow," and *chelidonia,* a plant from which a salve with healing properties for eye illnesses was derived. Since the equivalent of *chelidonia* is Modern English "swallowwort," we can eventually consider that, like Aldhelm, the Old English riddler may have also intended to use this etymological association between the bird name and the plant. We could take the word *sylfe* as playing on the phonologically similar term *sealf* — Modern English "salve." The translation "they name a salve" thus solves the enigma posed by this line connecting the key word *swealwe* with the plant swallowwort.

Rafael Casado Santos (Universidad de Sevilla)

"Latin Calques in Ælfric's *Life of St. Edmund*"

This paper explores the syntactic parallelisms between Ælfric's *Life of St. Edmund* and its Latin source, Abbo's *Passio Sancti Eadmundi.* First, it analyzes those fragments which present a clear structural isomorphism, that is, what we can call a calque proper. Second, it examines those fragments which coincide in their theme but are structured differently: different word order, different clausal agreement, and so on. Finally it addresses the question of why Ælfric discarded certain fragments from the original version and incorporated instead material which does not appear in Abbo's text.

María Pilar Fernández-Alvarez and Catalina Montes (Universidad de Salamanca)

"Preverbation in Old Germanic Languages: A Research Method"

This paper brings about a preliminary theoretical and methodological study of preverbation in the Old Germanic languages, its origin, evolution and relation with the Indo-European ones, a field poorly investigated so far, in spite of being an important means of linguistic productivity in the Germanic languages. It tries to establish an operative conceptual framework that takes into account the morphological, syntactical and semantical aspects, in order to build a comprehensive model which can integrate the different language levels.

Our presentation is part of a wider research project about Indo-European preverb constructions, including Indo-Iranian, Greek, Anatolian, Latin, Italic, Celtic, Slavic, and Old Germanic dialects, which is in course at the Univ. of Salamanca, under official sponsorship, in which scholars from other Spanish and German universities participate.

Session 99: "Studies from Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: The 'A-Minors'"

J. E. Cross (Univ. of Liverpool)

"Atto, Ansegisus, and Archbishop Wulfstan"

Archbishop Wulfstan, bishop with two sees at a distance apart, adviser to two kings, behaved as any man of authority and little leisure would do. He used aides and scribes to abstract and copy from relevant books and collections by writers scarcely known in the history of the church. One of these, Bishop Atto of Vercelli, produced a favored book on an appropriate topic for Wulfstan, *De pressuris ecclesiasticis;* another, Abbot Ansegisus, made a collection of canons. The paper discusses Wulfstan's use of these two authors' works.

Janet Schrunk Ericksen (Vanderbilt Univ.)

"Arnobius, Adalbero of Laon, and Aethicus Ister"

The *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* entries for the "A-Minors" Arnobius, Adalbero of Laon, and Aethicus Ister turned out to have more than minor complications. Arnobius and Aethicus Ister first have to be disentangled from their homonyms and pseudonyms. The Arnobius who authored a commentary on Psalms cited by Bede is Arnobius Junior ("the Younger"), probably an African monk who lived in Rome in the fifth century. He has often been misidentified with a more widely known author of the same name, Arnobius ("the Elder") of Sicca, the writer of an attack on paganism known as *Adversus nationes.* A 1560 edition of works by both men conflated the authors into simply "Arnobius," and the confusion survives. Aethicus Ister is the author of a fantastic geographical treatise, the *Cosmographia,* supposedly translated from Greek by one "Hieronymous presbyter." According to Heinz Löwe, the whole thing is an elaborate literary hoax concocted by Virgil of Salzburg, whom Boniface had accused of heretical ideas concerning the Antipodes. Löwe's attribution, however, has been disputed. The *Cosmographia* was quite popular, surviving in twenty-three manuscripts, four of which were known in England. Adalbero, Bishop of Laon — who, at least, has not been confused with anyone else of the same or different name — may still have entered the SASLC Projected Authors' List under false pretenses, since there seems to be no evidence that his writings (including a satirical poem on King Robert of France) were known in Anglo-Saxon England.

Daniel Nodes (Conception Seminary College)

"Ado of Vienne"

Only Ado's *Chronicum* is preserved in manuscripts known to have existed in England before 1100. The work borrows heavily from Bede. The London and Cambridge MSS of Ado are among the oldest extant copies of the *Chronicum.* Its influence on Anglo-Saxon writers was modest.

Ado's *Martyrology* survives in numerous continental manuscripts in three recensions. As with the *Chronicum,* it is easy to establish Bede's influence. Cross (1977) points out that Ado's *Martyrology* uses much of the same wording of Bede's *De temporum ratione.* Some passages were borrowed "almost verbatim." It has been difficult, however, to prove direct influence of Ado's *Martyrology* on any work written in Anglo-Saxon England. Most of the debate centers on its possible influence on the *Old English Martyrology.* T. O. Cockayne made the suggestion in the 1860s. Herzfeld (1900) rejected the attributions because he thought that the *OEM* predated Ado. C. Sisam (1953) argued, however, on the basis of her comparison of texts, that Ado's work did influence the author of a Latin Martyrology, of which she believes the Old English version we possess is a

translation. She focused on the entry of the Feast of All Saints (November 1). Cross (1977) and Kotzor (1981), however, have rejected the connection with Ado. Nevertheless, a claim of indirect influence ought to be reserved for Ado, as his martyrology occupies an important position in the line stemming from Bede through Usuard.

Gernot Wieland (Univ. of British Columbia)

"Arator"

Knowledge of Arator's work in Anglo-Saxon England has been most closely studied by Lawrence T. Martin in a 1982 article entitled "The Influence of Arator on Anglo-Saxon England." Martin concentrates on Arator's influence on Aldhelm and Bede, especially Bede's *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*. His article, however, does not mention any manuscripts containing Arator's *De Actibus Apostolorum,* does not contain any detailed reference to Arator's influence on Alcuin, and ignores the book-lists which mention Arator.

The present paper intends to fill these gaps, beginning with a short biographical sketch of Arator, and a synopsis of his work. It continues with a discussion of the provenance and dates of the extant six manuscripts, and traces some of Arator's influence, not only on Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin, but also on the *Miracula S. Niniae,* Frithegod's *Breviloquium Vitae Wilfridi,* and Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio Metrica de S. Swithuno.*

The paper also discusses the glosses on Arator, and the conclusions that can be drawn from them. Virtually all of these glosses are Latin; only one Old English gloss can be found in the various manuscripts of the *De Actibus Apostolorum.* Arator's influence on Anglo-Latin literature seems to have been considerable, his influence on Old English literature, however, minimal, aside from possibly providing a model for the Anglo-Saxons to turn sections of the Bible into Old English verse.

Session 155: "Imaging Manuscripts for the Twenty-First Century: Photographs and Beyond"

Mildred Budny (Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge)

"No Snap Decisions: Challenges of Manuscript Photography"

Photography is widely used for recording the state of a manuscript and making the material more readily available to others. Photographs may reduce the need for handling the manuscript itself, and sometimes they become primary evidence, when the original artifact becomes altered or lost.

This paper examines the challenges of manuscript photography to serve a wide range of users. Drawing on my own experience as manuscript scholar and photographer, I survey the applications, formats, materials, equipment, methods, and requirements for manuscript photography, presenting specific techniques, including high-powered microscopic photographs, oblique and transmitted lighting, and ultra-violet and infra-red illumination.

Focusing on selected Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (notably Corpus Christi College MSS 12, 23, 44, 173, 183, 197B, 201, 422, and 557), the paper shows examples of problem passages which call for special treatment. Such passages include erasures; palimpsests; burnt portions; liquid damage; passages damaged by the metal mounts of bindings or by chemical reagents applied to the surface in a misguided attempt to enhance faded inks; elements added or altered in different inks; drypoint glosses, notably when entered in superimposed layers; passages affected by corroded pigments or show-through; offsets of ink and pigments from pages now lost; and multiple damage through many means together.

The paper reports on our recent Research Group workshop at the Parker Library, which brought together photographic suppliers and manuscript and imaging experts. Advances in photographic materials, equipment, and lighting are described, as well as the important potential they offer for the future.

Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue Univ.)

"The Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: Imaging with Kodak Photo CD"

Now in its eleventh year, the CORPUS Project is an international collaborative project devoted to illuminated and decorated manuscripts produced or owned in the British Isles from ca. A.D. 625 to ca. 1100. Twin goals of the Project are to document verbally and photographically the pictorial art and major decoration of the extant manuscripts, amounting to some 230. This paper reports new developments in the Project.

First the paper demonstrates a new version of the electronic CORPUS. The first computerized version of *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Inventory* was issued in 1991. The new version consists of a hypertext system that allows rapid search and retrieval of

queries, navigation of related terms and concepts, and viewing of pop-up global notes identifying authors, texts, scenes, themes, art-historical terms, and bibliographical references.

Then the paper explores the promise of using Kodak Photo CD to store and retrieve the images themselves. Technology permitting, I plan to demonstrate a trial Photo CD disk containing one hundred scanned images of Anglo-Saxon manuscript art.

Leslie French (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge)

"Computer-Based Image-Enhancement for Manuscript Studies"

Computer-based imaging techniques offer the potential for non-destructive examination and manipulation of manuscript features, as well as relatively inexpensive transmission and reproduction of pages or details. Based on the proceedings of a workshop held at the Parker Library in January by the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence on "Image-Processing as an Aid for Manuscript Studies," this paper reports the results of our initial exploration of imaging, especially for Anglo-Saxon and related manuscripts, using photographs of Corpus Christi College MSS 41 and 352 and material from the British Library and elsewhere.

Techniques for image-enhancement and the use of interactive contrast-manipulation and adaptive algorithms are described, drawing upon work done in the Cambridge Univ. Engineering Department, including joint projects with the Research Group. The possibility of using methods of image-reconstruction, similar to those developed in the Cambridge Univ. Radio Astronomy Department, is explored. Some of the issues and problems of establishing "prior" knowledge for reconstructions are described. The paper concludes with a suggested new approach to integrating photographic and computer data.

Patrick W. Conner (West Virginia Univ.)

"Modeling Medieval Scripts with Morphing Software"

Computers have become the standard tool for manipulating texts, so that by rendering the text in a cybernetic font, we can perform many new activities. We can search a text electronically, link from one word or phrase in one text to another text which it recalls, and undertake stylometric analyses of a text based on the computer's ability to recognize, reassemble, and count the elements of a font. We cannot manipulate images similarly, because we have no accepted, rational superstructure for identifying the parts of an image in the way our writing systems allow us to define, and then to manipulate, the parts of the verbal text. Medieval scripts exist in a halfway world between text and image. If we reduce a script to its elements in the writing system, we can work with it as with any text, but we lose its paleographic dimensions; if we work with it as a series of images, we must give up the ability to manipulate it textually.

One way to accommodate both dimensions of a writing system is to explore the potential applications of morphing software to the scripts and hands of medieval manuscripts and documents. "Morphing" is the cinematic process whereby one image on screen turns into another, as from a handsome hero into a drooling werewolf. The computer compares the beginning and ending images, then institutes a series of imperceptible changes in the first until it equals the final image. When applied to the image of script on a medieval manuscript page, morphing software allows us to create a kind of electronic edition of the text in which the manuscript image is "morphed" to an image of the font, which other software can render as ordinary text, and thus manipulate. More importantly, morphing allows us to build sequences of script changes, in order to hypothesize about developments in a scribal hand, and to give models to seek in further study of documents which may display the same hand.

This paper attempts to provide visual support for all these claims. It shows how manuscript text can be morphed into diplomatic text, and — more dramatically — how the similarities and differences of scripts can be better tested and examined through the application of morphing software.

Session 262: "Objects of Discourse: The International Context of Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology"

Elizabeth O'Brien (Corpus Christi Coll., Oxford)

"Contacts between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the Seventh Century"

The idea of contacts between Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England should not provoke surprise, if, in a period when travel by water was likely to be safer, easier, and preferable to travel overland, the Irish Sea is considered a linking rather than a dividing factor between the two islands. In the fourth century

the Irish had already established bases in Wales and Cornwall, in the fifth century the Irish kingdom of Dál Ríada was extended to the west coast of Scotland, and in the sixth century the monastery at Iona, in Scottish Dál Ríada, was founded from Derry by Columba. Anglo-Saxons are recorded as having been present among the Irish from the late sixth century, and such records become more numerous in the seventh and eighth centuries. On the death of Æthelfrith, King of Northumbria, A.D. 616, it was to the Irish in Iona that his young sons Oswald and Oswiu were sent for safety and education, an event which eventually led in A.D. 635 to the foundation of the monastery at Lindisfarne by Aidan of Iona. In the later seventh/eighth century there were at least three, and possibly four, Anglo-Saxon monasteries in Ireland, i.e. Inisbofin, off the coast of Galway; Mayo, Co. Mayo; Rathmelsigi, Co. Carlow; and possibly Tullylease, Co. Cork. Archaeological and art-historical scholars have long been aware that the historically attested Irish influences which arrived in England, both directly from Ireland and indirectly from Gaul, together with Anglo-Saxon influences in Ireland, resulted in a cross-fertilization of ideas, combining Celtic, Germanic and "Roman" elements, which produced in the seventh and eighth centuries, in both countries, new art forms and decorative styles. The recent recognition of possible Anglo-Saxon burials in Ireland has now made it possible to add a physical dimension to the artifactual evidence.

Alfred P. Smyth (Univ. of Kent)

"Fortifications and Tactics in King Alfred's Danish Wars"

This paper examines the documentary evidence for fortifications which were built by King Alfred during the viking wars in Wessex (A.D. 871-96). It also examines the relationship between forts built by the Scandinavian invaders and those which were built by Alfred. Evidence from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* Burghal Hidage, and other sources are discussed, and a question is posed as to whether the initiative for fortress building came from Alfred or from the Scandinavian invaders. Detailed evidence from contemporary Frankish (Carolingian) annals is also discussed. Allied to the question of fortress building is the related question of the revival of urban life in late ninth and early tenth-century England. Were the Scandinavian settlers responsible for the resurgence in English towns, or was that resurgence dependent on the eventual expansion of the West Saxon monarchy in the century after Alfred's death?

Jane Hawkes (Univ. of Newcastle upon Tyne)

"Breaking the Silence: *The Road to Calvary* at Sandbach"

The prodigious number of figural scenes featured on the two cross-shafts which stand in the market square of Sandbach (Cheshire) have long been of interest to Anglo-Saxonists; merely identifying many of the scenes has proved an exacting task.

On the west face of the larger cross, however, are two scenes which have, I believe, been accurately identified ever since the crosses were re-assembled in the early decades of the nineteenth century; these are the four figures which together comprise a depiction of the *Road to Calvary,* a sequence often included in Cycles of the *Passion of Christ.* Despite some discussion over the identity of each of these figures, they have been generally recognized as Christ and Simon of Cyrene (bearing the cross), each led by soldiers towards Calvary.

What has not been realized, however, is the significance of the existence of this scene at Sandbach on a carving datable to the early decades of the ninth century. Of the various iconographic types circulating in early Medieval Europe, that at Sandbach is unusual in showing Christ in fetters and Simon of Cyrene bearing the cross. This pictorial version appears to have been an Eastern iconographic type depicted only rarely in the earliest Christian art, which then disappears from the extant corpus until its re-emergence in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when it is found in the art of the Byzantine East, and the Byzantine-influenced art of the Ottonians.

The existence of the *Road to Calvary* sequence at Sandbach is therefore not insignificant. In an insular context, apart from fragmentary sculptured images of cross-bearing figures elsewhere in Mercia (themselves possibly drawing on Sandbach), the *Calvary* sequence appears not to have survived elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon art, or in the extant Irish material. More importantly perhaps, in the larger context of early Medieval Christian art in Europe, the sequence at Sandbach provides evidence of the continued survival of an iconographic type for which there would otherwise be little clear evidence for some five centuries.

Session 312: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture I"

David F. Johnson (Florida State Univ.)

"Hagiographical Demon or Liturgical Devil?: Demonology and Baptismal Imagery in Cynewulf's *Elene*"

This paper examines the significance of Satan's appearance in Cynewulf's *Elene,* and argues that a better understanding of Cynewulf's use of demonology can lead us to a greater appreciation of the genesis of the poem, the possible sources of his imagery, and the themes Cynewulf chose to stress. The discussion begins by outlining the three "Gregorian Periods" in Lucifer/Satan's mundane career by which his actions are circumscribed in the "corpus" of Christian mythology: on the literal level, Satan's power over the world of man was definitively curtailed when he was bound by Christ at the Harrowing. Most Latin hagiographers, and all Anglo-Saxon writers of Christian narrative, respect this limitation in Satan's mobility at the literal level of their narratives. If a "devil" appears to a saint in this world, it is almost without exception one of Satan's subordinate demons — what I have termed the "hagiographical demon." The one exception to this "rule" is found in Cynewulf's *Elene,* where the poet has reinforced hints in his source that it is Satan himself who appears before Judas Cyriacus at the raising of the True Cross. There are strong indications in the text that suggest that Cynewulf had in mind the renunciation of the Devil himself by the catechumenate during the baptismal rite, hence my identification of the figure in this poem as the "Liturgical Devil."

The issue throughout this discussion is not "what did Cynewulf add to his sources that was not there before?" but rather "what did he recognize in his sources, in terms of potential for thematic development?" It is the answer to this question that takes us closer to a better understanding of his use of demonology in this poem. With the advent of the Devil immediately following the raising of the Cross, the narrative shifts as it were to spiritual, liturgical time. Cynewulf is likely to have recognized the anomaly of Satan's personal appearance before Judas in his source, but it seems similarly clear that he recognized as well the symbolic force of that appearance. In any other saint's life or legend the situation might have called for appearance of the "hagiographical demon." But in Cynewulf's treatment of the legend, which he perceived as being concerned primarily with the power of the Cross to effect spiritual revelation and salvation, the poet goes to great lengths to demonstrate his concern with the larger spiritual implications of the *Inventio Crucis* legend. As other critics have demonstrated, one of the means by which he does this is by presenting the conversion of Judas in terms of figural narrative. It is in just such a narratological situation that the appearance of the liturgical Devil is both effective and logical.

Alice Sheppard (Cornell Univ.)

"*Cuðra Cwidegiedda:* Proverbs and Meaning in the Old English *Wanderer*"

If we understand proverbial utterances in Old English elegiac poetry merely as a reflection of social and moral consciousness, we fail to acknowledge their poetic purpose. In *The Wanderer,* the speaker yearns for the *cwidegiedda* of his lord not only because he seeks to discuss his misery, but also because he misses his lord's advice. As suggested by a parallel situation in *Ívars Þáttr,* this exchange of wisdom indicates a bond of friendship between lord and vassal. In the absence of his lord, the speaker of *The Wanderer* resorts to lamenting his circumstances and reciting proverbs; this alternation between personal experience and communal wisdom generates the dynamic of the poem. By invoking conventional wisdom of Germanic heroic and Latin Christian cultures, the speaker refamiliarizes himself with the *mores* of his social group. Thus the proverbs in *The Wanderer* bring the individual back into relationship with his former community. For the speaker, this relationship is problematic; he needs to express his pain, but his society expects silence. In articulating these proverbs, the speaker confronts the tension between the public and private spheres. The connections between individual, friend, and community focus a widespread discourse on the exchange of wisdom in Old English and Old Norse literature. In *Hávamál* and *Maxims I,* the obligation to exchange wisdom among friends becomes comparable to the obligation to exchange gifts. In *The Wanderer,* this economy of wisdom appears stagnant; without friends, the speaker cannot participate in such an exchange. The presence of a single speaker suggests that the poem is rather a monologue on private grief than a discussion of social convention. Yet the proverbs engage the reader in a dialogue about individual needs and social expectation. Thus the poet reconfigures the speaker's lament as the counsel of the *snottor on mode* to the reader.

Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

"The Form of Ælfric's Homiliaries"

In his preface to the First Series of *Catholic Homilies,* Ælfric identified his principal source texts, naming four patristic authors in sequence (Augustine, Jerome, Bede, and Gregory) and two Carolingian homilists (Smaragdus and Haymo — formerly taken to be Haymo of Halberstadt, but now known to be Haymo of Auxerre). In 1959 Cyril Smetana demonstrated that most of the material by the named patristic writers used in the *Catholic Homilies* was anthologized in the homiliary of Paul the Deacon. As a result, Ælfric's immediate sources can be seen to be three Carolingian compilations, as one might reasonably expect for the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform. In 1961 Smetana assembled evidence for Ælfric's use of Haymo, and in 1992 I demonstrated that there were occasions when Ælfric used Smaragdus's adaptation of patristic material, rather than the patristic material direct or via Paul the Deacon. My argument depended on the recognition of a high level of intertextuality in Ælfric's immediate sources, coupled with a close observation of the points where they diverged. I also hinted at the different nature of the three source homiliaries, although the necessary focus on Smaragdus prevented me from pursuing this in more detail. The purpose of the present paper is to define these important differences as a means of understanding *how* and *why* Ælfric found each of them useful in varying ways, and in particular to investigate the form in which each was known to him in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England. In examining the second of these two issues, unpublished manuscript recensions form the basis of my analysis; I show them to be more helpful in understanding Ælfric's work than the versions more readily accessible in print or reconstructed in their supposedly original form by modern scholars.

Session 361: "Literary Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture II"

Paul Battles (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana)

"*Genesis A* and the Justification of the Patriarchs"

In *Genesis A,* the poet engages in a systematic pattern of justifying two of his protagonists, Abraham and Lot, stressing their heroic qualities and downplaying or qualifying passages that make them look cowardly. Abraham and Lot become exemplary figures not only from a biblical, but also from a Germanic-heroic perspective. The poet's purpose in doing so is fundamentally didactic; he presents these patriarchs as exempla of proper behavior, and in attributing heroic characteristics to them, he makes them more attractive models of conduct.

For all their courage, both Abraham and Lot exhibit fear of the Lord, a characteristic the poet considers essential to human-divine relationships. Fear of the Lord motivates absolute obedience to God, who in turn extends his protection over the faithful and rewards them with riches. This casts the relationship between Christians and God in the form of the familiar lord-thane relationship. Yet the poet does not simply "germanify" his biblical source; the emphasis on absolute obedience and on fearing the Lord counteracts the destructive potential of the Germanic-heroic ethos which plays an important role in the fall of the angels. Abraham and Lot become models of proper conduct by reconciling secular heroism with the religious imperative of obeying God.

Catherine Brown Tkacz

"More Christian Formulas in Old English: *Wlite, Wuldor, Wynn,* and Descriptions of Heaven"

A recent *Traditio* article (Tkacz 1993) demonstrates that, in addition to adapting pre-existing Old English formulas to Christian contexts(see, e.g., Reidinger 1985), Old English poets created explicitly Christian formulas: *ungewemmede wlite* with a register of formulaic material derived from the biblical book of Daniel 3:94 was used in six Old English texts to describe the miraculous preservation of saints from harm. This word study also revealed a number of other Christian formulas, including "in wuldres wlite" (a-verse, three times) and "wlitig and wynsum" (a-verse, seven times).

A natural sequel to the first study is examining the alliterating terms, *wuldor* ("glory") and *wynn* ("delight"), which occur with *wlite* in descriptions of heaven. Prominent in Old English biblical translations and glosses, *wynsum* and especially *wuldor* also occur in the Old English versions of the Gloria and of the Lord's Prayer. The Gloria, paraphrased, serves as the closing to scores of homilies. Four full-verse formulaic patterns in Old English poetry use *wuldor* and *wynn* or *wynsum,* and these are apparently indebted to the diction of the Psalms. Similarly, *wuldor cyning,* which recurs as a b-verse, derives from the Psalter, especially Ps. 23/24:7-10;

the popularity of the image is shown by its finding its way into the Old English Gloria II and the Lord's Prayer of the Exeter Book.

Session 409: "Women in Anglo-Saxon England"

Catherine Karkov (Miami Univ.)

"Women Warriors in Anglo-Saxon Art: The *Psychomachia* Manuscripts"

Women in Anglo-Saxon art have often been described as marginalized, and nowhere is this more true than in the Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* manuscripts — in spite of the fact that they are illustrated primarily with images of women. Both text and illustrations make it clear that these warrior women are not women at all, but abstract personifications brought to life only occasionally within the human (male in the poem) soul. Nevertheless, these personifications are gendered by both the fourth-century poet and the later Anglo-Saxon artists. The vices, described by Prudentius as "monsters," display traditional "feminine" qualities, while the virtues are gendered male by both their actions and their attributes. The only woman in the work is Sarah, Abraham's wife, who appears briefly at the end of the prologue.

One of the more interesting aspects of the poem is the way in which gender is both inverted and fluid. We are presented in both text and illustrations with a male soul populated by female personifications, female monsters, "manly women," and impotent male warriors. This paper explores the construction (and deconstruction) of gender within the poem, considering such questions as: Why was the *Psychomachia* so popular in late Anglo-Saxon England? How do the artists interpret the text? For what sort of an audience? And, finally, what do the manuscripts tell us about the place of real women in the Anglo-Saxon world?

Karen Foster (Eastern Kentucky Univ.)

"*Beowulf* in the Eleventh Century: For the Ladies in the Audience"

This paper examines what *Beowulf* may have communicated to eleventh-century female auditors. Both historical and literary women are considered, such as Edburg and Æthelflæd, Gudrun in "Atlakvitha" and Gudrun in *Laxdaela Saga*. Beowulf's fights with Grendel and Grendel's mother are linked to the literary tradition suggested by Thor's encounters with Utgartha-Loki and Elli in Snorri's prose *Edda*. The *Beowulf*-poet's seeming reworking of these common stories does not confirm an outright condemnation of the blood feud ethic; rather, the poet expresses a diabolical tension between the demands of loyalty to family and loyalty to others. This tension is resolved by a variation on the extended family. The family in *Beowulf* is the basic unit which can be expanded to accommodate the tensions among divided loyalties. Women listening to *Beowulf* in the eleventh century would have found not only affirmation of, but also tribute to, their power both as mothers and as queens or noble women.

Other Sessions

Session 10: "Bede the Venerable"

Arthur G. Holder (Church Divinity School of the Pacific)

"An Augustinian Echo and the (Un)Dating of Bede's *De arte metrica*"

At the end of Bede's *De arte metrica* he refers to the recipient of the work as "dulcissime fili et conlevita Cuthberte." Most modern scholars have concluded that this treatise was one of Bede's earliest works, written before 703 while he was still a "Levite" or deacon. However, Charles W. Jones claimed that *conlevita* simply meant "fellow-minister," and Martin Irvine has suggested that even if Bede did mean "fellow-deacon" it is possible that he was himself already a priest, since medieval theology understood clerical orders as cumulative rather than sequential. The question of dating bears more than chronological interest, for both Jones and Irvine were endeavoring to counter the notion that because Bede's works on grammar were early, they were therefore immature and relatively insignificant.

I show that Jones and Irvine were right to question the use of the term *conlevita* to date *De arte metrica* to Bede's diaconate, but mistaken in their reasoning. An examination of the uses of *levita* in patristic literature and in Bede's other works shows that it was indeed a technical term for a deacon. Moreover, the evidence from liturgical and theological sources indicates that in the eighth century the later medieval understanding of orders as cumulative was not yet in place. Rather, the key to the meaning of *conlevita* lies in the frequent appearance of the analogous term *condiaconus* in the letters of Augustine of Hippo (including at least one known to Bede), where it seems to mean something like "deacon with me in the ministry I

exercise as a bishop." Thus it was Bede's younger disciple Cuthbert, not Bede himself, who was in deacon's orders at the time of the composition of *De arte metrica.*

William McCready (Queen's Univ.)

"Isidore and Bede:
Two Treatises *De natura rerum*"

In the recent scholarly literature one frequently encounters the view that Bede had relatively little respect for Isidore of Seville. Indeed, it is suggested, his attitude amounted to nothing less than a hearty dislike, one strong enough for him to have made the correction of the errors in Isidore's *De natura rerum* one of the two major projects of his final days. Bede had earlier produced his own *De natura rerum,* of course, a treatise that covers the same ground. It was probably contemporaneous with *De temporibus,* written in 703, for which the subjects raised in Isidore's first eight chapters were reserved.

The dependence of Bede's *De natura rerum* on Isidore's, at least in general terms, has frequently been recognized. What has not been acknowledged, and what the present paper seeks to establish, is the fact that only infrequently, either in *De natura rerum* or in *De temporibus,* does Bede correct Isidore, and when he does, rarely is there a serious matter at issue. The point is significant in light of the alleged critique that occupied his last days. Bede challenges Isidore on only a handful of occasions, and never by name. Everything suggests that he considered him a valued source; nothing suggests that he regarded his work as suspect.

John McNamara (Univ. of Houston)

"The Functions of Memory
in Bede's Historiography"

While studies of Bede's contributions to early medieval historiography have emphasized the mastery with which he handled his sources, especially his documentary sources, relatively little attention has been paid to his own conception of his work as memory. Time and again, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* as well as his lives of Cuthbert and of the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow, Bede defines his projects in terms of memory — the individual memories of those who have related their stories to him orally, the communal memory of popular tradition and, above all, the preservation of oral history in textual memory. Yet for all his references to memory and the transmission and retention of memory, Bede does not fully analyze his own practices in great detail. This paper therefore undertakes such analysis to show the complex interactions of different forms and functions of memory in Bede's great historiographical achievement.

All scholars recognize the importance of archival and documentary materials as sources for "official" memory in his work, but much less mind has been paid to his reliance on the living memories of individuals, communities, and what he calls *fama vulgante* or popular legend. The memories of individuals he generally warrants by identifying them as "most truthful" or "most holy," as with Bishops Acca, Wilfred and John, so that even when they are not claimed to be eyewitnesses to the events they recall, their memories are certified as reliable because they are unquestionably reliable persons. Thus, individual memories are often based on the memories of other individuals, as in Abbot Deda's recollection of the recollection of the man actually baptized by Paulinus, or based on a communal memory, as in Bishop Pehthelm's recollection of the miracles associated with the place where Hædde died that were now circulating in popular legend (cf. the legend of the site of Oswald's death in *HE* 3.9.242). While he generally recalls the memories of others, Bede occasionally presents a personal memory of his own — such as the story of the smith who spends his energies on drinking and loose living rather than the spiritual exercises of the monastery, so that when he becomes ill and the brothers exhort him to repent, he despairs because he has seen a vision foretelling his own damnation (*HE* 5.14.502-04). Bede notes that this edifying story has circulated widely in popular memory (as legend), but he now feels anxious that it be stored in the authoritative memory of his text. Here as elsewhere, he expresses a certain ambivalence toward memory. While he necessarily depends on many orally circulating memories, he implies an anxiety over their value until they are given objective existence in his text. He does not examine directly the complex passages and interactions of the memories he recalls, but rather seeks to authenticate these memories ethically with reference to their sources or purposes. In doing so, Bede recollects for his *Gens Anglorum* the kind of cultural memory in which it could find identity and direction as a *gens.*

Helen Sillett (Univ. of California, Berkeley)

"A Written Church: Bede's Christian England"

In his *History of the English Church and People,* Bede views England in relation to a central, civilizing and orthodox Rome. He thus situates the English on the geographical, institutional and liturgical margins of a community of common belief and practice, where they lay exposed to the *rusticitas,* non-belief, and violence of the wilderness beyond. Bede believes that Christians in England can counter the dangers of this peripheral status only with unflinching commitment to the institutional practices which bind them to the community of Roman Christians. Yet Bede twice wrote a life — once in prose, once in heroic verse — in praise of Cuthbert, who relinquished monastic life in favor of prayer in solitude on a tiny island. I propose to examine Bede's textual construction of Cuthbert's hermitage, to trace in his conception and representation of Cuthbert's solitude the relationships which emerge in his *History* between civilization and wilderness, *rusticitas* and violence, stone buildings and orthodoxy. Bede's *Lives of the Abbots,* his work in praise of the men who founded and ruled his own monastery, Wearmouth-Jarrow, and his letter to Egbert regarding violation of proper monastic practice, will fill out my understanding of Bede's notions of the role of the monastery in creating and maintaining Roman Christianity in England. Bede, I believe, thought the understanding of God possible for Cuthbert in his hermitage to be different in kind from that possible among the structures of human society, and held in some ambivalence Cuthbert's rejection of institutional life, where Bede's own faith, and his hopes for England's future, resided.

Session 15: "Old English Literature I"

Karin Olsen (Univ. of Toronto)

"Sea Journeys in the Cynewulf Group"

The question of Cynewulf's authorship in the Anglo-Saxon poetic corpus has been the subject of much debate. In the last century, scholars identified not only the signed *Elene, Christ B, Juliana,* and *Fates of the Apostles* but also various other poems as Cynewulfian. They observed that both signed and unsigned poetry resorted to a similar style and concluded that such similarities provided sufficient evidence for common authorship. Twentieth-century critics, on the other hand, deny the validity of these analyses and restrict Cynewulfian poetry to the signed poems alone. According to them, style is a highly formal and conventional feature in Anglo-Saxon verse and cannot give the necessary information for any positive identification of a particular poet.

I examine both critical positions by applying them to the representations of the sea-voyages in *Elene, Juliana, Christ B,* as well as in the unsigned *Guthlac B* and *Andreas.* I compare diction and imagery of the various sea-scenes, highlight stylistic similarities between signed and unsigned poems, and explore the possibility of a Cynewulfian style in the former. The results of the analysis support the contemporary view but with one important addition. Although they show that parallel diction and common imagery are indeed unreliable means for attributing Cynewulf's authorship to any poem, they also suggest that the conventional nature of Anglo-Saxon verse does not make authors disappear completely. On the contrary, rare diction, extraordinary martial imagery, and the extensive use of land metaphors for the sea in *Andreas* distinguish this particular poem from any of Cynewulf's signed works. Finally, although no conclusions can be made about the author of *Guthlac B* on stylistic grounds alone, the analysis still reveals that both Cynewulf and the *Guthlac B* poet skillfully adapted diction and imagery to the demands of their individual poems.

Julie Nelson Couch (Brown Univ.)

"Down to Earth Consolation in *The Wife's Lament*"

Found among the great Old English elegies in the Exeter Book, *The Wife's Lament* has spawned much controversy over the gender of its narrator, the details of her narrative, and the purpose and tone of her lyric. Unlike the speakers in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer,* the woman in her lament does not finally view the harsh fate of earthly existence from the perspective of a heavenly alternative. Instead her view remains on an earthly plane in the midst of harsh fate. Critics commonly respond to her overwhelming sense of present misery as a quality of her female passivity and ultimately as an indicator of the helpless position of females in Anglo-Saxon society. I reconsider this gendered difference of viewpoints between the male speakers in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* and the female speaker of *The Wife's Lament.* I construct my argument in terms of relations between the physical and literary spaces in an Old English

elegiac text. The linear movement of action found in both *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* pulls their speakers into a literary, aphysical space. This movement is divisive, creating two separate forms of reality: a literary, spiritual reality holds the speakers at a superior distance from the physical reality of society. Their experience of exile divides the wanderer and the seafarer from society and its other less-experienced members. In a striking contrast, the woman stands in solidarity with other exiles. She does not separate her voice into a safer, literary space. Rather, she evokes a community of young persons who live in physical, present society and who inhabit her own linguistic space. As a result, the woman succeeds in carving out an alternative form of consolation, grounded in physical presence and voiced words, rather than an aphysical, literary consolation. This female-gendered consolation poses an important alternative to the male Anglo-Saxon response to harsh fate.

Session 17: "Studies in *Beowulf*"

Robert Hasenfratz (Univ. of Connecticut)

"What Do Warriors Eat in *Beowulf*?: A New Historicist Reading"

Though warriors in *Beowulf* drink a variety of liquors, they do not seem to eat. A curious fact, given that the poet imagines, humorously one suspects, monsters sitting down to dinner (562-64). Grendel, of course, appears as the ultimate rude hall-guest, feeding rapaciously on the corpse of a sleeping warrior (740 ff.), while the beasts of battle engage in something like leisurely after-dinner conversation (3024-27). The poem strangely bestializes the act of eating, though in doing so it "humanizes" the beasts. Why then don't humans ever eat in *Beowulf?* In many accounts of feasting in Heorot and other halls, no direct mention is made of human beings eating food at all. The warriors drink, but they don't eat. Of course, one might suspect that the poet draws on Germanic heroic tradition in depicting drinking ceremonies and the boasts and vows associated with them. Well and good. But it seems to me possible to suggest that the absence of eating at feasts of all things may reflect the flow of certain social, political, and perhaps economic energies.

One need only look at the vocabulary of ruling to realize a connection with eating: *hlaford* "lord" (*hlaf-weard* or "loaf guardian"), *hlæfdige* "lady" ("loaf kneader"), and perhaps more significantly, *hlaf-æte* "servant" or "dependent" ("loaf-eater"). By examining legal, economic, and art-historical sources, this paper attempts to examine the poem's (and perhaps the epic tradition's) need to efface food from the warrior's hall. I suggest that in constructing an aristocratic world of poetry it became necessary to exclude food *and more importantly traces of its production,* the appearance of which might work against the trichotomy, *hlaford, hlæfdige,* and *hlaf-æte* embedded in Anglo-Saxon law.

Perhaps it amounts to a bit of cheek to say that this paper represents a "New Historicist" reading — but it seems that all new historicists disavow the label "new historicism."

Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Where the Wild Things Are: Beowulf's Battle with the Nine Nicors"

While the substance of Beowulf's retelling of his swimming competition with Breca has often been discussed, less attention has been paid to the visual — the image of Beowulf on the ocean-floor surrounded by monsters — the poet has his hero use to expand his point. In juxtaposing the two accounts, the poet suggests that in this case the narratives themselves are more meaningful than the facts of what actually transpired: Beowulf does not contradict Unferth's central claim that he lost the race; rather his recounting of the story emphasizes the action during the event, specifically his confrontation with the sea-monsters. The manipulation of these details takes on added significance when Beowulf's description of himself encircled by monsters intent on devouring him mirrors his actual situation in Hrothgar's hall. It is this image that then allows Beowulf's specific charge of fratricide against Unferth to reflect more generally on the Danes, who are threatened not so much by Grendel but by what Grendel represents, the fratricide that will occur after Hrothgar's death.

Robert Lawrence Schichler (Arkansas State Univ.)

"*Glæd Man* at Heorot: *Beowulf* and the Anglo-Saxon Psalter"

This paper examines thematic parallels to *Beowulf* occurring verbally and visually in Anglo-Saxon psalter manuscripts. Because of the close connection between the drawn or painted image and the written word, such an approach can provide valuable insights into the way concepts were conceived and rendered for the Anglo-Saxon

audience. Particularly important to understanding the full significance of Hrothgar's *hornreced* Heorot ("Hart"), for example, are certain of the illustrations in the Harley Psalter, the earliest extant Anglo-Saxon copy of the Utrecht Psalter. Perhaps the most revelatory of these images is that which accompanies Psalm 111 (fol. 57v), where a king and queen disperse goods under a roof surmounted by a hart's head, while the hand of God blesses the scene from above, corresponding nicely to *Beowulf* 67b-82a, where Hrothgar's generous intentions in building his hall, as well as acknowledgement of God as the ultimate source of the gift-giving at Heorot, are clearly expressed. Furthermore, the *words* of the psalm here and in other manuscripts (the Paris Psalter, in particular) reinforce this concept of the *glæd man* residing at the *hornreced,* making clear his position and role, as well as the significance of the hart which adorns the hall (in picture or in name).

Hrothgar's deliberate use of animal imagery — in naming his hall, in depicting his plight, and in confirming pledges and compacts of peace — provides a special focus for this analysis. For in the images that he evokes we can perceive similarities both to the style of the Psalmist and to interpretive renderings of the Psalms in manuscript illumination and translation. In addition to the Harley and Paris Psalters, I discuss briefly illustrations of the hart in the Bury Psalter and the Carolingian *Physiologus* of Bern Codex 318, which has certain similarities to the Utrecht Psalter (to which I also look in supplementing my discussion of images in the incomplete Harley Psalter).

Session 38: "Texts, Transmission, and Editing"

Robert Stanton (York Univ., Toronto)

"Orality and Textuality in Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Eadmundi*"

Abbo of Fleury, on a three-year visit to England in the mid-980s, wrote a Latin account of the death of King Edmund of East Anglia. Edmund had died at the hands of the Danes over a century earlier. Abbo claimed to have heard the story from St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, who as a young man had heard it in turn from the lips of King Edmund's former armor-bearer. Abbo's prologue is a meditation on oral sources , oral transmission and the value of writing; his elaborate justification for writing the story down includes a mistrust of the oral-folkloric material that probably supplemented Dunstan's account.

This important text thus deserves re-examination in light of orality theory. Walter Ong has suggested that writing, viewed as a technology, *distances* various components in the reading event from one another (knower from object of knowledge, reader from immediate context, and so on). Abbo's concerns about speech and writing highlight this sort of "distantiation," as does Abbo's perspective as a foreign scholar in England. His position as a visitor gives him a unique, quasi-objective slant on a traditional English narrative; he is thus an ideal study for the distances between author, text, and audience. He claimed to be writing for the benefit of the monks at the abbey of Ramsey, but the text reveals a preoccupation with a larger, international audience (which the text did eventually achieve). The question of multiple audiences is crucial to the questions of authorial distance and textual autonomy.

The main body of Abbo's text continues the preoccupations of the prologue, as the author delicately balances his multiple audiences, and the conflicting English and foreign voices in his narrative. Traditional folk motifs jostle uneasily with difficult vocabulary, an elaborate Latin textuality, and a fondness for apocalyptic themes.

Session 56: "Old English Literature II"

James Anderson (U. of Southwestern Louisiana)

"The Visionary Dilemma of the Old English 'Riming Poem'"

Perhaps because the Old English "Riming Poem" of the Exeter Book has long struck modern readers as an overwrought adventure in style, no scholarship has yet fully addressed the basic questions of what this poem is and what it says. This study seeks to show that the binary structure of the poem presents, first, its speaker's vision of his own arrival, reception, and feasting in heaven, and then, as his vision fades, his distaste for the mortal life that yet remains to him. As in some other short Exeter Book poems, most notably *Seafarer* and *Wanderer*, such contempt of this world flirts with excess and requires the abrupt correction of a brief homiletic closure.

My own rhyming metrical translation, inspired by the pioneering effort of James Earl, emphasizes this thematic duality of temporal and eternal life, a spiritual dilemma encountered repeatedly in poems of the Exeter Book. I also comment briefly on one difficult passage which appears to be a vivid graveyard image unique in extant Old English poetry.

Christopher Fee (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Purgation, Power, and Pain: Spiritual and Physical Reality in the Old English *Elene*"

Elene on one level seems merely another retelling of the invention of the cross, and, for the most part, follows the source texts rather closely. The closing passage, however, is not from the sources, and indeed at first glance does not seem much related to the body of the text; this passage describes doomsday and the fire of judgment, and contains the runic signature of Cynewulf. The relationship between this final section and the body of the poem has never been adequately explained, and it is with just such a relationship that this paper is concerned. I wish to argue that the burning away of sin achieved through the heat of the fire of judgment, the purification of the soul which parallels the purification of gold in the furnace — through which both emerge likewise untainted and forged into new, purer forms — is meant to both echo and explicate the "purification" of Judas in the pit. Just as gold is melted, purified, and cast into the desired mold, Judas too is "refashioned" after he has been purged of his impurities through his torment in the pit.

Judas's conversion, or his spiritual "refashioning," if you will, and his subsequent metamorphosis and conversion, have often been perceived as central to the poem; I am particularly interested in the nature of that "conversion" and the period of purgation in the pit which makes such a conversion possible. This purgation is imposed upon Judas by Elene, and hence the conversion which follows it must be seen as coercive; the coercive, painful nature of Judas's transformative experience is important because it provides a direct parallel to the transformative process which the souls undergo in the fire of judgment described in the closing passage. It is my purpose to examine the relationship between these two "conversion" experiences in the light of recent theories concerning the transformative nature of pain, and to explain how such a relationship brings the fire of judgment scene from the periphery of the poem to the thematic forefront.

Judas, like the souls in the fire of judgment, emerges from his temporary hell both "cleansed" and "refashioned"; his old identity has been wiped away through the purgative nature of his confinement, and he has been recast in a Christian mold. Likewise, the souls on judgment day have had their sin burned away, and have been refashioned in the likeness of angels. The fire of judgment scene is prefigured by Judas's experience, and this relationship brings this final episode from the periphery into the center of the thematic structure. More importantly, however, the coercive nature of the purgational and transformative power of the fire of judgment serves to explicate and validate the means of spiritual "refashioning" by which Elene "unmakes" and "remakes" Judas's spiritual identity.

Leslie M. La Chance (Univ. of Tennessee)

"Charming Language: The Ideology of Words as Deeds in *Æcerbot, Wið Misbyrðe,* and *Wið Ymbe*"

In discussing the Anglo-Saxon Metrical Charms scholars have used terms like "performative language" or "rhetorical situation" to call attention to a self-consciousness in Anglo-Saxon poetic language regarding the power of the word spoken as deed. However, few studies have considered the possibility that the charms implicitly and explicitly acknowledge language as being as unstable as the world it is attempting to control. The charms are documents of an ideological paradox: on the one hand, they seem to have been generated by a belief system characterized by logocentrism, while on the other hand, they indicate that language itself is an unstable force. We can find evidence of this second quality in the shifting voices and varying audiences and points of view within individual charms, but it is most profoundly expressed in the supplications to supernatural forces that the words of the charms be spoken well enough so as not to be undone by other, more powerful words.

It can be argued, of course, that poetry in general calls attention to the creative power of the word, and that such a focus is a common thematic element. It is in the charms, however, that we clearly see explicit acknowledgement of the perceived force of language as action. And yet, it seems when words are the very actions that will accomplish a goal, as is clearly the case with the charms, that paradoxical instability of the words is most apparent. The charms regard language as an unstable and ambiguous fact of existence while also indicating an acceptance of the power of words to alter reality.

Session 61: "Gender and Labor in the Caedmon Genesis I"

Andrew W. Cole (Miami Univ.)

"Eve and Adam:
Cross-(En)Gendering Visions in *Genesis B*"

I suggest here that Eve's vision is effectual in tempting Adam because it contains elements of Adam's prelapsarian vision of angels and light (and, by implication, God) found in Gregory's Latin *Dialogues* and, of course, in Bishop Wærferth's translation of the *Dialogues,* commissioned by Alfred between 871-99, some time near the *Genesis B*'s acquisition from the continent and its translation from Old Saxon to early West Saxon (850-900) but prior to its adaption within the *Genesis A* poem. I also read a number of textual symptoms (redundancies), which owe to a certain ideology and which surround the gendered, visionary figure of Eve: one is that Eve's scriptural punishment for taking of the fruit — Eve will be under Adam — is redundant in so far as the heroic text has already placed Eve in service of Adam, hierarchically below him. Such a feature, which makes clear a tension between genres (heroic and scriptural), points to a rupture within a "masculine signifying economy," as Luce Irigary would call it. This paper is foundational for two later arguments: (1) the entire poem alone shares a number of linguistic features with the prose works that come from Alfred's circle, like the *Dialogues;* (2) with its frequent use of legal language and social images, the poem may be part of Alfred's "ideological project" (Pierre Macherey's term) to respond, through the Laws, to the social conditions of later ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England.

Mary Dockray-Miller (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

"Wæpned* and *Scienost:
Signs of Gender in the Caedmonian Genesis"

The story of the Fall is the ultimate text of gender construction in the western psyche. It both defines and, in its retellings, reinforces definitions of masculinity and femininity in our culture. This is true especially with respect to labor, for the labor to which Adam and Eve were cursed has become a fundamental key to gender construction in our society: A good man is a good provider while a good woman is a good mother. Both the illustrations and some of the key words in Junius 11, however, hint at a much more ambiguous construction of gender than this. For example, Adam is depicted with a beard (a sign of masculinity) only after he has been cursed to labor and exiled from the garden, as if he were not truly masculine before. Two words — *wæpned* and *scienost* — are used to describe Adam and Eve respectively and seem to be obvious signs of male and female in Anglo-Saxon culture: "weaponed" and "most shining." I show, however, through lexical study and Lacanian theory, that the use of these words is incompatible with the illustrations in such a manner that definitions of masculinity and femininity are called into question.

Laura Renick (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

"Poetry That Works:
The Cultural Labor of the Caedmon Genesis"

The Caedmon Genesis is full of labor, from God's original work of creation through the final task he demands of Abraham's faith. But the most important labor in this text is the actual labor the Junius manuscript itself does. As the cultural studies methodology suggested by Allen Frantzen and others shows us, the manuscript is not simply an ahistoric artifact containing examples of labor but itself was designed to accomplish specific cultural tasks at a specific moment in history. The models of work within the text can help us understand this cultural labor. For instance, the text's emphasis on obedient fulfillment of God's commands is a critical commonplace. Satan first sins when he chafes at God's commands to praise and obedience, "Hwæt sceal ic winnan?" (278b). This theology of obedience is clear in the poem and its biblical source; what is not so obvious, however, is cultural labor such theology might have performed for the poem's Anglo-Saxon audience.

By endorsing such values as obedience, *Genesis* supports Anglo-Saxon monasticism, which rests on the very same principles of personal conduct. By providing divinely sanctioned historic examples of obedience and disobedience, the text sanctions and reinforces Anglo-Saxon cultural institutions premised on (religious) obedience — namely, monasticism. But it does more culturally than just support ideological values; it shows that these values and their rewards are most easily achieved within the specific sociopolitical structures of Anglo-Saxon monasticism. For instance, the Anglo-Saxon form of monasticism required strong abbots and abbesses (with close royal ties) and sizable tracts of rich land: not coincidentally, even the first book of the Bible shows people winning God favor by following strong

leaders, and God, in turn, rewarding them for this obedience with a very similar captaincy. Thus *Genesis* supports the very religious attitudes and political structures that sustain the cultural institution within which the text itself is produced. This is work indeed.

Session 95: "Carolingian Biblical Studies"

Mary Alberi (Pace Univ.)

"Alcuin's *Miles Christi:* Monastic Ideals and Charlemagne's *Imperium Christianum*"

This paper examines Alcuin's adaptation of the biblical and monastic ideal of the *miles Christi* for the Carolingian aristocracy. In Alcuin's *Vita Richarii,* the monastic soldier, armed with the spiritual weapons of Ephesians 6:10-17, triumphantly defeats the devil by preaching, and, like Christ in Psalm 90, overcomes the devil's temptations through humble asceticism. Alcuin often presented this ideal to the Carolingian aristocracy. His *De virtutibus et vitiis liber* teaches Wido, the count of the Breton march, to keep peace with baptized Christians like a "son of God" (Jn. 3:5). As *miles Christi,* however, Wido wars with the vices, whenever they appear among Christians or tempt him within his own soul. Another discussion of the lay *miles Christi* appears in Alcuin's *Epistola* 136, which instructs the lay *miles Christi* about the meaning and proper use of the sword which he holds in his hand. The lay *miles* must renounce all secular ambition to fulfill Christ's command to "buy" the sword of Luke 22:36-38 and unite the two swords, the body and soul, in one faith. In addition, Charlemagne as *miles* must see that God's word is preached constantly. During preaching, God's word becomes a sword which "cuts off the ear of infidelity" (cf. John 18:10-11). In *Epistola* 171, Charlemagne wields the two swords of Luke 22:38 in defense of the church against pagans outside of and heretics within the *imperium christianum.* For Alcuin, the wars of the historical *imperium christianum* symbolized the cosmic spiritual warfare of the *corpus Christi* against the *corpus diaboli* in the dangerous last days (cf. 2 Tim. 3:1). For this reason, Alcuin approved of Charlemagne's wars against pagan Saxons and Avars. He preferred, however, to emphasize the importance of the spiritual battles necessary to the administration of the *imperium christianum.* The dedication of the lay *miles Christi* to fighting spiritual battles for the *imperium christianum* in his own soul, within the church, or along the frontiers of the empire had to be as self-abnegating and complete as the monastic soldier's, at least in Alcuin's opinion.

Session 97: "Old English Language"

Andrew Troup (Cal. State Univ., Bakersfield)

"Editorial Punctuation as an Indicator of Nonrestrictive Relativization in *Beowulf*"

Mitchell (1985) writes that distinguishing restrictive (R) relative clauses from their nonrestrictive (NR) counterparts in Old English may be difficult, if not impossible, because "the speaker or writer often intends no such distinction; and the classification will often depend on the hearer's or reader's knowledge." Mitchell tentatively classifies over two-thirds of the relative clauses in the Old English poetic corpus as R: 69% R, 17% NR, and 14% ambiguous. Linguists Kroch and Hindle (1982) find a similar distribution in Modern English newspapers: 67% R and 33% NR. If R-NR tendencies have changed little since the Old English period, we can view Kroch and Hindle's data as support for Mitchell's classification. In their editions of *Beowulf,* however, Klaeber (1950), Dobbie (1953), and Wrenn and Bolton (1973) have unanimously punctuated over half of the poem's relative clauses as NR. In fact, 69% of the relative clauses are NR according to two of the three *Beowulf* editions.

In order to resolve this clash, I present a reassessment of the R-NR distinction. I contend that the distinction itself is neither syntactic nor logical — as grammarians have traditionally believed — but rather rhetorical. Demonstrating how the Old English verse form discourages R relativization, I also argue that most relative clauses in *Beowulf* are, as the editors imply, NR.

Session 102: "Gender and Labor in the Caedmon Genesis II"

Alison Kettler (Miami Univ.)

"The Confinement of Eve: Power Relationships in the Visual Images of the Junius 11 Manuscript"

This analysis of the Junius 11 manuscript focuses on images of women, confinement, and the construction of spatial hierarchies, with special attention to the sequence of illustrations dealing with the Fall. I discuss the way in which the composition of the drawings and separation of the forms and figures

within them equates Eve with the world outside of Paradise and establishes Adam as a product of the divine. Finally, I demonstrate the way in which the artist's depiction of Eve ultimately leads to a contradictory conclusion: Eve becomes a character of great strength.

Glenn Gunhouse (Univ. of Alberta)

"'Declaring the End from the Beginning': The Old Testament Frescoes of Sant'Angelo in Formis"

Visitors to the church of Sant'Angelo in Formis may be surprised to find that, in addition to the famous image of Christ enthroned in the apse, and the narratives of the life of Christ on the nave walls, the church also contains a fairly extensive sequence of scenes from the book of Genesis. These Old Testament frescoes are located in the upper zone of the aisle walls, between the aisle windows. They tell the stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah and the Flood, the tower of Babel, Abraham and Isaac, and Jacob and Esau. The basic choice of subjects seems to rely ultimately on the Old Testament frescoes of Old St. Peter's in Rome, but the iconography of the individual scenes is clearly based on other sources. The most important of these was an Old Testament cycle (probably a manuscript) closely related to one of the models of the illustrated Caedmon Genesis (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11).

For the most part, the designers of Sant'Angelo's Old Testament cycle seem to have copied their model quite closely, introducing few innovative or unusual features. Still, though the Old Testament cycle is, on the whole, quite conservative, it does exhibit a number of distinctive features. For example, the Old Testament scenes of Sant'Angelo in Formis tend to de-emphasize the role played by women in the events of Genesis. Women appear infrequently, and when they do, are placed in positions of obvious inferiority to men. The Old Testament cycle of Sant'Angelo in Formis is distinguished also by the degree to which it emphasizes the eschatalogical sense of scripture. This is accomplished partly by the judicious selection of scenes (many of which have a clearly eschatalogical significance), and partly by the establishment of compositional similarities between scenes in the Old Testament cycle and scenes in the Last Judgement fresco on the west wall of the church.

Interestingly, the Last Judgement, too, represents women as figures of relatively minor importance. This is evident, for example, in the image of the Blessed coming before Christ the Judge, in which the women are shown approaching last, and in smaller numbers than the men. The same point is made more emphatically in the scent of the Blessed Entering Paradise, in which all of the blessed souls are represented as men. The frescoes seem to argue, therefore, that the true form of humanity is masculine, and that, just as humanity was created male in the beginning, so too will it be masculine at the end.

The Old Testament cycle of Sant'Angelo in Formis, then, while successfully communicating the historical facts of Genesis on the one hand, and the eschatalogical significance of those events on the other, also serves to present an essentially misogynistic view of women's place in sacred history.

Session 139: "Method in Medieval Artists and Art History"

Virginia Blanton-Whetsell (Binghamton Univ.)

"From Literature to Art History: A Quantum Leap"

In a quantum leap, an input of energy moves an electron across an invisible boundary from a lower energy level to a higher one. Just so, medievalists should strive to cross departmental boundaries in scholarly investigations — leaping those barriers which keep us apart. This notion is pedagogically sound in our postmodern age with its interest in cultural studies. Medievalists, like modernists, are bound by the barriers which currently exist between departments: history and literature; literature and art history; philosophy and music; etc. Most would agree that bridging these obstructions provides a fuller picture of medieval worlds, especially when investigating the *corpus* of hagiography; the problem arises, however, from lack of training in other fields which allows for concrete and valuable scholarship to emerge. Such training and investigation is absolutely crucial to the understanding of cult activities in the Middle Ages, for cults take many forms which cross the barriers erected by disciplines.

This paper demonstrates my use of an interdisciplinary approach to the cult of St. Æthelthryth, specifically focusing on the invaluable contributions that art history lends to hagiography studies. Given the fruitfulness of this investigation, I suggest that those who study hagiography should: rely on colleagues in art history, literature, philosophy, and history for sources crucial to our research and for

ways of interpreting this research; read thoroughly in other fields; share work with those in other departments; cultivate interdisciplinary projects as a collective (as Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn have done in *Interpreting Cultural Symbols: Saint Anne in Late Medieval Society*); encourage students to take medieval courses in various disciplines; and support publicly the efforts of those who make these ventures. If we as medievalists will take the chance to "leap" into a new energy level, a broader picture of the many medieval worlds will emerge.

Session 156: "Scribes and Scholars, C.1000-1200"

Tessa Webber (Univ. of Southampton)

"England and the Low Countries in the Eleventh Century: The Manuscript Evidence"

Manuscript production and book collections in England in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries have hitherto been examined primarily within an Anglo-Norman context. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this subject, the widespread and rapid copying of patristic texts, has been explained as the response of prelates introduced to England from Normandy, who sought to bring the patristic content of English book collections into line with that of Norman collections. This paper argues that this intense scribal activity should be placed within a wider context, and interpreted as part of a renewed interest in the works of the Fathers that was gathering momentum throughout western Europe during the eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. Although Normandy, through ecclesiastics such as Lanfranc, was an important source for the dissemination of such interests in England, it was not the only one. Evidence from scribal hands, the movement of books, and the transmission of patristic texts, indicates that the Low Countries (from Flanders in the west to Lower Lotharingia in the east) also played an important role, perhaps introducing these new interests to England before the Conquest. A preliminary investigation of book collections in northwestern Europe suggests that the Low Countries were in the forefront of a renewed scholarly interest in the works of the Fathers in the first half of the eleventh century, and that few Norman centers had yet created thorough patristic collections by 1066. Thus the Norman Conquest coincided with and facilitated, rather than caused, developments in the content of reading and scholarship in England.

Elaine M. Treharne (Univ. of Leicester)

"The Production of Vernacular Manuscripts in the Twelfth Century"

In 1960, N. R. Ker published *English Manuscripts in the Century After the Conquest.* Since that time, no other full survey of codicological and paleographical aspects of manuscript production in the twelfth century has been published. While scholars *have* addressed such issues with reference to single scriptorium (most recently, Tessa Webber's monograph concerning Salisbury Cathedral's post-Conquest manuscript production), it is rare that vernacular manuscripts form the basis of such inquiries.

There is a considerable amount of vernacular material surviving from the twelfth century, the majority of which is copied from pre-Conquest Old English sources; this illustrates a sustained interest in the vernacular as a literary and educative medium. Yet, much of this material has never been subject to sustained and comparative codicological or paleographical analyses: there are, for example, a number of extensive manuscripts that remain undated and of unknown origin. By close examination of these vernacular manuscripts (such as London, BL, Cotton Vespasian D.XIV; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 302, 303, 367; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116) in parallel with one another and in comparison with twelfth-century Latin manuscripts and charters, it is possible to distinguish features of the scripts and methods of production that are helpful for dating and assigning a place of origin to many of them. Investigation shows that paleographical features vary considerably in the copying of the vernacular; that the South-East was prominent in the copying of Old English material but that many of these manuscripts found their way to Worcester; and that contemporary glossing of the Old English is a shared characteristic of many of these manuscripts.

Session 181: "Word and Deed in Medieval Literature I"

Angela Kelly (University of Western Ontario)

"Heroic Diction, Speech Acts, and Narrative Progress in *Guðlac A*"

Scholars studying *Guðlac A* are often critical of what they perceive as its lack of narrative progress, and in discussing the poem they frequently employ words such as "circularity," "repetition," and "sta-

sis," terms which blur together in the criticism but among which it is important to distinguish. Robert Bjork (*The Old English Saints' Lives,* 1985), though he does not use the language of Speech Act theory, hints at the way in which we can locate the poem's action in its speeches and argues that the characters' words become their deeds. In studying the narrative structure of *Guðlac A,* I have found it useful to analyze the poem directly in terms of John Searle's taxonomy of speech acts. Promises and vows figure prominently in the poem, thus creating the potential for speech acts in the form of verbal contracts. Guðlac, for example, states that his earthly home will be on the *beorg,* and the devils read this as a promise, a Searlean commissive, which can then be challenged or broken. This speech, on the face of it, appears to be performative in that Guðlac states that the *beorg* is his and thus makes it his. However, in the Christian context, it is God's performance; God allows Guðlac to take possession of the *beorg* and Guðlac merely states God's truth, *soð,* to the devils. In Searle's terms, the difference between the speech of the devils and that of Guðlac is in the "direction of fit": Guðlac makes his words fit the world, whereas the devils attempt to make the world fit their words and thus to exercise a level of linguistic power which they will not be granted in God's universe. The devils do employ Searlean commissives but they are infelicitous ones. They "strenuously vow" (*swipe geheton,* 569b) that Guðlac must enter hell — a threat which is never fulfilled. They repeatedly "promise misery" (*ermþu geheton,* 447), but they are unable to fulfill promises because their word-deeds are contrary to God's plan and Guðlac is, therefore, in no way dependent upon them. This paper argues that the repetition which characterizes the poem is a result of the devils' failure to understand the divine scheme of things; their words are against God's plan and are therefore "empty" (*idel word,* 308b), or, in Austin's terms, infelicitous. Guðlac, on the other hand, does not attempt to effect change with his speech because he is aware that such power resides only with God. The use of heroic diction does suggest action, a war of words, but it is the devils, not Guðlac, who choose this particular battlefield.

Session 183: "Women's Religious Houses in the British Isles and Ireland I"

Stephanie Hollis (University of Auckland)

"The Minster-in-Thanet Foundation Story"

The Minster-in-Thanet foundation story (sometimes known as the Kentish Royal Legend) relates how Domne Æbbe gained the land on which she founded the monastery. It is preserved in a number of late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Latin works connected with the cult of either Domne Æbbe's murdered brothers or her daughter Mildrith, who succeeded her as Abbess. The Old English fragment in Caligula A.XIV, fols. 121v-24v, appears closest to the tradition that originated at Thanet, presumable at the time when the cult of Mildrith was initiated by her successor Eadburg (c.730), and thus has particular significance as a fragment of the (legendary) history of monastic women that may have been created by women.

Although the Kentish Royal Legend has to date been primarily regarded as having polemical bearing upon the cult of murdered kings, the polemical implications of the story related in the Caligula fragment reside more centrally in its affirmation of the monastery's traditional claim to the autonomous possession of its lands, which is well-designed to counter the territorial claims of kings, and also of bishops (particularly from the time of Abbess Eadburg, when bishops attempted to place monasteries under episcopal control).

The foundation story in Caligula is in the form of a dynastic chronicle. *Inter alia* the double monasteries were micro-kingdoms for the (semi-) retirement of royal women; in them it was possible to achieve the transference of property and rule through the female line that women who ruled the kingdom at large were least able to achieve. The conventions of royal genealogy, enshrining inheritance and rule through the male line are thus re-deployed; Domne Æbbe is presented as the descendant of a line of royal women famed as monastic founders, and the female emphasis of the genealogy is reflected in an account of the founder-abbess of Thanet which foregrounds her achievements.

This paper offers an interpretation of the foundation story as a monastic myth of origins, whose account of how Domne Æbbe gained the land by tricking the king into honoring his promise to pay wergild for her brothers contains two notable features, a tame (female) deer which delineates the boundaries by the course it runs, and the mound (*Thunerhleaw*) which marks the spot where the earth opens to swallow the king's councillor who attempts to prevent the success of Domne Æbbe's plan.

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"Literacy among Early Anglo-Saxon Monastic Women: Assessing the Evidence"

The literacy of the leading women monastics in the convents and double houses of early Anglo-Saxon England is often assumed, yet the nature and extent of such literacy has been subjected to minimal critical inquiry. It is the purpose of the present paper to reconsider the documentary and archaeological evidence for the roles of women in this context as readers, scribes, and original writers. The possible meanings of finds of styli at Whitby, Flixborough, Brandon, and Barking are examined in terms of their archaeological contexts. Documentary evidence, including but not limited to Bede's description of Whitby, the Bonifatian correspondences, and Aldhelm's *De virginitate,* are considered in terms of the light they may cast on women's education, access to books, abilities as writers, and reputations for learning. In summary, the evidence suggests that while some monastic women (presumably those from the higher echelons of society) were well read and able (although not outstanding) writers by the standards of their time, we are not close to proving that manuscripts were normally produced by female scribes in early Anglo-Saxon England.

Carol Farr (University of Alabama, Huntsville)

"Images of Holy Kinship and Female Monastics in Anglo-Saxon England"

Kinship was an issue of concern in early medieval monastic communities. Concern is attested by the Benedictine conception of the monastery as a spiritual family in which natural kinship is negated. This ideal is prominent throughout the writings of Bede on monastic communities and figures. While the Benedictine and Bedan ideals find scriptural root in New Testament primacy of symbolic spiritual kinship, it was also an issue of concern in the organization of monastic communities. Monasteries were dependent on the aristocracy, who derived their status, power, and wealth through kinship, but simultaneously the religious communities aspired to a classless ideal. The contradiction reaches its intensity in Anglo-Saxon England through the Church's dependence on female aristocracy in the promotion of Christianity. While vital and willing participants in Christianization, female monastics were nonetheless subject to a process of subordination, resulting eventually in their exclusion from monasteries.

What effect might this situation have had on the depictions of women in contexts of kinship in Anglo-Saxon art? Do the depictions reflect and/or promote the dilemma of aristocratic, natural kinship vs. spiritual kinship as society and political hegemonies change through the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries? The paper examines evidence(primarily depictions of women and spiritual/symbolic kinship of monastic communities, and exegeses of scriptural genealogies and texts about biblical women's kinship) from the eighth through eleventh centuries.

Session 204: "New Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Research"

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent University)

"Learning by Layout: What Liturgical Manuscript Margins Imply"

In copying scriptural texts, did scribes recognize the sources from which some of the liturgical canticles were drawn? Is there any evidence that they equated the Latin canticles with vernacular translations of scripture? In Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc. 509, the Old English Hexateuch, we find a singular treatment of two Old Testament canticles. Fol. 52v does not provide the text of the *Cantemus Domini* (Exodus 15:11 seq) but instead "synopsizes" the action, and refers to the singing of a *lofsange,* a hymn or canticle; in the margin of the folio stands the word *cantemus*, the first Latin word of that canticle. On fol. 96r, the *Audite* appears in the margin to mark where the vernacular text of *Audite caeli* (Deut. 32:1 seq) occurs. Can we consider these anomalies a "flagging" of canticle texts within their scriptural sources?

On fol. 93v of Oxford, Bodleian Bodley 441, part of the West Saxon Gospel of Luke, a verse and a half of the Magnificat has been omitted; it is added in the outer margin in a different hand. This omission, and addendum, open up a number of interesting possibilities about the knowledge of Latin canticles and the circumstances of copying them in vernacular English.

Session 224: "Women's Religious Houses in the British Isles and Ireland II"

Margaret Murphy (Centre for Metropolitan History, London)

"Conflict and Consolidation: Convents of Nuns in Anglo-Norman Ireland"

The records pertaining to Irish convents of nuns in the medieval period are by no means abundant. Those that have survived deal by and large with the foundation and endowment of houses, the elections of abbesses and conflicts which involved the machinery of royal or ecclesiastical jurisdiction. There is comparatively little material relating to the daily life and internal administration of convents, the numbers of women in the houses and their social background, or the physical appearance of the convents.

However, from the existing records it is possible to trace the fortunes of some of the houses in the unstable social and political environment of post-Conquest Ireland. These fortunes were very mixed. Many of the houses founded in the early Christian period declined in importance and wealth. Some of the houses of the "new orders" founded by Gaelic lords in the decades preceding the invasion were patronized and endowed by the incoming Anglo-Norman magnates. A significant number of nunneries were founded by settlers anxious to transplant into their new lands the type of organized religion with which they were familiar.

Those houses which were well endowed and situated in relatively stable areas of the country managed to prosper and consolidate their position. For others, less wealthy or situated in volatile frontier lands of the colony, survival was uncertain. The records reveal that convents were vulnerable to attack and depredation from both Irish and Anglo-Norman neighbors. The abbesses emerge as vigorous in the defence of their property and liberties, prepared to appeal to royal justices or parley with Irish chieftains as circumstances dictated. This paper is thus an exploration of the political space occupied by women's religious houses in a complex and rapidly changing society.

Roberta Gilchrist (University of East Anglia)

"Gender and Space in the Monastic Cloister: An Archaeology of Religious Women"

This paper explores the material culture of medieval English nunneries. A gender-specific monastic architecture is proposed through a comparison of nunneries with the better studied monasteries for men. The different purpose of women's monasteries, and the social expectations placed upon religious women, can be elucidated by the architecture and spaces of their cloisters.

A distinctive archaeology of religious women can be recognized in the ground-plans, embellishment and iconography of nunnery buildings, in addition to more functional aspects such as latrine facilities and the disposal of refuse. Social relationships within the cloister, particularly between monastic men and women, can be reconstructed through the disposition and embellishment of space. The social context of women's monasticism was made apparent through the materials, standards and architectural forms of their cloisters, which often resembled gentry settlement more closely than monastic architecture for men. The material culture of religious women suggests that their experience was different from that of their male counterparts and that medieval patrons had an alternative purpose in mind for women's communities.

Session 323: "Anglo-Saxon Studies 1540-1720 I"

Timothy Graham (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, Cambridge)

"John Joscelyn, Pioneer of Old English Lexicography"

John Joscelyn (1529-1603), assisted by his employer Archbishop Matthew Parker's son John, compiled the largest sixteenth-century dictionary of Old English, now BL, Cotton MSS Titus A.XV and A.XVI. With over 20,000 entries, the dictionary is more than three times longer than the *Vocabularium Saxonicum* of Joscelyn's contemporary, Laurence Nowell. It was used extensively by seventeenth-century Old English lexicographers, including William Dugdale, Simonds D'Ewes, and Friedrich Lindenbrog, and was a principal source for the first published Old English dictionary, William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* of 1659. Whereas later lexicographers could draw upon the work of their predecessors, Joscelyn derived most of the entries for his dictionary directly from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. He frequently identified the source of the entries.

This paper examines the manuscript evidence for Joscelyn's lexicographical methods. Numerous manuscripts bear marks that attest to the preliminary phases of his work and enable

observation of his varying approaches to his source material. An intermediate phase is represented by the word-lists, now Lambeth Palace Library MS 692, that Joscelyn compiled from several manuscripts. The paper discusses the somewhat complex relationship between these word-lists, the manuscripts from which they derive, and the dictionary that was the final fruit of Joscelyn's efforts; and it shows how close study of the word-lists reveals otherwise unknown aspects of the history of some Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Joscelyn emerges as a vigorous pioneer of Anglo-Saxon studies who used to full advantage the opportunities for manuscript examination presented him by his archiepiscopal patron.

Phillip Pulsiano (Villanova University)

"William L'Isle and the 1630 Edition of the Eadwine Psalter"

William L'Isle (1569?-1637) occupies a rather modest place in the history of antiquarian studies in England. His career as scholar and writer reflects a diversity of interests which resulted in varied publications including translations of Heliodorus, Du Bartas, and Virgil, and some second-rate verse. Anglo-Saxonists are perhaps most familiar with his work through his *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testaments* (1623). In the preface of the *Treatise,* L'Isle outlined a program of study for acquiring proficiency in Old English that has often been cited. Yet when it come to tracing L'Isle's application of this program, the *Treatise* and its preface are less informative than one would like, bringing one to turn for additional information to his transcripts and notes. Of major interest in this context is an unstudied and little-known edition and translation in his own hand of the Eadwine Psalter. This work, the draft of which was completed in 1630, stands as the first edition and translation of an Old English psalter to be produced — a full ten years before Spelman's edition of Stowe 2 — and the first to collate a number of other glossed psalters. It contains as well numerous notations that pertain to the translation itself or that supply biblical commentary. L'Isle's transcription and particularly his translation and notes reveal a work brought to completion through a series of stages. That work allows us to understand in greater detail L'Isle's methods, the problems he faced, and the solutions at which he arrived. Method, then, only sketchily outlined in his *Saxon Treatise,* is here accorded concrete application, and the result is a fuller and, indeed, more interesting perspective of L'Isle's work as an Anglo-Saxonist.

Danielle Cunniff Plumer (Univ. of Cal., Davis)

"The Recognition of Anglo-Saxon Poetry from Whelock to Hickes"

Old English poems, in their earliest printed editions, are not identified as poetry nor are they lineated, facts which have led some modern scholars to suppose that early editors did not recognize Old English poetry when they edited it. However, I argue in this paper that editions and transcriptions of Old English poetry in the period 1643-1703 show that editors did in fact recognize the form and style of Old English poetry, a recognition leading to a presentation of Old English poetry similar to that with which we are familiar today.

The marginal notes written by early editors offer some evidence that editors were consciously editing poems. Both Abraham Whelock, in his 1643 and 1644 editions of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History,* and Edmund Gibson, in his 1692 *Chronicon Saxonicum,* insert marginal notes commenting on the "idiomatic" and "very ancient" style of the Chronicle poems, and Gibson identifies this style as "Caedmonian." Metrical pointing provides more evidence that editors recognized the form and style of Old English poetry. Francis Junius' transcription of the *Meters of Boethius,* for example, shows that Junius tended to add points to the poems he transcribed. These additional points give the reader visual information about the meter of the poems, information which was ultimately codified as lineation in Christopher Rawlinson's edition of the *Meters* and in George Hickes' 1703-05 *Thesaurus.*

Given this evidence, it seems quite possible that early editors did realize that they were editing poetry. However, they were faced with a choice between the manuscript style of non-lineation and the expectations of an audience familiar only with a lineated style of poetic presentation. Ultimately, in an attempt to "popularize" Old English, the lineated style was adopted, and it has remained in use ever since, as modern editions show.

Kathryn A. Lowe (University of Glasgow)

"William Somner and the Editing of Old English Charters"

William Somner is now remembered as the scholar who produced the *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (1659), the first Anglo-Saxon dictionary to be published. However, Somner's

primary concern as an antiquarian lay with the history of Kent, and he had initially learned Old English in order to read the pre-Conquest charters relating to the county. Both of these interests are reflected in his glossary to Twysden's *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem* (1652) and translations of Old English material in Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655-73). Of particular importance is his *Treatise of Gavelkind* (1660), which contains extracts from pre-Conquest charters, including some from manuscripts which have since been lost. In this paper I assess Somner's achievement as a charter editor. I show that he both enjoyed and deserved a reputation for careful and thorough work during a period of immense importance in the development of Anglo-Saxon studies. Indeed, his editorial methods can in many ways be seen to be more rigorous than those of Kemble and Thorpe, whose work is still used today. While it is essential to gauge the reliability of the work of early antiquarians, my paper demonstrates that the material produced by scholars such as Somner has much unexplored potential.

Session 372: **"Anglo-Saxon Studies 1540-1720 II"**

James P. Carley (York University)

"John Leland and His Manuscripts: Religious Polemicist or Antiquarian?"

Recent evidence has suggested that John Leland's collecting activities at the time of the Dissolution were much more extensive than scholars previously assumed. It no longer seems viable to dismiss him as the ineffectual dreamer evoked by N. R. Ker in *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. Leland evidently collected monastic books on a major scale and created substantial royal libraries to house them at Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Westminster. Yet his method of collecting and criteria of selection remain somewhat unclear, as does the relationship between the lists of books in his *Collectanea* and the emerging royal libraries. Probably the religious polemics at the time of Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon set the context for his first monastic tours.

The two poles of what he hoped to achieve in his self-designated role of "antiquarius" are represented by his *Antiphilarchia* and his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*. In the former, addressed to Henry in the late 1530s, he argued that the English church should be independent from papal authority, citing early historical evidence. The latter work, nearing completion when he became insane c. 1547, sought to provide a comprehensive list, based on manuscript evidence, of British writers and their works. Broader in conception than Bale's *Catalogus*, which was organized according to a protestant pattern of history, Leland's work was condemned by Bale for its undiscriminating inclusion of the most unregenerate of papists.

My paper discusses surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts rescued by Leland and his view of Anglo-Saxon writers and the early British church. I analyze the relationship between his "theoretical" statements about collecting in the *New Year's Gift* of 1546 (and how these were interpreted by Bale), and the actual manuscripts he collected. Leland's attitude to the documents he saw needs to be determined as accurately as possible, as he is often our only access to the contents of medieval libraries, and stands as the chief mediator between the modern world of the widely accessible printed book and the medieval world of the handwritten codex.

Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. (Rijksuniversiteit Leiden)

"The Anglo-Saxon Pagan Pantheon According to Richard Verstegen"

Anglo-Saxon paganism has exercised a strong fascination on generations of scholars. One might think that interest in this aspect of Anglo-Saxon culture began with the Romantic Movement, which provided the starting-point for E. G. Stanley's *The Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism* (1975). Yet the interest in paganism dates back much earlier. It was Richard Verstegen, the Oxford alumnus of Dutch origin, who first extensively drew attention to Anglo-Saxon paganism in his *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605), which includes an account of the pagan gods, with an engraved illustration for each of them.

So far, Verstegen's work has only received attention (and praise) for the large Old English glossary included in it. Seeking to redress this one-sided interest, I show that Verstegen also was an apt mythologist whose knowledge of the pagan gods came through both English and, particularly, Dutch and Scandinavian sources. His engravings fit into the tradition of emblem literature, and must be interpreted in that context. His book enjoyed great popularity in both England and the Low Countries, to which he moved because of his Roman Catholic conviction. In 1613 he published an adapted version in Dutch. This includes the chapter on the pagan gods almost in entirety. Unlike its English predecessor, the Dutch version was overtly anti-Protestant. Yet it proved useful to the Calvinist

Dutch, and in 1700 an extended edition was published, purged of polemics.

Verstegen's work reflects a true scholarly interest in the pagan culture of the Anglo-Saxons, while also revealing the preoccupations of his time. As a distant mirror, it may help to put the "objectivity" of our own work on Anglo-Saxon paganism into perspective.

Stuart Lee (Oxford Univ. Computing Services)

"Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 381: William L'Isle, Ælfric, and the *Ancrene Riwle*"

This paper details the important material contained in the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc. 381. This contains a series of seventeenth-century translations and transcriptions by the Anglo-Saxon scholar, William L'Isle.

I explain the contents of the manuscript in detail, discussing L'Isle's method of transcription in particular. Reference is made to his translations of Ælfric's *Preface to Genesis,* and the Old English versions of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Judges. The second part of the manuscript consists of direct transcriptions of Old English material, taken predominantly from homilies by Ælfric, relating to the treatment of Old Testament material (the most notable of these is the only surviving retention of Ælfric's homily on the book of Esther). I make an attempt to indicate which manuscripts L'Isle used for his transcriptions. Finally, the extracts on fols. 134v-39v, seemingly taken from the Middle English *Ancrene Riwle,* are discussed with reference to the studies of the *Ancrene Riwle* by Heuser (1907) and Napier (1909).

Session 383: "Glosses and Glossaries"

Melinda J. Menzer (University of Texas, Austin)

"Intervernacular Evidence: French Glosses in Ælfric's *Grammar* (Cotton Faustina A.X)"

Scholars who are familiar with glosses in Latin manuscripts know that it's not at all surprising to find vernacular glosses in these texts. What is surprising, however, is to find intervernacular glossing providing information about the interaction of vernacular languages. There is only one instance of Anglo-Norman glosses translating Old English text listed in Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon:* Cotton Faustina A.X. This manuscript contains French glosses of at least four hands, providing hard evidence that the French in England were reading English. The glosses appear in a copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary,* the first vernacular grammar in Europe. The *Grammar,* Ælfric states in his preface, is written as a grammar both of Latin and of his native tongue, English. Tony Hunt provides a transcript of these twelfth-century glosses but treats them as merely another instance of French glossing Latin, rather than a unique example of French interest in English. The French glosses appear in Ælfric's explication of verbs. Of the two main glossators of this text, hand 1 appears 60% of the time over the Old English, indicating that more than half the time he is directly translating Old English text. This glossator uses Ælfric's text to create a trilingual glossary, perhaps to be used to translate other English works. Hand 2, however, translates over Latin text nearly 100% of the time. Concentrating on glossing grammatical terms, he is using Ælfric's grammar as a model for his own French grammar, created in the spaces of this copy. But while Ælfric creates English terms that borrow meaning from other English words, this glossator does not translate these terms into forms that already mean something in the vernacular. Instead, to borrow Merrilees's term, hand 2 "gallicizes" these terms to form words that are meaningless to those who do not read Latin. The only purpose of his work must be to emulate Ælfric, to create a system of French terminology in comparison to Ælfric's English terminology. These glosses then actually become the first French language grammar. Cotton Faustina A.X not only provides definite evidence that French readers were interested in English, but it shows us also that at least one French glossator was carefully considering the writings of the English, to the point where he began to create his own works in imitation.

VIII. The Leeds International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 4-7, 1994:

Session 103: "Old English Texts and Manuscript Contexts: Revisionist Approaches"

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (U. of Notre Dame)

"The Object of Reading: Considering Cotton Tiberius B.I"

The manuscript now known as BL, Cotton Tiberius B.I is a composite manuscript containing the Old English translation of Orosius's *History,* two verse texts, the *Menologium* and *Maxims II,* and the C-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* Apart from its description in Ker's *Catalogue*, the manuscript has

been discussed piecemeal and primarily as a textual vehicle for the Orosius and for the *Chronicle*. This paper examines Tiberius B.I from a different perspective, specifically as an object of reading at three discrete points in time: in the eleventh, sixteenth, and nineteenth centuries. Its goal is to read the physical manuscript as a cultural object. For the manuscript in the later eleventh century (spanning the turbulent years from Cnut's reign through the Conquest) the discussion is primarily codicological and paleographical, interpreting the evidence offered by text frame and changes in hand. The construction of the manuscript suggests that the verse texts and the *Chronicle* were contemporary additions to the Orosius. Whether or not the final entries of the *Chronicle* were contemporary with the events recorded (as Ker has hinted), their poor parchment and imprecise hands indicate a change of circumstances underlying the latest copying of the manuscript. The manuscript re-enters the historical record in the sixteenth century, where it circulated among a number of antiquarian collectors. The treatment of place name in annotations by Robert Talbot, and their subsequent appearance in Leland's *Collectanea,* locates the manuscript within sixteenth-century interest in political geography. In the nineteenth century, the manuscript becomes the object of another form of reading when it is "rediscovered by Ingram, subsequently placed on a genealogical tree for a textual history of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* and then forgotten.

Session 108: "Boethius in England: Old English and Middle English Treatments of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*"

Richard North (University College, London)

"*The Wanderer* and Boethius"

In this lecture, I suggest that *The Wanderer* is a serious and sophisticated riddle of which the solution is Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae.* Though the poet may send us right off the track in the opening lines, his clues mount up towards the end. I start by arguing that the conventional title misleads and that the poet creates two speakers in the poem in lines 8-29a and 92-110: the first being a Germanic mercenary whose counterpart in Norse analogues is Starkaðr Stórvirksson, an incidental hero of the thirteenth-century *Gautreks saga* and of the *Gesta Danorum* of Saxo Grammaticus; the second speaker being Boethius towards the conclusion of the *De Consolatione*. Why the mercenary? Where is Lady Philosophy in *The Wanderer*? Who are "the companions of men" swimming away on line 53? Is Woden lurking in this poem? All these and other questions I try to answer in my lecture; furthermore, the full text of my argument will be published by the summer of 1994 in the *Proceedings of the Second Germania Latina Symposium,* University of Groningen.

Susan Irvine (University College London)

"Classical Allusions and Illusions in Alfred's Translation of Boethius"

This paper concerns Alfred's treatment of stories from classical mythology in his translation of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae.* The way in which Alfred regularly amplifies and adapts the classical allusions found in Boethius is examined. The paper considers the possible sources utilized by Alfred in this kind of expansion. Although Latin commentaries on Boethius were certainly available in the period, no extant commentaries have been found to account for Alfred's variety of material. If Alfred was himself responsible for the changes, then what conclusions can be drawn about his attitudes and interests?

Common to the three most extended treatments of classical stories is a stress on the illusory nature of that material. Alfred's simultaneous wariness of these "false stories," and his belief that "truth" can be elicited from them, is examined with special reference to the Ulysses and Circe episode. In this passage, Alfred not only amplifies Boethius but also alters the story markedly so that the love affair between Ulysses and Circe precedes the change of Ulysses' men into wild animals through Circe's sorcery. The paper offers various reasons why Alfred might have altered his material in this way. In particular, it relates Alfred's perspective to the prevailing tendency among secular Latin writers to discredit the character of Ulysses. Alfred may have had political considerations in mind in his pejorative representation of a king whose negligent conduct reduced his men to beasts.

Session 203: "Oral Tradition and Anglo-Saxon England"

Adam Brooke Davis (Northeast Missouri St. Univ.)

"Anglo-Saxon Studies and the Contemporary Undergraduate"

For more than a decade, a fairly intense debate has gone on over the relevance of older anglophone

literature and culture for the modern student, and indeed, over the possibility or desirability of conveying any sort of coherent version of such a culture. The extremes may be represented by, on the one hand, hidebound notions of canon, and on the other, by a shallow and rather pusillanimous acquiescence in whatever the most vocal of the moment wish to consider "relevant."

My own work at an unusual institution dedicated both to public education and the liberal arts traditions has encouraged me to form a model of instruction which depolarizes the argument, and exposes the opposition as other than inevitable. The most recent advances in oral theory, borrowing as they do from the social sciences certain methods (but not their methodologically conditioned philosophy of determinism and ultimate human predictability), has allowed me to treat diachrony as synchrony. That is, it is possible to fulfill the multicultural imperative in the act of becoming a critical student of the history of one's own culture — surely among the desiderata of the liberal arts education. Student and collegial response to this habit of reflecting on the social status of a given species of verbal art, its function in constituting community, and its relation to contemporary comparanda, has been overwhelmingly positive, and has aroused in the students an appetite for real and rigorous knowledge of a past they claim as well as accept.

John Miles Foley (Univ. of Missouri, Columbia)

"Genre and Oral Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Poetry"

Most studies of the oral traditional background of surviving Old English poetic texts have conducted comparative investigations without much attention to the distinctions in genre among the poems they discussed. This is unfortunate, since studies of living oral traditions show that the registers (idioms) that serve as the expressive media for the various kinds of speech acts can differ quite markedly. The present paper explores the kinds of differences that exist among Old English genres, on both the phraseological and narrative levels, with a view toward shedding light on the expressive repertoires and modes of reception involved in these verbal transactions. Examples are drawn from the Old English elegies and hagiographies, as well as from various genres in ancient Greek (epic and hymn) and in the South Slavic (epic and charm).

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

"Oral Tradition and Traditions of Singing in Late Anglo-Saxon England"

I continue in this paper to explore consequences of the hypothesis that Old English poetry was of ultimately oral origin but that it continued to be presented vocalically throughout its historical existence. I suppose that writing was an unusual form for vernacular poetry to take, that each writing down of an Anglo-Saxon poem was something of a special and exceptional occasion. The manuscripts of these poems transmit them with great textual variation, which I see as originating with the scribes, who understood and had competence in the oral traditions they were copying and were therefore to some degree performers of these texts as well as transmitters. The irregular textuality of these manuscript copies — irregular spacing, free graphemic word-divisions, unsystematic or irregular accents and punctuation, etc. — is symptomatic of inner and outer voicing by the scribes as they "heard" and wrote these texts. I focus on the spacing between and within words in certain manuscript texts. I argue that the scribes — who were often writers of Latin as well — developed their textuality for writing these vernacular "songs" from the conventions they used for writing troped liturgical texts, which use irregular spacing and highly articulated diacritics, "neumes," for indicating the pauses, duration and pitch for the sung liturgy. I conclude with several experiments in "singing" Latin and Old English texts by (reconstructed) tenth- and eleventh-century liturgical conventions.

Ursula Schaefer (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin)

"Poetry without a Text"

In more recent literary and linguistic studies it has become the terminological usage to speak of any verbal communication with a discernible beginning and end as a *text*. I argue that this cover term blurs a distinction that has to be made with regard to the encoding and decoding of meaning.

By now it has been widely accepted that these processes function differently according to the medium and that, at the same time, we may find oral communications that are encoded as if they belonged to the medium of script and vice versa. It is exactly this latter point that makes a terminological distinction necessary, one which prepares us not to presuppose that anything which has come down to us in writing must needs follow

the rules of encoding appropriate to the medium. In other words: not anything and everything that appears to us as a "text" (something to which modern editorial practice contributes very much) has to be — and hence has to be handled — as such.

In this paper I double the receptionalist approach. For one thing, I want to bring to the fore that if we tacitly transfer to early medieval vernacular poetry our notion of *text* as something that largely contains its own meaning, we are prone to a medial fallacy. Secondly, I attempt to outline the way in which we may more adequately approach this poetry, namely by reconstructing the linguistic semiotics of a culture (barely) underway to literacy. This is to say, I delineate how we understand and how *"they"* did not.

Colette Stévanovitch (University of Rouen)

"The Old Saxon *Genesis* and Old English *Genesis B*"

What is usually called the Old Saxon *Genesis* is made up of three fragments dealing with the fall of man *(Genesis B),* the condemnation of Cain, and the fall of Sodom.

The "Cain" fragment tells of Cain's condemnation, then gives a short account of his and Seth's descendants, focusing on Enoch and his murder by Antichrist. Echoes link the two parts together: Cain, the first murderer, is on a par with Antichrist, the embodiment of evil, and is contrasted with Enoch. The theme of the fragment is the corruption of the world through Cain's crime and its subsequent cleansing through the killing of Antichrist.

The structure derived from the addition of the Enoch episode appears to be an afterthought: in the original plan the poem was to go straight on from a brief mention of Seth's and Cain's lines of descent to the episode of the Flood. It is unlikely that after mentioning the death of Antichrist at the end of time the poet went back to the Flood: the Enoch episode probably served as a conclusion.

Echoes link together *Genesis B* and "Cain," and it is obvious that the second poem is a continuation of the first; but some of these echoes are used in the wrong contexts, and the poem appears to be by a different hand. The Enoch episode is the conclusion of the "Cain" fragment only, and has nothing to do with *Genesis B.*

I have shown in an earlier study (*La Genèse du MS Junius XI,* 1992) that "Sodom" too is by a different author than the other two fragments. The Old Saxon *Genesis* is a collective work, a paraphrase of the beginning of Genesis taking as its starting-point the pre-existing *Genesis B.*

Session 303: *"Beowulf"*

Hilda Ellis Davidson (University of Cambridge)

"Grendel's Mother"

The character of Grendel's mother has tended to be underestimated in *Beowulf* studies. After being dismissed as trivial folktale material irrelevant to the main plot, the artistic value of the episode in which she appears has now been recognized, but there has been little discussion as to her possible origins. Using a paper of 1959 by Nora Chadwick as a starting point, together with an examination of the words used to describe Grendel's mother in the poem, it is claimed that this powerful supernatural figure appears to have evolved from three different backgrounds. First, there is evidence for a tradition of a family of monsters overcome by a Scandinavian hero in a number of legendary Norse sagas; this is associated with members of some of the powerful Norwegian families and linked with adventures in the eastern Baltic regions. Second, there is some indication that this female monster could have developed out of traditions of a hunting goddess, the mistress of the animals, who could be both helpful and destructive. Third, there are signs of influence from local folklore from the fens and marshes of eastern England. While an initial interest in monsters may have been fostered by knowledge of learned Latin literature, it is suggested that the vigor with which Grendel's mother is portrayed in the poem is due to a rich background of earlier beliefs and of both heroic and local traditions.

T. A. Shippey (St. Louis University)

"The Problem of Antiquarianism/ Anachronism in *Beowulf*"

The idea that *Beowulf* is a work of deliberate antiquarianism, or a "historical novel," is an old one in *Beowulf* studies, but has gained increasing force and support from the suggestion that the poem is a composition of the tenth or eleventh centuries and the strong accompanying reminder that, whatever its date of composition, it meant something to two scribes of the reign of Ethelred. This paper asks what follows if we do indeed consider it as a "historical novel." What is its degree of fictivity? Issues considered include the poem's apparent silences (the Redeemer, Britain, writing and

money); its displays of knowledge (the Merovingian, Finns, Scedeland and Scedenig); its many redundant characters (Yrmenlaf, Heaþolaf, Wiðergyld, etc.); allusions which have remained unexplained despite scholarship (Unferþ's brothers). I attempt to assess the degree of historical knowledge, historical imagination, and respect for imaginative consistency required for the poem to be created in the post-Scandinavian world.

Session 322: "Gender, Production and Perception in Anglo-Saxon England, I: The Material Record"

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"Images of Anglo-Saxon Women: The Rhetoric of Models and the Discourse of Art"

This paper considers the value that images of Anglo-Saxon women in both sculpture and manuscript illumination may have as documents concerning the lives of Anglo-Saxon women. Here as elsewhere in the development of medieval art, the critical factor in determining the documentary value of imagery is the role of the model. Does the image closely reiterate an earlier source, which reflects primarily the concerns of the cultural locus of the source; does the image, in other words, subscribe to or use the model's rhetoric of forms and meanings? Or does the image enter into discourse with the model by reconfiguring its visual contents, and what concerns of the environment of the image does this responsive reconfiguration reflect? Anglo-Saxon art often relies on the use of models imported from the conspicuously different cultures of the Continent, both past and contemporary; the treatment of such models in the Anglo-Saxon context includes examples of both direct copying and editorial adaption of the model. This paper examines the use and adaption of models in several images of Anglo-Saxon women, notably on the Franks Casket and in Harley 603, and considers how alterations of, or additions to, the model may be observed to correspond to information on women's lives available in documentary sources.

Carol Farr (University of Alabama, Huntsville)

"Ruthwell and the Female Audience for Sculpture"

The iconographic program of the Ruthwell cross has been established in art historical scholarship as a monastic one, its interpretations based upon Christian texts. While such texts should assume an important place in our attempts to reconstruct the context of the Ruthwell cross and of other Anglo-Saxon stone crosses, they, and their traditional readings, allow only a monolithic view of Ruthwell's program as an expression of monasticism without recognizing textual masculine bias or discerning effects of polemic inevitable in Christianization.

A richer understanding of Ruthwell's iconography may be obtained by viewing its meaning as shaped by interaction with influential segments of its audience, such as aristocratic monastic women. Important issues include the relationship of the cross's images of women with gender constructs of the Anglo-Saxons, in particular because transformation of the indigenous concept of women held a place of priority in the promotion of orthodoxy. The paper examines ways in which Ruthwell's program plays upon Anglo-Saxon and Christian gender constructs, comparing its presentation of sanctity with the imagery of other pre-Viking Anglo-Saxon sculpture.

Catherine E. Karkov (Miami University)

"Women on the Edge: The Female Body in Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Illumination"

Women inhabit an ambiguous yet powerful space in Anglo-Saxon art, particularly in manuscript illumination. They are marginalized in the sense that images of women are less common than images of men, and quite often women play a small and often problematic part in the contexts or programs in which they are represented. Women can also, however, play a surprisingly active role in Anglo-Saxon art. Pushed to the edges, often the borders, of the scenes or programs in which they appear, they capture our attention, transgress boundaries, and, indeed, may often be read against the accompanying textual narrative.

This paper focuses on four sets of images in which female bodies play a significant role: Ælfric's *Pentateuch* (BL, Cotton Claud. B.IV); the *Psychomachia* (BL, Cotton Cleop. C.VIII); the Caedmon *Genesis* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11); the Bayeux tapestry. It considers theories of liminality, as well as the tension that exists between artistic representation, artistic production and historical context, in order to suggest answers to three primary questions: (1) How are women portrayed in Anglo-Saxon art? (2) What does this tell us about Anglo-Saxon women and approaches to women and gender in the Anglo-Saxon period? (3) What is the relevance of this material to us today?

Session 403: "Rewriting Judith: Anglo-Saxon Responses to the Old Testament Figure"

Hugh Magennis (Queen's University of Belfast)

"Contrasting Narrative Emphases in the OE *Judith* and Ælfric's Paraphrase of the Book of Judith"

The Old English Judith narratives can be seen as contrasting expositions or guided readings of the Book of Judith, reflecting particular authorial concerns. *Judith* emphasizes the themes of opposition and of resolution and faith. Ælfric's narrative highlights the relationship of God to his people and is concerned to place the story in the wider context of Old Testament history. Ælfric's exegetical passage at the end of his paraphrase focuses particularly on chastity (unlike the paraphrase itself). This exegesis is a "detachable" and highly selective commentary not on Ælfric's own paraphrase but on the biblical original. The exegesis, but not the narrative, is insistently directed at an audience of nuns. The paper argues that comparison of our Old English analogues reveals some shared emphases in responses to the Judith story, derived from aspects of the original, but that our texts represent individual creative versions of this original. The story of Judith engages the interest of Anglo-Saxon writers, but they find its significance to be far from monolithic.

Ruth Evans (University of Wales, Cardiff)

"The Dangers of Being Judith"

In the Old English *Judith*, as in its Biblical and exegetical sources, sexual difference and macro-political questions are brought together. Critical awareness of these two elements is nevertheless capable of producing very divergent readings, as is the case with the recent analyses of Swanton, Olsen, and Hermann. My paper reconsiders the socio-historical implications of the specific configurations of sexual difference and sexual threat as they are presented in the text, considering in particular Hermann's argument that the project of the text is "to inculcate the values necessary for the formation of the early medieval [Christian] subject." My work draws on two strands of recent work: on psychoanalytic readings of representations of Judith in literature and fine art, and on the status of the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon culture. The former suggests that the "early medieval subject" needs to be problematized in terms of gender, while the latter suggests that the context for reading poems like *Judith* was not necessarily primarily learned and monastic, and that the specular function of the text in constituting its readers as subjects was not wholly confined to an allegorical exegetical understanding and mode.

Mary Clayton (University College, Dublin)

"Ælfric's *Judith:* Manipulative or Manipulated?"

Ælfric's *Judith* is one of the few Anglo-Saxon works for which we have explicit authorial guidance on how it is to be interpreted, as he tells the recipient of his *Letter to Sigeweard* that it is "set down in English in our manner, as an example to you people that you should defend your land against an invading army with weapons." However, Ælfric also offered a radically different interpretation of the text in his conclusion to his adaptation of *Judith*, saying that Judith fulfilled Christ's statement that the proud will be humbled, that she was a type of the believing Church and that her chastity should serve as an example to *nunnan* (religious women living a non-monastic life) in his own time who are tempted to betray their vows of chastity. This paper considers these very different responses by Ælfric to the meaning of the narrative, arguing that the *Letter to Sigeweard* has to be interpreted literally as a call to arms and that it is incompatible with and operating on a very different level to the conclusion to the text itself. The relationship between Ælfric's differing exegeses and the text as a whole is then addressed, concentrating on the strategies adopted to avoid or contain the ethical problems of the narrative, which Ælfric is clearly unwilling to confront directly. Although the association of Judith with chastity is a very old one, Judith's behavior in the Vulgate does not conform to Ælfric's views on female chastity and, in the end, he has to abandon the topic of Judith altogether and attempt to copperfasten the desired model by telling another story, that of Malchus and his "wife." The meanings which Ælfric imposes on the test, therefore, reflect a desire to make it safe, to defuse it, and reveal Ælfric's deep-seated anxiety with regard to women using their bodies in ways which had been firmly repressed by centuries of church prescriptions.

Session 422: "Gender, Production and Perception in Anglo-Saxon England, II: The Literary Record"

Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown Univ.)

"Gendered Distinctions of Weaving: Male Texts and Female Textiles?"

Building on a 1990 paper delivered at Kalamazoo, this paper surveys the vocabulary and imagery of weaving to continue to elucidate the relationship of intellectual and physical culture. Given the Biblical context of weaving as a gendered punishment beginning with Eve (to clothe sinful, sexual bodies), does weaving as a metaphor (weaving words into texts) and a physical act of cloth production exclude female textuality by implication, dividing soul/intellect once again from body as male from carnal female? I am interested in the idea of a writing female as male, and to what extent this familiar dichotomy existed or was less clearly delineated in Anglo-Saxon contexts for weaving. The archaeological record suggests that weaving in early Anglo-Saxon contexts was often linked to status: for example, weaving swords of reused, pattern-welded blades appear in female graves with substantial goods. Does that status, along with negative Christian images, create a more complicated context for both men's and women's use of the imagery in Anglo-Saxon texts?

Gillian Overing (Wake Forest University)

"Orality and Femininity: Paradigms of Absence in Anglo-Saxon Culture"

Scholars and teachers of the Anglo-Saxon period interested in specific information about women's experience discover that the paucity of "hard" evidence poses one kind of problem, and the construction of the cultural record within and without the period poses another. Women's absence is in some measure created and recreated by critical history and methodology. Established scholarly paradigms can exclude the possibility of even framing specific questions about the details of women's lives and do not help us to square the problem of women's recorded absence with the inescapable fact of their physical presence and material contribution.

Although the sources that we have comprise by and large a patriarchal record and a record of patriarchy, this monolith might be persuaded to reveal more information if we teach ourselves how to interrogate it differently, and if we bring different assumptions to the process of interrogation. The recent critical focus on orality and literacy, for example, might frame some new questions which in turn may shed light on women within the Anglo-Saxon period. To what degree might the suppression and patriarchal rewriting of feminine process parallel the "disappearance" of the oral trace, and how far is it the case that Anglo-Saxon accounts of the production of texts suppress process? Can we usefully conceptualize these forms of suppression or absence in similar ways? The notion of the codification of the processes of literacy might be paralleled, for example, to a study of the development of the public/private divisions within society; although it might be as difficult to codify the scribal relationship to the text in an oral/literate transition period as it is the actual power of women in the periods of social transition, our thinking about each issue may prove profitable and interchangeable at the levels of metaphor and process.

John Ruffing (Cornell University)

"The Absent Women of Ælfric's Colloquy"

Ælfric's Colloquy teaches the language of power on two levels: explicitly it instructs an oblate audience in quotidian latin, a necessary power for monastic life; implicitly, its controls convey a grammar of power relations, a sampling model of society which strongly types various occupations, roles, and attitudes. The absence of women in the work touches both levels: it is not surprising in a piece intended for candidates to a male group, despite some faintly implied female roles in the under-ranging world of characters. But with a sort of balancing logic, where the problems of women are most explicitly excluded — in the framing discourse of the monastery proper — they emerge strongly, in some ways dominantly, through the symbolism. As might be expected in an Ælfrician writing, this symbolism is largely biblical, integrating the Colloquy more substantially with issues of his larger educational and intellectual project.

Session 703: "The Anglo-Saxon Entourage"

Bernard S. Bachrach (University of Minnesota)

"Military Demography in Anglo-Saxon England"

Military demography — i.e., a census of the men eligible for some type of armed service and an accounting of the number which actually served in the armed forces for particular campaigns — is arguably the most neglected sub-area within the broader, though infrequently tilled, field of medieval demography. For pre-Crusade Europe, the situation

with regard to military demography is even worse than for the subsequent four or five centuries of medieval history. Indeed, even the order of magnitude of armies remains at issue. For example, some scholars believe that Viking armies were very large, i.e., in the many thousands, while other historians tend to scale down these figures and suggest that the Scandinavian raiders who plagued Europe for more than two centuries were organized into groups that numbered in the hundreds.

With regard to the military demography of Anglo-Saxon England, there are a variety of relatively "hard" figures such as the burghal hidage and the five hide assessment along with a great mass of more controversial data. This paper makes an effort to examine some examples of "soft" data, especially information provided in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in light of the hard data in order to discuss various methods for ascertaining the credibility of figures in terms of their order of magnitude. Among the several indices used to develop methods of criticism are data for enemy forces, environmental factors, movement over distance in controlled time frames, logistics, and information regarding the general population.

Steven Fanning (University of Illinois, Chicago)

"The Anglo-Saxon *Comitatus*"

The *comitatus*, the band of noble or royal retainers, has long been seen as an essential and characteristic institution of Germanic society, one that was brought to Britain by the Anglo-Saxons from the earliest days. It has been seen as a major component of Anglo-Saxon royal power and it has been viewed as an institution that worked.

However, there is also considerable evidence that the band of royal companions was unstable and prone to acts of violence against its lord. Moreover, it also appears that Anglo-Saxon kings attempted to move away from royal power based on personal ties of loyalty to institutional kingship based on Roman and Christian concepts. An additional problem is that too little attention has been paid to evidence concerning the royal retinue that exists for the other states in the West that were led by kings of Germanic peoples. Excessive weight has been given to literary works that tend to glorify and romanticize the war band. Thus the Anglo-Saxon *comitatus* has usually been examined in isolation and seen in an overly literary light.

This paper reviews the evidence relating to the Anglo-Saxon *comitatus* in an effort to assess its real significance in Anglo-Saxon lordship, kingship, and government. In particular, it examines the *comitatus* on the Continent (in the kingdoms of the Visigoths, Franks, and Lombards) in order to shed comparative light on the nature of the personal retinue of the king in the West in the early Middle Ages and its role in royal government. In this fashion, a better understanding of this aspect of Anglo-Saxon government and society should be gained.

David A.E. Pelteret (University of Toronto)

"Saint Wilfrid: Tribal Bishop, Civic Bishop, or *Comitatus* Leader?"

The Anglo-Saxon episcopacy was a young institution when Wilfrid became a bishop in 664. He attracted a considerable following but also great antagonism. What were the models on which he shaped his career? He had three possible examples to follow. The first were the tribal bishops of the Irish Church, who were often associated with monastic institutions and whose territorial powers were frequently conterminous with the *gens* to which they were attached. The second was the largely urban episcopacy of Gaul and Italy, whose traditions lay in the administrative structures of Late Antiquity. Finally there was the Germanic institution of the comitatus leader, the head of a warrior band with his power based on land, material wealth and an entourage coexisting with their lord in a complex interdependence. All were evolving institutions, as were the English societies within which Wilfrid found himself at different periods in his adult life. These societies were tribal formations, which were seeking to subjugate their Anglo-Saxon neighbors in the case of the Northumbrians and were still pagans in the case of the South Saxons. Legal practices were also undergoing rapid evolution, with the Anglo-Saxon practice of lords holding land by precarious tenure colliding with the Roman Vulgar Law traditions of the land-charter and the will. The Anglo-Saxon Church, too, was changing, especially after Theodore, an emissary of the Roman Church of Greek origin, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 668. Though our two primary sources on Wilfrid, Stephen's *Life of Wilfrid* and Bede's *Historia Ecclestiastica*, are complex texts with their own agendas that do not have an objective portrayal of Wilfrid as their primary aim, they do enable us to discern elements of all three traditions in Wilfrid's episcopal practice. An analysis of Wilfrid's interpretation of his role as bishop helps us to understand both how he attracted supporters and the conflicts that beset his episcopal career.

Session 803: "Monasticism and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England"

Linda Nix (University of Cambridge)

"Format and Layout of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and the Implications for the Transmission of Classical and Late-Antique Texts"

A manuscript's format and layout present a text in a unique way, so that no two copies of the text are identical. Both differences and consistencies between versions of the "same" text reveal how the text has been approached by the scribe, how it may have been read by its readers and, if lines of transmission can be established, how it has been interpreted by subsequent copyists. When discussing texts known to the Anglo-Saxons, it should be asked, in what form was the text known? To what degree have local, historical forces influenced the layout over the authority of the exemplar? This varies from text to text.

The texts considered here are Persius, *Saturae;* Juvenal, *Saturae;* Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale;* Boethius, *De Consolatione Philosophiae;* and Gregory, *Cura Pastoralis.* From a study of the layout in relation to transmission, important pieces of information can be gleaned. Contrary to popular opinion, these texts had wide readership beyond the schoolroom. Despite the small number of classical manuscripts, the considerable differences between copies suggest several lost manuscripts, and widespread dissemination of the texts. We can also see the factors at work in the process of re-production of each text: in the case of Boethius, the chosen layout affects the arrangement of the *metra,* which in turn influences subsequent copies.

The relationship between layout and text is still largely unexplored, but this preliminary study shows that there is much still to be learned about Anglo-Saxon literary culture.

Session 902: "Vernacular Homilies in Old English"

Charles D. Wright (University of Illinois, Urbana)

"Vercelli Homily XII on the Fear of God: Source and Audience"

A major section of Vercelli Homily XII is devoted to listing of the spiritual benefits that derive from the fear of God. The first of three such lists, headed by the biblical verse "Initium sapientiae timor Domini" (Ps.110:10=Eccl.1:16), names a series of virtues that are generated consecutively from the fear of God. Its ultimate source, hitherto unnoticed, is a passage from Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum* IV.36. Yet in Vercelli XII all the distinctively monastic virtues in Cassian's list (*abrenuntiatio, id est nuditas et contemptus omnium facultatum, mortificatio uoluntatum,* and *apostolicae caritatis perfectio)* have been discreetly omitted. Nearly the same omissions from the Cassianic list are made in the *Scala virtutum,* copied by the canons of Salisbury Cathedral in the early twelfth century, a florilegium which (as Teresa Webber has shown) often adapts its sources to suit a non-monastic audience. The Vercelli homilist's omission of ascetic virtues relating to renunciation of material possessions and to the ideal of apostolic perfection suggests that his audience (who seem to have had pastoral duties) may also have been composed not of monks who lived the common life and followed the Benedictine Rule, but of secular clergy at a cathedral chapter or minster.

Joyce Hill (University of Leeds)

"Ælfric's Rogationtide Homilies: Texts and Traditions"

In 1982, Joyce Bazire and Jimmy Cross noted that there were two traditions for the origin of, and terminology for, Rogationtide: one associated with Rome and observed on April 25, and the other initiated in Gaul and observed on the three days immediately preceding Ascension. As Cross and Bazire explain, there is a tradition which gives the April ritual the title of *Letania maior.* In this context the three days before Ascension are designated as "the minor Rogations," or are described in other ways. This terminology was not fixed, however, and the considerable number of Rogationtide homilies surviving from late Anglo-Saxon England, all of which are associated with the days before Ascension, use *in letania maiore* where they have rubrics. Cross and Bazire note that Ælfric, who wrote nine pieces for Rogationtide, also uses the terminology in this way. As they indicate in passing, there are instances of such usage also from continental Europe, and they suggest that there was a shift of nomenclature, to which Anglo-Saxon England is a witness.

Unpublished copies of Carolingian homiliaries provide support for this conjecture by showing that the nomenclature was subject to change during the Carolingian reform, and that Ælfric's texts and traditions agree with, and are validated by, those which were stabilized during the first part of the

ninth century. In particular, it will be shown that, when using the homiliary of Paul the Deacon, Ælfric follows the modified tradition introduced into later recensions, rather than the tradition found in the manuscripts closest to the original.

Ælfric is renowned for his orthodoxy and respect for tradition. For him the use of *letania maior* for the three days before Ascension was acceptably validated by the Carolingian authorities in whose tradition of scholarship he explicitly placed himself. This study is therefore a further confirmation of his reliance on that tradition. More importantly, it is also a demonstration for modern scholars that traditions which we think we detect need to be checked against actual manuscripts, since the fluidity of texts in transmission may lead us to modify our sense of what the tradition was and how it was understood at the time.

Mary Swan (University of Leeds)

"Memorialized Readings: Investigating Old English Homily Compilation"

The focus of this paper is on texts which make use of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* not, as he had instructed, by copying them faithfully as a set, but rather by mixing passages from them with material composed by others; either pre-existing anonymous texts or, in so far as we can tell from textual survival, material composed specifically for the composite text.

I examine several texts which adapt *Catholic Homilies* material. The proportion of anonymous to Ælfrician material varies greatly among them, but their common feature is that the *Catholic Homilies* material is used in such a way that one can best account for the end results by supposing that the composer was using memorized *Catholic Homilies.*

Mary Carruthers' recent study of memory in the Middle Ages is vital in helping us to reassess our understanding of the process behind the compilation of Old English texts. I show how her observations apply to the specific examples in my study and examine their implications for modern attitudes to, and models of, authorship. These adapted and composite texts which use *Catholic Homilies* material can be seen as concrete examples of Anglo-Saxon reader-reception, with a fixed and originary written text being mentally received and then rewritten in the memory of those who hear or preach it. The texts I study in this paper open up new questions about Anglo-Saxon reading, textual reception and reproduction.

Session 1209: "Studies in the Development of the Lexicon"

Lynne Grundy (King's College, London)

"Divine Qualities"

A significant proportion of the Old English vocabulary used to describe the nature of God during the Anglo-Saxon period is recorded mainly in the works of Ælfric. The paper examines the lexical field of "divine attributes," making reference to a small section of part (Religion) of the *Thesaurus of Old English* (by Jane Roberts and Christian Kay, with Lynne Grundy), to be published later this year. It seeks to show the extent to which Ælfric's writings made use of lexical items which had good currency when applied to other subjects, and recruited them directly for his account of the nature and person of God.

Christian J. Kay (University of Glasgow)

"Metaphors We Lived By"

This paper takes its title from a key study by G. Lakoff and M. Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago, 1980). Lakoff and Johnson point out how pervasive metaphor is in the expression of everyday concepts, as in the use of spatial metaphors to express concepts of time. They further note how the metaphors of a society can express its preoccupations. While working on *A Thesaurus of Old English,* it occurred to me that the root metaphors of Old English could usefully be approached from this point of view. Further examination revealed that many of these metaphors have remained unchange, while others are subtly, or sometimes dramatically, different. The paper focuses on these similarities and differences and attempts to suggest explanations, using a sociolinguistic framework where appropriate.

Andreas Fischer (University of Zürich)

"The Vocabulary of Very Late Old English"

Studies of the Old English lexicon do not usually go beyond Late West Saxon or — at the very latest — the last continuation of the Peterborough Chronicle, while investigations into the vocabulary of Middle English generally start with the earliest Middle English texts proper. The subject of this paper, however, is what I call Very Late Old English, namely the language of Old English texts

copied or glossed in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries (examples being the homilies found in MS Bodley 343, the Royal and the Hatton MSS of the West Saxon Gospels, or the writings attributed to the "Tremulous Hand of Worcester").

While the language of these copied or glossed texts is undoubtedly Old English, it is often subtly adapted to the state of the language during the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries. This paper is concerned specifically with lexical adaptations and concentrates on two related questions: (1) which Old English words were deemed out-of-date enough to warrant replacement, and (2) which "new" (or simply "other") words were used in their place? In this way the paper sheds light on a fascinating, but badly documented, transitional period in the history of English and also contributes to a better understanding of developments in the lexicon.

Session 1302: "Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Culture"

Patrizia Lendinara (Università di Palermo)

"New Approaches to Old English Glosses"

In the nineteenth century and the first part of this century, a large share of the Old English glosses were published. Continuous and occasional glosses, as well as Old English glossaries, were studied mainly for their linguistic value and from a linguistic point of view. Glosses were extrapolated from their original context, that is, either from their Latin *lemmata* (in the case of glossaries) or from the Latin text they belonged to (in the case of interlinear glosses). Lindsay was the first scholar to stress the importance of placing a gloss in the context of his sources and related material in other glossaries, but his guidelines were seldom followed by later scholars.

Glosses were also taken to be a mere translation of their *lemmata;* however, as far as vernacular renderings are concerned, a gloss should not be readily taken as a translation of its Latin *lemma.* Also in this instance, the study of the contextual sources and the comparison with related glosses of other glossaries is relevant and can yield a tool to the solution of several *cruces.*

The importance of an Old English glossary as a whole, as a text with its own specificity, needs to be stressed; viewed as such, a glossary becomes an important witness to the texts which circulated in Anglo-Saxon England and the way these texts were studied by Anglo-Saxon scholars. The same can be said of interlinear glosses. The process of selection, the kind of glossing, the aim of the glossator and the aspects of the Latin text he was interested in, all need to be studied anew from a different perspective.

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent University)

"Exorcism and Ordeal, Particularly by Bread and Cheese: The Psychology of Anglo-Saxon Justice"

Among the minor roles within the Anglo-Saxon church, we find that of the *exorcista,* whose ordination is witnessed by at least eight manuscripts from the Reform period and the early to mid-eleventh centuries. His function within the church was two-fold, the first pertaining to the occasional, or "manual" services, in the sanctification of elements used for baptism, consecration and purification, and extreme unction. The second use of exorcism, wholly unrelated to manual material, was for the expulsion of demons or for the purification of elements to be employed in judicial ordeals.

Exorcism "liturgy" is found in eight Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that date from the eleventh century proper, ranging in type from pontificals to miscellanies and one massbook, and in provenance from Winchester, Canterbury, Crediton and Exeter in the south, to Worcester, and to Chester-le-Street in the north. These books contain references or actual prayers for the exorcism of water, iron and fire to be used in ordeals, written in both Latin and the vernacular. However, the most intriguing of these testing processes is found in virtually all of the manuscripts: ordeal by barley bread and cheese, or, in one case, barley bread and salt.

This paper introduces the role of exorcist and his importance in the Anglo-Saxon church, touches briefly on the evidence that can be gleaned from the liturgical books concerning general ordeal procedure, but focuses primarily on the information, which is substantial in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 391, about the bread and cheese ordeal. Both the prevalence of this method of judicial testing and the procedure by which it operated can be closely examined to lay open new insights into Anglo-Saxon justice in at least the late Anglo-Saxon period.

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