

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

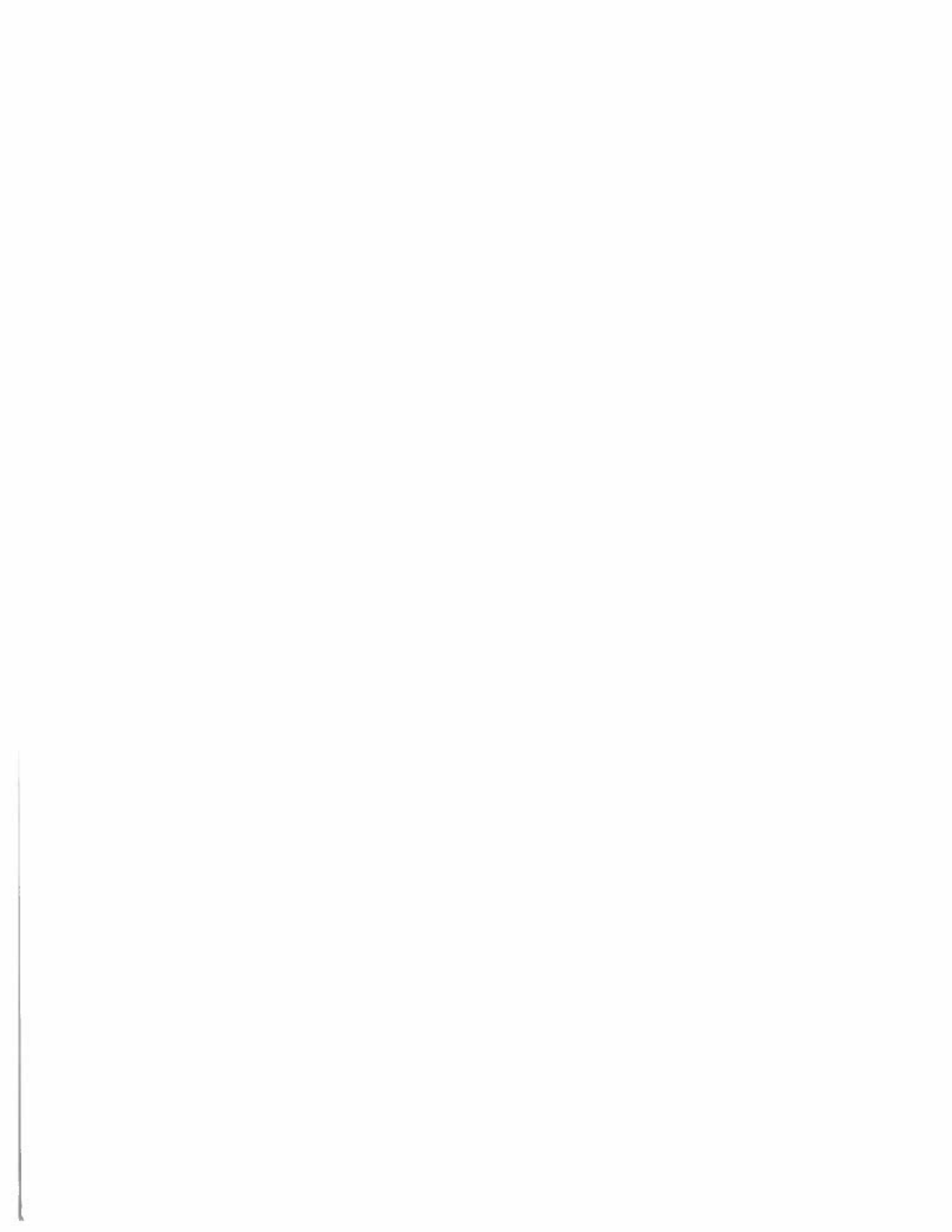
*Published for The Old English Division
of the Modern Language Association of America
by The Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University
and its Richard Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies*

Editor: Jonathan Wilcox

Associate Editors: Carl T. Berkhout
Peter S. Baker

VOLUME	33
NUMBER	3
SPRING	2000

ISSN 0030-1973



OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

VOLUME XXXIII NUMBER 3

Spring, 2000

Editor: Jonathan Wilcox
Department of English
University of Iowa
Iowa City, IA 52242

Associate Editors:

Peter S. Baker
Department of English
Bryan Hall
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

Carl T. Berkhout
Department of English
University of Arizona
Tucson, AZ 85721

Publisher: Paul E. Szarmach
Medieval Institute
Western Michigan University
1201 Oliver Street
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3801

Assistant to the Editor: Keith Wilhite
Assistant to the Publisher: L. J. Swain

Subscriptions: The rate for institutions is \$20 US per volume, current and past volumes, except for volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one. The rate for individuals is \$15 US per volume, current, future, and past volumes, but **in order to reduce administrative costs the editors ask individuals to pay for volumes 32-33 at one time at the discounted rate of \$25.**

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

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.

With Volume 24 the *Old English Newsletter* moved to four issues per (American) academic year, Fall, Winter, Spring, Summer. *OEN* is published for the Old English Division of the Modern Language Association by the Richard Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies and Manuscript Research at the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University. The Departments of English at the University of Arizona, the University of Iowa, and the University of Virginia support *OEN*. *OEN* receives no financial support from the MLA.

Copyright © 2000
The Board of the Medieval Institute
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3801

Editorial Offices:
E-mail: jonathan-wilcox@uiowa.edu
FAX: 319-335-2535
PHONE: 319-335-1913

Business Offices:
E-mail: mdvl_news@wmich.edu
FAX: 616-387-8750
PHONE: 616-387-8832

<http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/oen/index.html>

Guide to the Contents of this Issue

NEWS	Page
I. MLA 2000	3
II ISAS 2001	4
III Conference News	5
IV Brief Notices on Publications	5
V Essay Collections	6
<i>Fontes Anglo-Saxonici</i> Report	7
Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey Report	9
How Well Read Were the Anglo-Saxons? The World Wide Web Version of the <i>Fontes Anglo-Saxonici</i> Register	12
Appendix A: Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies	
Research in Progress Report Form	
How to Reach <i>OEN</i>	

NEWS

I

MLA 2000

The Old English Division of the Modern Language Association has organized three sessions at the next meeting of the MLA on December 27-30, 2000, at the Marriott Wardman Park, Washington, D.C. For further information, see the organization's website at <http://www.mla.org>.

Editing, Interpretation, and Canonization.

Wednesday, 27 December, 5:15-6:30 p.m., Virginia Suite A, Marriott Wardman Park.

Presiding: Robert E. Bjork, Arizona State Univ., Tempe

1. "Editing a 'Lost' Old English Poem: Problems and Perspectives on the Text of 'Seasons of Fasting,'" Mary Richards, Univ. of Delaware.
2. "Reading the Lives of the Married Saints in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*," Robert Kimmons Upchurch, Graduate Center, City Univ. of New York.
3. "What is the Cross We Bare? Effacing the Saint in *The Dream of the Rood*," Bret A. Wightman, Lindenwood Univ.
4. "*Beowulf* Come Lately: The Accident of Canonization," Eileen Joy, Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville.

"Getting" Medieval: New Sources for Writing a History of Anglo-Saxon Literature

Thursday, 28 December, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Marriott Wardman Park

Presiding: Allen J. Frantzen, Loyola Univ., Chicago

1. "Anthropology and Anglo-Saxon Heroic Story: A Revised Literary and Cultural History," John M. Hill, U.S. Naval Academy.
2. "The Evolution of Old English Poetry into Prose: Chronicles, Saints' Lives, and Sermons," Anne Savage, McMaster Univ.
3. "Liturgical Texts as Literature, Liturgical Performance as Text," Christopher A. Jones, Ohio State Univ.
4. "Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews in Anglo-Saxon Biblical Texts: Imagined Aliens and the Creation of the 'English,'" Heide Estes, Monmouth Univ.

The Difference Meter Makes to Reading

Thursday, 28 December 3:30-4:45 p.m., Coolidge, Marriott Wardman Park.

Presiding: Thomas Cable, Univ. of Texas, Austin

1. "Meter, Dating, and Old English Inscriptional Verse," Thomas A. Bredehoft, Univ. of Northern Colorado.
2. "When a Word Isn't a Word: Nonlexical Words in Old English Poetry," Rachel Mines, Vancouver, B.C.
3. "Old English Meter in Twenty Minutes Flat," Arthur Wayne Glowka, Georgia Coll. & State Univ.

Cash Bar

A cash bar arranged by the Division on Old English Language and Literature is scheduled for Thursday, 28 December, 5:15-6:30 p.m., in Hoover, Marriott Wardman Park.

II
ISAS 2001
University of Helsinki, Finland
August 6-11, 2001

The Department of English at the University of Helsinki will host the tenth meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, August 6-11, 2001. For those interested, there will also be a post-conference symposium in St. Petersburg, hosted by the Department of English and Translation at the State University of St. Petersburg, on Monday, August 13. At this symposium, Russian Anglo-Saxonists will introduce some of their research.

Helsinki University Library and the National Library of Russia will jointly organize a manuscript exhibition. At the Helsinki end, the exhibit will feature liturgical manuscripts connected with the cult of Anglo-Saxon saints; in St. Petersburg, Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from the Dubrowsky collection will be on display. In addition, the National Museum of Finland will mount a display of Anglo-Saxon coins, while their regular Viking collections will naturally also be open to visitors.

Abstract submission

The conference committee is especially interested in papers and posters which explore the various contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and the Nordic countries. Papers on Old English are also particularly welcome. In naming these two areas the organizers by no means wish to exclude papers on other aspects of Anglo-Saxon England.

Abstracts (c. 250 words) should be sent by e-mail or mail (letter or diskette) to Matti Kilpiö, President of the conference, by 15 October 2000. For further information or to send an abstract contact:

Matti Kilpiö
 Department of English
 P.O. Box 4 (Yliopistonkatu 3)
 FIN-00014 UNIVERSITY OF HELSINKI
 FINLAND

E-mail: isas-2001@helsinki.fi
Fax: +358 (0) 9 1912 3072
Phone: +358 (0) 9 1912 2405
 +358 (0) 9 1912 3524

Conference website: www.eng.helsinki.fi (under forthcoming events).

Society Membership

Conference participants must be members of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists. The purpose of ISAS is to provide all scholars interested in the languages, literatures, arts, history, and material culture of Anglo-Saxon England with support in their research and to facilitate an exchange of ideas and materials with and between the disciplines.

To join ISAS, contact:

Professor David F. Johnson
 Interim Executive Director, ISAS
 Department of English
 216E William Johnston Building
 Florida State University
 Tallahassee, FL 32306, USA.

E-mail: djohnson@english.fsu.edu
Fax: 850-644-0811

You can also apply for membership through the society website at:

<http://www.as.wvu.edu/eng101/www/isas/>

III Conference News

The Università degli Studi della Tuscia announces a conference to be held at Viterbo, Italy, on September 5-7, 2000, continuing in Rome on September 8, 2000, with Jubilee Days to follow on September 9-10, 2000. The conference theme is "The Figure of St. Peter in the Sources of the Middle Ages." The conference is part of the world-wide project "Studiorum Universitatum Docentium Congressus: L'Università per un Nuovo Umanesimo," which was announced by Pope John Paul II on December 16, 1997, in the context of the Jubilee events for the year 2000. For further information, contact:

A.M. Valente Bacci
 Università degli Studi della Tuscia
 Facoltà di Lingue e Letterature
 Straniere Moderne
 Via S. Camillo de Lellis - 01100 Viterbo
 Tel: +39-761-357-604/641/642
 Fax: +39-761-357-662
 E-mail: avalente@unitus.it or
am.valente@flashnet.it

The registration form is available at the website: <http://digilander.iol.it/spietro/Index.htm>.

IV Brief Notices on Publications

Boydell & Brewer has launched a new series called Anglo-Saxon Texts. As the series editors, Andy Orchard and Michael Lapidge, observe: "*Anglo-Saxon Texts* is a series of scholarly editions (with parallel translations) of important texts from Anglo-Saxon England, whether written in Latin or in Old English. The series aims to offer critical texts with suitable apparatus and accurate modern English translations, together with informative general introductions and full historical and literary commentaries." First in the series is *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. J.E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, an edition of the collection of canons previously known as the *Excerptiones (Ps.-) Ecgberhti*. The edition includes a detailed study of sources and an introductory essay on the text and its background. AST 1. Pp. x + 183. \$60.00 ISBN 0-85991-534-4 (hardcover).

The second volume in the series of Anglo-Saxon Texts is *The Old English Poem 'Judgment Day II'*, ed. Graham D. Caie. This offers a new critical edition of the poem accompanied by its Latin source, Bede's *De die iudicii*, and an edition of the Old English homily in Hatton 113 based on the vernacular poem, along with an extensive introduction. AST 2. Pp. xvi + 161. \$72.00 ISBN 0-85991-570-0 (hardcover).

Oxford University Press has published volume two of *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, ed. R. M. Liuzza, Early English Text Society 314, containing notes and glossary. This volume serves as a companion to the edited text, *The Old English Version of the Gospels*, EETS 304, and provides chapter-length commentaries on the Latin original, translation, authorship, language, and transmission, along with an extensive glossary. Pp. xxii + 369. ISBN 0-19-722313-3 (hardcover).

Hiroshi Ogawa, *Studies in the History of Old English Prose*, has been published by Nan'un-Do. This is a collection of Ogawa's recent writings on Old English, comprising two articles previously published and here slightly revised, new translations of two essays originally published in Japanese, and three items not previously published. Pp. viii + 294. ISBN 4-523-30066-6 (hardcover).

V
Essay Collections

Essays on Old, Middle, Modern English and Old Icelandic in Honor of Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., ed. Loren C. Gruber, with the assistance of Meredith Crellin Gruber and Gregory K. Jember, has recently been published by Edwin Mellen Press. The volume contains twenty articles organized under the headings, "Old English and Medieval Latin Studies," "Old Icelandic and Medieval German Studies," "Middle English Studies," and "Early and Late Modern English Studies." The articles on Old English and Medieval Latin Studies are as follows: James E. Anderson and Leslie D. Schilling, "The *Begang* of Cynewulf's 'Fates of the Apostles'"; Fidel Fajardo-Acosta, "'Think of Wulfstan': The Author of *Beowulf*"; Donald K. Fry, "A Bede Bibliography Preview: *Hymn 6: In Ascensione Domini*"; Stephen O. Glosecki, "'Blow these vipers from me': Mythic Magic in *The Nine Herbs Charm*"; Shunichi Noguchi, "*Beowulf* and the (In)effectiveness of the Ancient 'Curse'"; E. L. Ridsen, "Irony in *Beowulf*"; Tom Shippey, "Hell, Heaven, and the Failures of *Genesis B*"; E. G. Stanley, "Old English Poetic Vocabulary: 'The formal word precise but not pedantic'"; Zacharias P. Thundy, "The Dragon in *Beowulf*: Cain's Seed, Heresy, and Islam"; Edith Whitehurst Williams, "'An Insight of Form': New Genres in Four *Exeter Book* Riddles." Also of interest to Anglo-Saxonists is Marie Nelson, "Beowulf Lives—And So Do His Worthy Adversaries: Archetypes and Diction, Both Old and New." Pp. xxi + 521. \$119.95 ISBN 0-7734-7858-2 (hardcover).

Bucknell University Press announces publication of *Manuscript, Narrative, Lexicon: Essays on Literary and Cultural Transmission in Honor of Whitney F. Bolton*, ed. Robert Boenig and Kathleen Davis. The monograph includes three essays centering on Old English, namely: Paul Szarmach, "Alfred, Alcuin, and the Soul"; Kathleen Davis, "The Performance of Translation Theory in King Alfred's National Literary Program"; and Phyllis R. Brown, "Cycles and Change in *Beowulf*." Pp. 264. \$44.50 ISBN 0-8387-5440-6 (hardcover).

The Hambledon Press has published *The Medieval State: Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J.R. Maddicott and D.M. Palliser. The following essays are of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists: Alan Thacker, "*Peculiaris Patronus Noster*: The Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages"; J.R. Maddicott, "Two Frontier States: Northumbria and Wessex, c. 650-750"; M.K. Lawson, "Observations upon a Scene in the Bayeux Tapestry, the Battle of Hastings and the Military System of the Late Anglo-Saxon State"; Mark Philpott, "Eadmer, his Archbishops and the English State." Pp. xlii + 262. \$65.00 ISBN 1-85285-195-3 (hardcover).

Humour in Anglo-Saxon Literature, ed. Jonathan Wilcox, has been released by Boydell and Brewer. The volume contains eight original essays on the subject and an introduction: John D. Niles, "Byrhtnoth's Laughter and the Poetics of Gesture"; T.A. Shippey, "'Grim Wordplay': Folly and Wisdom in Anglo-Saxon Humor"; Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., "Humor, Wordplay, and Semantic Resonance in *Beowulf*"; E.L. Ridsen, "Heroic Humor in *Beowulf*"; D.K. Smith, "Humor in Hiding: Laughter Between the Sheets in the Exeter Book Riddles"; Nina Rulon-Miller, "Sexual Humor and Fettered Desire in Exeter Book Riddle 12"; Shari Horner, "'Why do you speak so much foolishness?' Gender, Humor, and Discourse in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*"; Hugh Magennis, "A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to Heaven: Humorous Incongruity in Old English Saints' Lives." Pp. 172. \$75.00 ISBN 0-85991-576-X (hardcover).

Brepols has released the fourth volume in the series of Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Diane Wolfthal. Essays of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists are as follows: Ryan Lavelle, "Towards a Political Contextualization of Peacemaking and Peace Agreements in Anglo-Saxon England"; John Edward Damon, "Advisors for Peace in the Reign of Æthelred Unræd"; Jonathan Wilcox, "The St. Brice's Day Massacre and Archbishop Wulfstan." Pp. xxx + 265. 2017 BEF. ISBN 2-503-50904-5 (hardcover).

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

Fifteenth Progress Report

Peter Jackson
for the Management Committee

This has been a year of substantial progress for *Fontes* in almost every way. Most obviously, the *Fontes* website (<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>) became generally available at the end of July 1999, and now includes: a detailed introduction; the text of the latest progress report; a list of sourced texts (including the name of the contributor and the number of entries); comprehensive guidelines for contributors; and, above all, a fully searchable database of texts and sources. [On using the website, see further the article by Rohini Jayatilaka, "How Well Read were the Anglo-Saxons? The World Wide Web version of the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* Register" below, pp. 12-14.] A step-by-step user's guide has recently been added, and other resources are under construction, including a checklist of Anglo-Latin texts compiled by Professor Michael Lapidge and Dr. Rosalind Love, and a list of reattributions and new identifications of source texts. The site has well over one hundred visitors a month from all over the world. The project is now housed in an office in Oxford's English Faculty, and discussions continue about the publication of the material in CD-ROM format.

A great deal of this work is due to Dr. Rohini Jayatilaka. As mentioned in the last report (*OEN* 32.3 [Spring 1999], 8-12), we applied to the Arts and Humanities Research Board in December 1998 for a three-year grant to fund assistance with the database (including management of the website) and the addition of new material as it becomes available. This application was successful, and Dr. Jayatilaka was appointed as Research Associate and Database Editor with effect from 1 October 1999. Dr. Jayatilaka has been associated with the project since 1994, and continued to work for it in her own time even when in other employment. Since her latest appointment, as well as improving the website in the ways mentioned above, Dr. Jayatilaka has recruited some new contributors to work on Old English texts and has contacted many scholars who agreed to contribute in the project's earlier days. She has also continued to produce entries of her own (though they have not yet been entered on the database) on the Old English Orosius and the Benedictine Rule, and has written an introduction to the website for *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* ("*Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* on the World-Wide Web," *MESN* 41 [Dec. 1999], 11-39); and she will be presenting a session related to the project at the International Congress at Kalamazoo in May 2000.

Other scholars have continued to make valuable contributions. On the Old English side, Dr. Daniel Anlezark, whose one-year appointment as Research Assistant was noted in the last report, left the project a few months early, in late summer 1999, on his appointment to a lectureship at Trinity College, Dublin. Before his departure, he was able to finish sourcing the Old English *Daniel* and *Azarias* (over 160 entries), and has continued to work on *Exodus*. Mr. (now Dr.) M. Bradford Bedingfield, of St. Cross College, Oxford, was appointed to succeed

Dr. Anlezark until 31 December 1999, and worked principally on Ælfric's version of the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin* (over 180 entries). A former Research Associate, Dr. Christine Rauer, who is now a Junior Research Fellow at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, has continued to support the project loyally. She completed sourcing the *Old English Martyrology* (well over 600 entries) in October 1999, and is now at work on the remaining Old English vernacular saints' lives, beginning with St. Quintin and St. Neot. She also delivered a paper on the sources of the *Martyrology* at the Kalamazoo Congress in May 1999, and (with Dr. Love and Dr. Susan Rosser) spoke on her own research at a session sponsored by *Fontes* at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in July 1999. It should also be mentioned in this connection that Dr. Andy Orchard gave a substantial and highly successful presentation on *Fontes* at the meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists at Notre Dame in August 1999. Finally, Dr. Susan Rosser of Manchester University, whose work involves close engagement with the sources of Old English poetry though she is not formally employed by the project, has now completed work on *Juliana, Elene, The Fates of the Apostles* and the *Invention of the Cross* (well over 300 entries in all); she is about to finish Blickling Homily 19, is at work on *Andreas* and the *History of the Cross*, and hopes to move on to *The Dream of the Rood* and *Judith*.

On the Latin side, Dr. Rosalind Love—who was associated with the project as Cambridge University Institutional Research Fellow since 1996—was appointed to a full-time lectureship in the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic at Cambridge with effect from 1 January 2000. In spite of the very heavy demands on her time entailed by her new post, Dr. Love has recently (March 2000) submitted additional entries on Bede's *Martyrology* (now over 630 entries in all); a complete set of entries on Bede's *Commentary on the Apocalypse* (over 1100 entries); and she has now almost finished sourcing the first two books of Bede's *Commentary on Genesis*. She also has work in hand on two of Bede's other commentaries, on Luke and on the Catholic Epistles. Since June 1999, Dr. Love has also been Acting Director for Anglo-Latin for the project; and a paper that she gave in February 1998 on the potential value of *Fontes* to hagiographic scholars has now been published: "The 'Fontes Anglo-Saxonici' Database and Hagiography," *Hagiographica* 6 (1999), 81-9.

There were meetings of the Management Committee in Oxford in June and October 1999, and an open meeting was once more hosted on 11 April 2000 at King's College London by Professor Jane Roberts, and included contributions from young and established scholars from Italy and the United States as well as Britain. Details of this meeting (and of previous open meetings as far back as 1986) are accessible via the relevant page on the KCL website: <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/depsta/humanities/english/Events/Fontes>.

By the beginning of March 2000, over 1100 texts from Anglo-Saxon England (roughly 500 in Old English and 600 in Latin) were sourced on the database; there were 975 sources and analogues recorded and over 17,500 entry records. But contributions and corrections are needed as urgently as ever—perhaps even more so, now that the Old English side at least is approaching completion. Potential contributors in either the Old English or the Anglo-Latin field are asked to contact Professor Don Scragg (Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL, UK); while enquiries about the database should be directed to Dr. Rohini Jayatilaka, either via the *Fontes* website or by e-mail (fontes@ermine.ox.ac.uk).

Appendix

Fontes entries added to the database since March 1999

Old English

C.A.1.3 ANON (OE) Azarias D.C. Anlezark 31 entries
 C.A.3.3 ANON (OE) Daniel D.C. Anlezark 137 entries
 C.A.2.2 CYNEWULF Fates of the Apostles Susan Rosser
 36 entries
 C.A.2.6 CYNEWULF Elene Susan Rosser 113 entries
 C.A.3.5 CYNEWULF Juliana Susan Rosser 41 entries
 C.B.1.6.1 ÆLFRIC Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesis
 M.B. Bedingfield 184 entries
 C.B.19 ANON (OE) Old English Martyrology C. Rauer
 638 entries
 C.B.3.3.6 ANON (OE) Invention of the Cross Susan
 Rosser 41 entries

Latin

L.A.2.1 BEDA Vita metrica S. Cuthberti Andy Orchard
 and R.C. Love 103 entries

**ANGLO-SAXON PLANT-NAME SURVEY
 (ASPNS)**

First Annual Report

Dr. C.P. Biggam
Director of ASPNS, Univ. of Glasgow

ASPNS was accepted as a research project of the Institute for the Historical Study of Language (IHSL) in a letter from IHSL's Director, Dr. Jeremy Smith, dated February 23, 1999. The IHSL is based in the Department of English Language, University of Glasgow, U.K.

Prior to the 23 February, I had explored the potential of the project from the autumn of 1998 onwards. While searching for existing publications on Anglo-Saxon plant-names, I had drawn up a draft version of a bibliography, and a list of scholars who had previously published on the subject. I had also extracted a list of Old English plant-names from the *Thesaurus of Old English* by Jane Roberts and Christian Kay with Lynne Grundy (London, 1995), and held preliminary discussions as to the viability of the project with Professor Christian Kay of the Department of English Language, University of Glasgow.

After the acceptance of ASPNS as an IHSL research project, I proceeded to develop an "introductory package" to send out to scholars who might wish to take part in the work, and I also began to produce material for

an ASPNS website. The first version of the website was set up by Mrs. Jean Anderson, STELLA Project Manager, and Mrs. Ewan MacLean, Technical Programmer, both of the Humanities Advanced Technology and Information Institute, University of Glasgow. It consisted, at that time, of a general introduction to the project, and a few useful links. The URL is <http://www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESSL/EngLang/ihs1/projects/plants.htm>.

The introductory package developed for distribution to researchers, consisted of an "Announcement and Invitation," a "General Introduction," "Guidelines for Contributors," a "List of Plant-Names and Existing Lexical Studies," and the first issue of the "ASPNS Bibliography." By this time, the logo of ASPNS had been established as an aspen leaf, and headed stationery had been produced.

The intention of the introductory package was, firstly, to let potentially interested people know about the new project, and, secondly, to invite them to take part, either as contributing authors or as expert advisers. The project is predominantly semantic, but the elucidation of meaning in a historical context is often greatly facilitated by input from various other disciplines, and the intention was always to use that evidence in researching the definition of plant-names, and the place of particular plants in Anglo-Saxon society. The range of disciplines which have the potential to help with Anglo-Saxon plant-studies is immense, and includes botany, archaeobotany, landscape studies, Latin, Old Norse, Celtic, dyeing technology, agriculture, food, medicine, and much more. It was clear that a broad range of expert advisers would play a vital role in the work.

The first batch of introductory packages was posted on April 23, 1999, and other batches followed in July and August. Thereafter, introductory packages were sent to individuals as they were tracked down. One of the pleasures of administering ASPNS in those early months was the kind response of so many respected and usually hard-pressed academics to this request to join the project. At the time of writing this report, there are eight contributing authors and twenty-seven expert advisers. Their names appear in the appendices.

Meanwhile, it had been decided in March 1999 that there should be an ASPNS symposium to be held in the University of Glasgow in April 2000, and the co-organizers, myself and Christian Kay, set about the arrangements.

In November, two bibliographies were added to the ASPNS website: a revised and expanded version of the first ASPNS Bibliography and my *Anglo-Saxon Studies: A Select Bibliography*, now in its third edition. The ASPNS Bibliography, revised by me, benefitted greatly from the contributions of Dr. Debby Banham to the "Agriculture, Horticulture and Food History" section, of Dr. Allan Hall to the "Dye and Textile History" section, and Prof. Mats Rydén to several sections in connection with Scandinavian publications.

This first annual report gives me the opportunity to thank all those who have decided to carry out research for ASPNS, and all those who have so kindly offered their expertise to the project. Prof. Kay and myself look forward to a happy and useful first symposium, and then it will be time to plunge, in earnest, into the jungle of the plant-names of Anglo-Saxon England.

January 2000

APPENDIX ONE: ASPNS CONTRIBUTING AUTHORS

Banham, Dr. D.A.R. (University of Cambridge)
 Bierbaumer, Prof. P. (Karl-Franzens University, Graz, Austria)
 Biggam, Dr. C.P. (University of Glasgow)
 D'Aronco, Prof. M.A. (University of Udine, Italy)
 Hooke, Dr. D. (University of Birmingham)
 O'Hare, Ms. C (University of Glasgow)
 Unebe, Ms. N. (Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University)
 Wotherspoon, Ms. I. (University of Glasgow)

APPENDIX TWO: ASPNS EXPERT ADVISERS

Allen, Dr. D.E. (independent scholar): British herbal medicine (non-Anglo-Saxon), botany
 Banham, Dr. D.A.R. (University of Cambridge): Anglo-Saxon medicine, diet and agricultural economy.
 Breeze, Dr. A. (University of Pamplona, Spain): medieval Celtic languages, texts, and etymology.
 Burnley, Prof. D. (University of Sheffield): Middle English language and texts.
 Carron, Dr. H (independent scholar): Old Norse language and texts.
 Clarke, Mr. M. (University of Cambridge): dyeplants and archaeobotany.
 Craig, Mrs. G. (independent scholar): general medicine.
 D'Aronco, Prof. M.A. (University of Udine, Italy): Latin and Greek medicine and plant-names, textual transmission.
 Dickson, Prof. J. (University of Glasgow): botany.
 Field, Mr. J. (independent scholar): bibliographical matters.
 Forbes, Dr. R. (Queen's University of Belfast): botany.
 Hall, Dr. A. (University of York): archaeobotany, especially dye-plants.
 Hawkes, Dr. J. (University of Cork, Ireland): art history.
 Hill, Dr. D. (University of Bristol): science of dyes and dye-plants.
 Hines, Dr. J. (University of Wales): archaeological theory, artefact studies.
 Hooke, Dr. D (University of Birmingham): historical landscape studies.
 Hough, Dr. C. (University of Glasgow): place-names.
 Howlett, Dr. D. (University of Oxford): Anglo-Latin language and texts.
 Lennard, Dr. J.J. (independent scholar): plant pathology, crop plants.
 O'Dochartaigh, Prof. C. (University of Glasgow): Scots Gaelic language and texts.
 Okasha, Dr. E. (University of Cork): Old English language and texts.
 Okasha, Dr. Y (independent scholar): Arabic language.
 Roberts, Prof. J. (University of London): Old English language and texts.
 Rogers, Ms. P. (Textile Research in Archaeology): textile technology.
 Rydén, Prof. M. (University of Uppsala, Sweden): Swedish and early Modern English plant-names.
 Sauer, Prof. H. (University of Munich, Germany): Old English semantics and etymology.
 Sneader, Dr. W. (University of Strathclyde): pharmaceutical science, history of drugs.

How Well Read Were the Anglo-Saxons? The World Wide Web Version of the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* Register

Rohini Jayatilaka
Fontes Anglo-Saxonici

The aim of the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project, which has been in existence since 1984, is to identify all written sources which were incorporated, quoted, translated, or adapted anywhere in English or Latin texts written in Anglo-Saxon England, including those by foreign authors.

After the initial plans for the project were established by the Executive Committee, a substantial body of data was contributed by members of the project and by other Anglo-Saxon scholars elsewhere. From 1991 contributions to the project were made by several research associates funded by the British Academy and its successors, the Humanities Research Board and the Arts and Humanities Research Board. These numerous contributions made over the years were edited and stored in electronic form. Since the early 1990s the information collected by the *Fontes* project has been made available to individual scholars upon request. The project made a significant step at the ISAS conference in August 1999 when, for the first time, the data was made accessible to the general public on the World Wide Web. Since it was made available on the World Wide Web in 1999, there has been renewed interest in the project, which has resulted in many new contributions from Anglo-Saxon scholars worldwide.

In June 1999, the project received a three-year grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Board to fund management and development of the web site, to add new material to the database as it becomes available and to develop new applications for the database. Though the project intends to cover all relevant Anglo-Saxon texts in time, the current funding has enabled us to plan the work of the project with a view to completing the register of Old English texts and their sources, making substantial progress adding Anglo-Latin texts and producing a CD-ROM version of the database by 2002.

Currently the database covers well over 1150 Anglo-Saxon texts, about 500 in Old English and 650 in Latin. These include an enormous number of anonymous texts (mainly charters, and homiletic and hagiographic texts) as well as texts authored by Alcuin, Aldhelm, King Alfred, Ælfric, Bede, Boniface, Cynewulf, and Wulfstan. The numerous source-texts identified thus far indicate that the Anglo-Saxons were familiar with an extensive range of classical, patristic, and continental literature, both Christian and secular. We know that this literature was transmitted to the Anglo-Saxons in various forms—as complete texts, *florilegia*, independent excerpts, commentaries, and glossaries. We know also that it covered a variety of genres, including books of the bible, apocrypha, hagiography, homilies, and sermons, *epistolae*, biblical expositions, legal and medical texts, penitential texts, creeds, and prayers.

The database is freely accessible on the web through the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* home page: <http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk/>. In addition to a link to the database, the home page includes links to further details about the project and various ancillary documents, such as a list of texts currently in the register, a list of work in progress, guidelines for those wishing to make contributions to the project, and guidelines for acknowledging contributors and citing the database. A link to a user's guide includes tips for using the resources available on the *Fontes* home page and a step-by-step guide to using the database; the latter provides a detailed and illustrated introduction to using the database on the web.

To enter the database and begin searching, click on **Search Database** at the bottom of the list of the *Fontes* home page side bar. This takes you to the database home page, where you are asked to agree to acknowledge the *Fontes* database and, where appropriate, the individual contributor and the published work cited in the bibliographies when you use material drawn from the database in your own publications. Once you agree to do so, you may begin your search.

Each Anglo-Saxon text and source text is identified by author, title, and edition. The particular passage of an Anglo-Saxon text for which a source has been identified and the source passage drawn on by its author are

indicated by appropriate forms of reference which locate the passages in the relevant editions cited. With the exception of Biblical quotations cited as sources, the incipit and explicit or, if the passage is very short, a full quotation of each passage is cited. Each source-identification is ascribed a sigil indicating the status of that particular source (that is, its probability of use and whether it is a direct source, an antecedent source, an analogue, etc.) in the view of the contributor. Further details that are provided include: the contributor's name, information about the transmission of sources, bibliographical details of source-studies drawn on by the contributor, the bibliographical details of source editions cited, the relevant Cameron or Lapidge number and date of publication.

There are three ways in which to interrogate the database:

i. Search by Anglo-Saxon author

You would use this search if you want to find out, for instance:

- where a particular quotation from Bede's *Vita S. Felicis* comes from.
- what sources Ælfric draws on to compile his *Catholic Homilies* 2.40.
- how an Anglo-Saxon author used his sources to compile a particular text.

ii. Search by Source author

You would use this search if you want to find out, for example:

- which patristic authors were known to the Anglo-Saxons.
- which texts by Ovid, Vergil, Augustine, Jerome, Gregory the Great, Isidore of Seville, or Haymo of Auxerre were used by Anglo-Saxon authors.

iii. Browse the bibliographies

Unlike the two searches outlined above, these are not interactive, but can be browsed for details of bibliography. The "Primary" bibliography provides details of any source edition that has been cited in the database; it also contains a list of abbreviations for various series or journal titles used in the database. The "Anglo-Saxon Texts" bibliography provides details of the Anglo-Saxon texts being sourced. Finally, the "Secondary" bibliography provides details of any source studies cited in the database. Both the "Primary" and the "Anglo-Saxon Texts" bibliographies may be sorted by author, title, or edition. If you sort the "Primary" bibliography by title, you may browse the result to get an idea of the range of particular types of sources that were known to the Anglo-Saxons. For example, browsing through the titles beginning Act., Mart., Mirac., Pass., and Vit., provides you with a general picture of the hagiographic texts and their authors. To discover to what extent these items were known to and used by the Anglo-Saxons, however, you would search by source author.

Some general points about the web version of the database:

You may navigate from one screen to another by clicking on any text that is underlined and highlighted (e.g. [Fontes Home](#), [Online Database Home](#), [Return to Form](#), Search by [Anglo-Saxon Author](#), [Source Author](#), Browse [Bibliographies](#), etc.). Within each search you perform, you will also find various items that have been underlined and highlighted (e.g., [Show Records](#), [Show Sources](#), Anglo-Saxon titles, text locations, source locations, source editions, sigil); you may click on any of these items to find out further details about it. For example, clicking on a particular Anglo-Saxon title (for instance, Bede's [Martyrologium](#)) will take you to a screen which gives you the following information: the author of the text, the reference number assigned to this text, the edition of the text being sourced, the contributor's name, a note on the textual transmission, any source study that is cited in the compilation of the records for the text and the date of publication of the records for the text. Since the web version of the database is a flexible tool and can be added to and updated frequently, each entry record has been ascribed a date of publication. If in the course of subsequent scholarship an author discovers any information which modifies or amplifies the entries, the date on which any such change is entered onto the database is shown under the heading "updated."

Any box which contains a downward arrow on its right side (▼) indicates that there is a drop down menu from which items can be highlighted and selected (you will find these, for example, at "Select Anglo-Saxon text author," "Select source author," "Select Bibliography to Browse," and "Further details" at "Record for Source Title").

The following are some sample questions you can ask of the database, followed by an outline of the steps you take to arrive at the answers:

1. Where does the quotation "æðeldryð wearð þa forgifen anum ealdormenn to wife" at line 8 in Ælfric's life of St Æthelthryth come from?

- ANGLO-SAXON AUTHOR.
- From the drop down menu, select AELFRIC.
- You may request that all the results of this query be shown at once or in batches of 25 or 50.
- SHOW RECORDS for LIVES 20 (ST ÆTHELTHRYTH).
- To view the full details for the particular record you are interested in, click on its text location.

2. What sources do the anonymous authors draw on to compile Anglo-Latin charters?

- ANGLO-SAXON AUTHOR.
- From the drop down menu, select ANON (Lat.).
- You may request that all the results of this query be shown at once or in batches of 25 or 50.
- SHOW SOURCES for the Charter(s) you are interested in.
- To discover where in the text a particular source is cited, select SHOW RECORDS for the source you are interested in.

3. Which texts by Horace were known to the Anglo-Saxons?

- SOURCE AUTHOR.
- From the drop down menu, select HORACE (HOR.) [VIEW BY LIST OF TITLES].

(a) Which Anglo-Saxon authors drew on them?

- SHOW RECORDS for the particular text by Horace you are interested in.
- SORT RESULT BY TEXT AUTHOR.

(b) How can I find out more details about the particular passage by Horace used by the Anglo-Saxon author?

- Select SOURCE LOCATION.

4. Was Ovid's *Metamorphoses* known to Anglo-Saxons? If so, in which Anglo-Saxon texts was it used?

- SOURCE AUTHOR.
- From the drop down menu, select OVID [VIEW BY LIST OF TITLES].
- SHOW RECORDS for *Metamorphoses* (Met.).
- SORT RESULT BY TEXT TITLE.
- To discover where in a particular Anglo-Saxon text Ovid's text has been drawn upon, select SOURCE LOCATION.

The organization of the electronic register enables one to discover which texts were available in Anglo-Saxon England at different times, how well specific authors were known, or even specific parts of texts, and in what different ways they were used. As the body of texts entered onto the register grows, it will become possible to assess the intellectual interests of Anglo-Saxon authors and, more generally, to build a more comprehensive picture of Anglo-Saxon intellectual and literary culture, and of the history and dissemination of ancient and medieval texts in Anglo-Saxon England.

APPENDIX A

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

*edited by Robert L. Schichler
with the assistance of Jennifer Kisner*

In each Spring issue the editors of *OEN* publish abstracts of papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies given at the various conferences and meetings during the current academic year. 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, conference coordinators, or individual presenters should send printed versions of abstracts — and, if possible, a WordPerfect version of the document on diskette — to the feature editor:

Prof. Robert L. Schichler
Department of English and Philosophy
Arkansas State University
State University, AR 72467-1890

Alternatively, submissions by e-mail (preferable) or fax are also welcome:

E-mail: RSCHICH@TOLTEC.ASTATE.EDU
Telephone: (870) 972-3043
Fax: (870) 972-3045

[An Author Index follows.]

I. The Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, October 14-16, 1999:

Session 4: "Anglo-Saxon Appropriations: Translating, Glossing, Editing Old English Texts"

Roy Liuzza (Tulane Univ.)

**"Lost in Translation:
Beowulf in the Nineteenth Century"**

The history of Old English scholarship provides numerous examples of discarded and outmoded ways of thinking; beyond the narrative of progress they suggest and the entertainment value they offer, these old approaches remind us that our own study of the past is equally bound by our current cultural context. This is strikingly true in the history of *Beowulf* translation. From its first appearance in English in 1805, the poem has been read as myth, history, romance, ballad, epic, and folktale; it has been set variously alongside Milton, Malory, and the legends of Paul Bunyan. My paper considers some general questions of the theory of translation in the context of early versions of *Beowulf*.

Turning *Beowulf* from Old into Modern English, I argue, is not a simple relationship of "original" and "imitation" that can be measured by a single yardstick of accuracy or error, closeness or distance, creation or conservation. A translation is rather a complex of effects, a series of dialogic responses to an ultimately ineffable encounter with a work whose "original" is an illusory and ever-receding goal. Every reading of the poem is a translation; every translation is an interpretation. Modern versions as different as Frederick Rebsamen and Burton Raffel are each trying, in quite different ways, to reinvent the poem in a contemporary context.

Early renderings of the poem did the same, though translators responded to the placement of *Beowulf* at the origins of English literature in various ways. John Josias Conybeare's 1826 excerpts stressed the poem's "heroic" quality by reinventing *Beowulf* in Miltonic blank verse; Wackerbarth's 1849 version emphasized the poem's folkloric elements by reinventing it into ballad meter; William Morris's 1895 version highlighted the decorative and archaic qualities of the poem by reinventing it as a romance in the style of Malory. Rather than engage in mere formal or stylistic repetition, each of these early versions placed *Beowulf* in relation to a strong aesthetic and historical context; in doing so they suggest both the limitations and the productive richness of the nineteenth-century sense of the past.

Julie Towell (Wayne State Univ.)

**"Transforming Power: Mis-Glossing
Female Figures in *Beowulf* and *Judith*"**

Any translation of Old English is problematic because no translator can fulfill three conditions considered critical by many translation theorists. One

of these principles is that a “translator should have a perfect knowledge of both” the original language and the language of the translation (Susan Bassnett-McGuire, *Translation Studies* [London: Methuen, 1980], 54). Another requires that a “translator must fully understand the sense and meaning of the original author” (Bassnett-McGuire 54). Finally, since “language is an integral part of culture, the translator needs not only proficiency in two languages, he [or she] must also be at home in two cultures. In other words, he [or she] must be bilingual and bicultural” (Mary Snell-Hornby, *Translation Studies: An Integrated Approach*, rev. ed. [Amsterdam: Benjamins, 1995], 42). Over the years, Old English scholars have claimed fluency in the Anglo-Saxon language, which in itself is not a sound supposition. Much more tenuous, however, are Saxonists’ links to authors of Old English literary texts and assumptions of an authoritative knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture.

Despite the impossibility of *full* understanding of either Anglo-Saxon language or culture, editors and translators often mistake these assumptions for a comprehensive and empathetic understanding of Anglo-Saxon society. Furthermore, glossators and translators of Old English poetry often do not objectively work with the generally accepted — if imperfect — understanding of the language, but introduce interpretations influenced by the translator’s general cultural assumptions of her/his own time and place. As a result, the modern English values assigned to individual words are likely to color the reading of the poetry in ways that are not clearly justified by their actual vocabulary. Two major female figures are considered here: Judith of Bethulia, title figure of an Old English poem; and Grendel’s mother, the nameless, but significant, antagonist in the central section of *Beowulf*. Both of these very different figures are powerful adversaries of male figures. On the one hand, scholars have made word choices that color the presentation of Judith by diminishing or ignoring her powerfulness as a leader while depicting the (presumably) sexually experienced widow and mature woman as a virginal girl. On the other hand, translators of *Beowulf* deny Grendel’s mother her “humanity” by altering the poet’s words — interpreting words differently based on the referent — and intensifying her “monstrosity.” Consequently, certain terms are quietly redefined and often become “fixed” in Old English scholarship. Such misinterpretations have been sustained throughout the editorial history of *Judith* and *Beowulf*. As a result, the subtle and complex characterizations of the original works are overwritten by later cultures and languages.

Richard Scott Nokes (Wayne State Univ.)

**“Water to Wine: Prose to Poetry
in Editing Old English Texts”**

As Clare Less points out in “Whose Text Is It Anyway?” the canon of Old English texts over-emphasizes poetry to the detriment of prose. Naturally, a canon that is primarily constructed by English departments privileges that which seems most “literary,” and the theoretical problem of determining what is literary is a sticky one, not likely to be resolved soon. However, though Lees is primarily concerned with the omission of prose altogether, she does not address the issue of prose texts being edited in such a way as to give them the appearance of poetry on the page, thereby increasing their literary value in the eyes of those favoring poetry. In many ways, the conventions that have grown around the editing of Old English texts since the days of philologists have served to mask the deep and pervasive interventions that editors make all the time, and have caused frequent misunderstanding as to the nature of the texts at hand. Editors have transformed certain prose texts into poetry, resulting in misdirection. I pay particular attention to charms, riddles, and poems embedded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.

Session 12: “Solving Mysteries: Makers and Their Texts”

Helen T. Bennett (Eastern Kentucky Univ.)

“Bede and Cynewulf”

This paper discusses the possible influence/connection between Cynewulf’s Anglo-Saxon poem *Elene*, based on the Latin *Acta Cyriaci*, and Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. The discussion is based on narrative parallels connecting Cynewulf’s story of the initial spread of Christianity throughout the Roman Empire and Bede’s historical narrative of the spread of Christianity throughout England. Particular attention is paid to Cynewulf’s expansion of his Latin source in characterizing Elene and her relationship with the Jewish leader Judas in ways strikingly parallel to Bede’s story of the Abbess Hild and Cædmon.

Session 20: “Issues in Anglo-Saxon Studies”

Jennifer C. Black (Wayne State Univ.)

**“Writing-Power and Writing Power:
The Rise of Literacy as a Means of Power
in Anglo-Saxon England”**

The emergence of the written word as the basis of power — economic, political, and spiritual — within Anglo-Saxon society is revealed through a corresponding symbolic use of writing within Anglo-Saxon literature. With the emergence of written laws and the development of a land-based contractual economy, there was an increase in the symbolic value that was placed in the written word itself. The rise in the reliance upon, and symbolic investment in, the written word reveals an overall shift in medieval England from a logocentric culture in which the spoken word was the basis of contractual formation and epistemological structures, towards a culture in which the written word was becoming the dominant determinant of social power and systems of belief.

This shift is demonstrated within the text of *Apollonius of Tyre*. Writing becomes symbolically correlated to political and economic power through: the narrator's depiction of the need for written verification of oral contracts, an ascension to power through command of the written word, and a corresponding decline in the inherent trust that is placed in the spoken word. The text also examines the position of writing in the preservation and propagation of power structures. Through the alignment of the written word and historic record, the scribal narrator is given a position of influence within the social system. As power becomes increasingly symbolized and verified within written histories, it is the scribe who then implicitly controls the material evidence of such power. Other texts which augment the central literary analysis are the land grants, charters, and law codes of Anglo-Saxon England. Methodologically, these documents evidence the historical transition from oral to written authority disclosed within *Apollonius of Tyre*.

Dorothy Haines (Shorter College)

"Sunday Observance and the 'Sunday Letter' in Anglo-Saxon England: Rhetoric and Practice"

This paper explores the relationship between a literary work and contemporary cultural practices. The former is the so-called "Sunday Letter," a piece of imprecatory writing from the sixth century which purports to be a missive sent by Christ. Its ostensible purpose is to admonish believers to honor Sunday properly by abstaining from certain activities. There are six extant copies of the Sunday Letter in Old English, all dating from the eleventh century. Its apparent popularity is remarkable because its forceful rhetoric in support of very specific regulations appears to have no counterpart in other evidence from that period. Anglo-Saxon homiletic texts only infrequently mention Sunday observance, and when they do, they are invariably more restrained. Other non-literary texts such as

law codes and penitential texts provide further evidence that Sunday was not observed in the severe manner suggested by the Sunday Letter. Moreover, an examination of the manuscripts in which the Old English Sunday Letter is found suggests that it may have functioned as a kind of basic admonition to lay congregations encouraging attendance at Mass on Sundays, rather than the observance of specific taboos, and that this was a part of the new program of increased Sunday preaching advocated by the Benedictine Reform. Seen as a whole, the evidence indicates an interplay between secular legislation, popular culture, and ecclesiastical expectations.

J. R. Hall (Univ. of Mississippi)

"Three Notes on the Manuscript Text of *Beowulf*: Lines 47b, 747b, and 3155a"

For the past decade I have been engaged in a study of the *Beowulf* manuscript and its supplementary evidence, most notably the Thorkelin transcripts. I present my findings for three difficult places.

First, in describing the ship burial of Scyld Scefing, the poet at line 47b says that the men placed a *segen* or "standard" high over the corpse's head. The word modifying *segen* is defective in the manuscript and has been restored as *g[yl]denne* or *g[el]denne*, meaning "golden." The spelling with *e* as the second letter is supported by the Thorkelin transcripts. However, the spelling with *y* as the second letter is the normal spelling of the word. I attempt to adjudicate the rival restorations.

Second, in describing Grendel's attack on Beowulf, the poet at line 747b uses the expression *ræhte ongean*. The phrase, meaning "reached towards," is suspect in meter and incomplete in sense. Recently Fred C. Robinson has proposed restoring the half-line as *[him] ræhte ongean*, meaning that Grendel "reached towards him [Beowulf]," a restoration that would solve both problems. Robinson argues that the scribe's exemplar did in fact read *him* but that he copied *handa* (a nearby word) by mistake. Seeing his error, the scribe then erased *anda* but neglected to write in the correction *im*. Robinson's argument is plausible only if the traces of the erasure are consistent with *anda*. Are they?

Third, in describing the aftermath of Beowulf's death, the poet quotes a woman as saying that she fears dire consequences. At line 3155a one of the consequences specified is *hyðo*, which can be taken as an odd or erroneous spelling of *hy[n]ðo*, meaning "humiliation." After *hyðo* comes a series of obscure letters or letter fragments. In 1887 Sophus Bugge, without seeing the manuscript in person, speculated that the traces are the remains of the phrase *ond hæfnyd*, meaning "and captivity."

**Session 30: "Queer Theory and Medieval Studies:
Past, Present, Future"**

Christopher G. Nugent (Univ. of Rochester)

**"Violence and Vernacularity:
The Sodom Story in Anglo-Saxon England"**

In the late Anglo-Saxon period, a viable, stable sense of English national identity was beginning to emerge. Alfred the Great's educational policies paved the way for the secular elite reading the vernacular. The Benedictine Reform movement ran a parallel course in the upper reaches of the monastic and ecclesiastical hierarchies. Church and Crown each worked to create and strengthen an English state. Their interests, though, while often overlapping, were not identical.

The treatment of the Sodom story and sodomy in Latin and vernacular texts demonstrates the fissures and contradictions within the newly emerging English nationalist ideology. In late Anglo-Saxon texts, Sodom is set up as a potential counter-model for the English nation. Neither Latin nor vernacular writers validate this model, but they distance themselves from it in distinctly different ways depending upon the intended audience.

As a rule, the sexual content of a text is more explicit the closer its intended audience comes to the center of religious power. The Church sought to make its canons of sexual purity integral to the English national identity. It could not, however, countenance widespread dissemination of precise depictions of sodomitical behavior without risking encouraging the sin. Thus, even within the penitential manuals, there is a split. Latin versions read by the elite reforming clergy give detailed anatomical descriptions of sodomitical acts, whereas English versions used by the lower clergy are much vaguer.

Although the penitential manuals do not re-tell the story of Sodom, it takes a prominent place in *Genesis A*, and Alfred's translation of Orosius devotes a chapter to the incident. The poem clearly establishes that the sin of the Sodomites involves male-male sexual behavior, which the men deliberately choose in place of male-female sex acts. That decision is castigated, and the destruction of the Cities of the Plain described in lurid detail. The sex act in question, though, is nowhere identified. Instead, the poem offers contrasting choices, implicitly asking the English audience not to identify with an alien and damned *folc*. Alfred's *Orosius* seems to be even less concerned with sex. Sodom here is most clearly a geographical and historical place which thus poses a more direct political rather than moral threat. The nation in real time might look to the Church for guidance, but it is ultimately grounded in a very different sense of history.

Session 45: "Representing Women"

Cynthia A. Gravlee (Univ. of Montevallo)

**"Circling the Entity:
Power and the Feminine Principle
in Old English Poetry"**

Old English literature has traditionally been deemed masculine in orientation because of the ostensible dominance of the heroic code. Even in the religious literature, men seem in control of the standards of chastity and passivity expected of women. Yet, I want to argue that this presumed authority is deceptive and that the current Lacanian contention regarding the predominance of phallic power across time is misconceived. In Old English texts, the power that is often gained through masculine violence is lost, resulting in self-destructive cycles. Although women seem suppressed, marginalized, or victimized by male violence, the feminine principle often counteracts and even overcomes the masculine. The power of the feminine is demonstrated in many ways, but primarily in rhetorical, structural, and symbolic depictions of the life cycle associated with women. The cycle of life perpetuated by women prevails as heroes and kingdoms fall.

Men often recognize and fear the power of the feminine and try to thwart it by encirclement or imprisonment, but women continue to challenge their boundaries. After briefly examining poems where women are confronted by male power plays, I focus on *Beowulf*, since male violence is consistent; yet, female strength is evident in the surface text and further implied by the sub-text.

It is my contention that *Beowulf* does not have a bipartite or a tripartite structure, but a circular one. It begins with the birth and the death of a hero, Scyld Scefing, and ends with the death of another hero, Beowulf. Within this larger cycle, there are many lesser cycles of fortune: rises to power and fame, and falls from glory to death. These power cycles are repeated through various generations. Although men seem foregrounded, women are present as mediators, advocates for peace and life, and mourners of death. Even when women cannot change the cycles of violence, they meet them with wisdom, dignity, and courage. Men are lauded as heroes, but females surpass the males in forbearance and foresight.

The life cycles reflected in the text's structure and actions are symbolized by golden links: rings, crowns, and necklaces, such as Beowulf's neck-ring, which is compared to the necklace of the Brosings once owned by Freya, the goddess of love and fertility. Moreover, in the mead hall, women pass the golden cup, which traditionally stands for the feminine or life force; whereas the sword represents the masculine or destruc-

tive force. Cycles of violence and power engendered by the sword pass away, but the cycle of life, symbolized by the brimming cup, is continually renewed. Recognition of the feminine influence, whether overt or implied, verbal or silent, can result in a re-visioning of these texts and the themes they generate.

II. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, Chicago, December 27-30, 1999:

Session 229: "The New Old English Poets"

David Gewanter (Georgetown Univ.)

**"Postmodern Old English:
Resistance and Restriction"**

The dominance of Romance language-based poetics in English lyric from Chaucer's time to this century has been countered by Old English poetics on only a few occasions — most notably, Ezra Pound's antiquarian experiment with *The Seafarer* and Gerard Manley Hopkins' sprung prayers. Yet in the last decades several poets have deployed the counter-poetic of Anglo-Saxon music and meter as a vehicle for personal or social statements. This "recovery" forefronts a hidden but always available English sound system — often mislabeled as alliteration — and gives the poet license to bring into the arena of lyric many subjects, subplots, and communities of people not previously acknowledged in the English canon. Thom Gunn, for example, can align a "new" poetics of Old English with conditions of exile from England, and with the articulation of gay sexuality in the modern city. Ted Hughes enlists an Anglo-Saxon word hoard and mythic figures to reestablish a poetry of "dark nature," thereby countering Eliot's High Modern abstraction and church-leaning poetics. Seamus Heaney, to oppose British linguistic hegemony and "official history" of Irish suppression, offers a sequence of "hidden plots" taken from contemporary and ancient Irish warfare practices; he melds (or swerves between) Irish and Anglo-Saxon literary materials, using both as responses to British practice.

In the work of these poets, Anglo-Saxon takes the role as a previously hidden but ever-present "other," figured as a way of singing, as the emblem of a community, and as the emergence — and extinction — of a person. Old English poetics is hardly an anachronistic song-scheme for single poems, as in Richard Wilbur's "Junk"; it has now been established in the contemporary sensibility as aligned with political, racial, or "gendered" poetic action that resists a perceived dominant poetics.

Notwithstanding these fairly heroic claims, we should consider the limits of this "other" poetics. Has

Anglo-Saxon poetics become aestheticized after these decades of use; does it lyricize social issues by an easy alignment with a lost, heroic culture? Does it remain a male province, affording a simplistic masculine discourse? How can Anglo-Saxon poetics be understood as a paradigm for any Anglophone counter-poetry, portable outside the realm of Britain, to places such as Borges' library, Lochhead's Glasgow, or Walcott's Antilles?

John D. Niles (Univ. of California, Berkeley)

"Heaney's *Beowulf*"

Most translators are translators. Others are accomplished authors in their own right. The aim of any noted author who undertakes a translation is less likely to be to translate the original work phrase for phrase — anyone who is competent enough in the two languages can do that — than to create a work that is in some powerful sense the equivalent of the original work. Although practical considerations such as financial gain may play a part in an author's decision to undertake a translation, that choice is bound also to be an expression of love, or a gesture of respect, or a repayment of what is felt to be a large personal literary debt.

Seamus Heaney has just completed a new translation of *Beowulf*. This, it seems safe to say, is a big event in the rather circumscribed world of Anglo-Saxon studies. Never before has a Nobel Prize-winning poet undertaken such a task. Heaney's *Beowulf*, issued both as a trade book (with an artful introduction) and in the new edition of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* (where it will be accompanied by a CD including excerpts from a live reading of the translation), seems destined to be the version that will introduce countless new readers to this poem; it will surely be the leading literary version of *Beowulf* for our time.

My main purpose in this paper is to offer a celebration and critique of specific aspects of Heaney's translation of *Beowulf*. Although it never strays far from the literal meaning of each phrase, this version is best approached as a faithful equivalent to the Old English text rather than a translation in the minimalist sense. Most of my discussion focuses on particular choices that faced the translator. If Heaney generally opts for plain diction, for example, then how does he draw on other means to recreate the gleam and glitter of the original language? I explore how Heaney deploys complex internal sound patterning, a driving open rhythm, and elegantly concise rhetoric in an attempt to create an equivalent to the poet's high style in an age when the bardic voice is subject to sharp suspicion.

Since Heaney is a rooted poet whose own verse is grounded in the accents of his native Ulster, my second purpose is to explore the extent to which Heaney

creates an “Ulster *Beowulf*,” exploiting the speech-rhythms of that region in an attempt to give his *Beowulf* an earthy quality, both everyday and visionary, that is consistent with what he has attempted to achieve in his own very distinguished body of poetry as a whole.

Christina M. Carlson (Fordham Univ.)

“I Can Sing, Therefore, and Tell a Tale’: Poetry, History, and the Anglo-Saxons in Susan Howe’s ‘Articulation of Sound Forms in Time’”

“I wish I could tenderly lift from the dark side of history, voices that are anonymous, slighted — inarticulate.” In this oft-cited quotation, contemporary American poet Susan Howe puts forth one of her poetic agendas — to give voice to the voiceless, to tell the story of the silenced. In light of this project, scholars have recognized Howe as a poet of revisionist history. As part of her recuperative project, Howe makes use of Old English vocabulary throughout “Articulations of Sound Forms in Time”; she uses tropes and images common in Old English poetry, and even writes in Old English verse form, enabling this increasingly marginalized language to speak through her own poetry. But the language of the Anglo-Saxons is not simply another voice for Howe to rescue; I argue that the Old English poetic tradition, and Anglo-Saxon history in general, provide Howe with a vehicle for commenting on the larger themes of “Articulations” and on her own poetic project. In this paper, I suggest four ways in which the Anglo-Saxons seem particularly appropriate to Howe’s agenda.

First, Howe shares with the Anglo-Saxons their fusion of history and poetry; within Anglo-Saxon oral culture, the poet, or *scop*, was responsible for maintaining a knowledge of the past and for transmitting that knowledge in the form of entertainment. This Anglo-Saxon merging of poetry and history has affinities with Howe’s own resistance to separating these two usually distinct genres, and I suggest that by paralleling herself with Cynewulf, the only self-named Anglo-Saxon poet, Howe attempts to establish herself as a modern-day *scop*.

Second, the Anglo-Saxons are located at a historical nexus between the cultures of the British Celts, whom they conquered, and the Vikings and Normans who in turn conquered them. They occupy a liminal space between winner and loser and provide Howe with a voice which can speak from both sides. This position is useful to Howe’s revisionist history, and she negotiates it through strategic allusions to Celtic, Viking, and Norman culture.

Third, I argue that Anglo-Saxon history offers a context for discussing one of the major themes of “Articulations”: the project of American Manifest

Destiny. The dual pagan and Christian Anglo-Saxon myths of origin are particularly appropriate for the creation of an American sense of beginnings and were used by Thomas Jefferson to that effect. However, I argue that Howe’s allusions to the Anglo-Saxons’ success as conquerors and their subsequent failure to defend what they’d won also serve as a cautionary example of the consequences of unbridled and unethical expansion.

Finally, I suggest that Howe models the central figure of “Articulations,” Hope Atherton, on the speakers in Anglo-Saxon elegiac poetry, a genre which focuses on the isolation and alienation of the individual from his or her community. This reading is supported by allusions to specific elegiac poems, such as *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer* and *The Wife’s Lament*.

While I do not argue that “Articulation of Sound Forms in Time” is an exclusively “Anglo-Saxon” poem (many voices speak in this work), I do suggest that the Anglo-Saxon voice speaks to many of Howe’s concerns, both specifically in this work and in her general poetic project; while Howe uses their language to articulate her own ideas, she simultaneously gives voice to the oldest and most neglected representative of an English poetic tradition.

Session 314: “Ways of Reading Old English Texts: Colonialism, Gender, and Identity”

Peter J. Dendle (Univ. of Kentucky)

“Colonialism and Eco-Colonialism in the Guthlac Cycle”

The lives of the Anglo-Saxon missionary saints in mainland Germany (such as Willibrord and Boniface) exhibit a different attitude towards the natural landscape and indigenous fauna than saints’ lives ordinarily do. Whereas saints who are already situated in a location are at one with the plants, animals, and elements of that region, the missionary saints — who must adopt a colonial attitude toward the pagan inhabitants — also extend this attitude toward the natural world, which proves no less hostile to them than the heathen. The paper focuses especially on the saints’ relationships with demons, who in the early Middle Ages are as much biological as mythological entities.

Michael D. C. Drout (Wheaton College)

“Blood and Deeds: Gender, Inheritance, and Death in *Beowulf*”

“Beowulf is a man,” wrote J. R. R. Tolkien. “And that for him — and many — is sufficient tragedy.” Tolkien may not have intended to bring gender into the

critical discourse on *Beowulf*, but his comment shows that masculinity (“Beowulf is a man”) and its teleologies (“sufficient tragedy”) have had a long history in our readings of the poem. In this paper I use some aspects of contemporary gender theory to help illustrate the ways masculinity works to create both Beowulf and his tragedy, tracing the ways the gender requirements of inheritance lead, throughout the poem, to the deaths of leaders and the dissolutions of kingdoms.

Beowulf illustrates two competing modes of inheritance, which I call inheritance by blood and inheritance by deeds. Blood inheritance is genetic and, obviously, requires the participation of women. Inheritance by deeds is behaviorally based and works to actively exclude women from its workings. Both forms are necessary for the succession of kings and the maintenance of peoples. Ideally there is no conflict between inheritance by blood and inheritance by deeds: the successor is worthy in both categories (see lines 53-63). But few situations in *Beowulf* are ideal. Hrothgar’s sons are heirs by blood but too young to inherit by deeds. Hrothgar tries to “adopt” Beowulf on account of the hero’s deeds, but Beowulf’s lack of kingly Danish blood (and his duties to his own blood relations) prevents such an inheritance. Wealhtheow’s resistance to Hrothgar’s adoption demonstrates the differing stakes men and women have in different blends of inheritance. Hybrid inheritance from uncle to nephew shapes the relationship between Beowulf and Hygelac and (in a weaker form) influences Beowulf’s bequest to Wiglaf.

If we examine these relationships in the context of tenth-century, Benedictine reformed monastic and aristocratic culture (which at the very least received and copied the poem and may well have produced it), striking parallels between the concerns of the poem and the concerns of the culture become apparent. The reassertion of celibacy required by the reform generated for monks the same sorts of difficulties Beowulf faced. Since Beowulf did not reproduce himself biologically, he had to try to reproduce indirectly or culturally. Both paths are constrained by the requirements of masculinity, and by recognizing these requirements as — to use the terminology of Judith Butler — “performances,” we can see that Hygelac’s, Hrothgar’s, and Beowulf’s “fatherings” in the poem are constructed by a certain set of gender expectations directly linked to the control of the female body’s physical reproductive power. We can also see that these required performances shape the behavior of the characters (both male and female) along what Butler calls “grids of identity.”

Combining Butler’s work with that of Clare Lees leads us to a clearer understanding of the final tragedy of the poem: Beowulf’s death and the death of his people. As Lees notes, in the masculine world of *Beowulf*, “the only good hero is a dead one.” Drawing

on Lees’ work, I show how the masculinity of the poem’s world and the culture of both the monastery and the aristocratic warrior bands all combine to lead inexorably to the death of the noble hero.

In my paper then, I combine three ways of looking at the poem: first, I conceptualize the process of inheritance as being divided into two types, blood and deeds (though these are later hybridized), and explain this process using gender theory; second, I show how such inheritances were a significant concern of the real people who made up an (if not *the*) audience for the poem; third, I discuss the ways that the interests of the cultural institutions and the ideology of gender combine to require the death of Beowulf and the destruction of the Geats. In the end, the reason for Beowulf’s “sufficient tragedy,” as Tolkien pointed out, is that “he is a man.” We understand a lot more about the poem, however, when we problematize and critically examine exactly what, in *Beowulf*’s world, it means to be one.

Janet Thormann (College of Marin)

“Reading Old English Poetry as a Jew”

Old English narrative poetry frequently represents Jews engaged in reading practices that support the unity and coherence of Christian belief and practice. Jews are dramatized to read “like” Jews, confirming identity and natural, given meaning. In contrast, reading “as” a Jew, this paper looks at the construction of the Jewish Other, focusing on *Daniel*, *Elene*, and *Judith*.

The poems represent Jews and Judaism to be the Other of Christianity. First, in narratives based on Old Testament material, Jews are the mimetic Other, the Other of identification and imitation. Jews in *Daniel* are models of steadfast belief under pressure; Daniel in particular exemplifies reading practices and interpretative skills for understanding God’s word. The history of the Jewish people acts out God’s punishment of wrong action and demonstrates the transience of worldly power. Second, in narratives based on New Testament material or legend, in *Andreas* and, more extensively, in *Elene*, Judaism is the excluded Other, the threatening precursor and rival that is rejected for the consolidation of the Christian community. Elene provides a reading lesson in exegetical technique confirming Judas’s knowledge that Judaism is superseded with the coming of Christ. The Jews are associated with filth and malice; they are converted from a belief that is characterized as error, heresy, or foolishness. Finally, Jews in *Judith* are the allegorical Other, the inferior member of a binary opposition that is reread to signify Christian faith and action. Reading Holofernes’ severed head as a *tacen*, a sign of God’s purpose, Judith’s revelation of transcendent meaning in her people’s defense of their land provides a model of

providential history that could give Anglo-Saxons an understanding of their own experience as a people defending their land to carry out divine intention.

Session 562: "Influential Editions in Old English: Shaping the Field"

Josephine H. Bloomfield (Ohio Univ., Athens)

**"Shaping the Critical Conversation:
Klaeber's Edition of *Beowulf*"**

This paper argues that some of the central concerns of translation theorists — particularly their concerns with the ideological dimensions of translation, including the economic, social, political, and even metaphysical factors that shape the culture of both text and translator — need to be also the concerns of scholars using standard or canonical editions of Anglo-Saxon texts. The case in point here is the Klaeber edition of *Beowulf*, in which kinship, kingship, and women's roles seem to have posed a cultural/translational problem for Klaeber — a problem reflected in his having glossed as "kind" or "kindness" fourteen different words in twenty-nine situations surrounding women, kings, and kin. Stepping back to look at the ways the Klaeber *Beowulf* has shaped our twentieth-century scholarly and critical conversations not only about the poem but also about the entire Anglo-Saxon culture (and women, kin, and kings are important here), the paper argues for a continuing reexamination of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Germanic philology and, in particular, for a reassessment of our general acceptance of such philology as ideology-free.

Shari L. Horner (Shippensburg Univ.)

**"Into A Blind Alley:
Reading Rosemary Woolf's *Juliana*"**

Readers of *Judith*, *Elene*, and *Juliana* usually group the three poems together, often noting a "difference" about *Juliana*: more strictly hagiographic, its protagonist is less militaristic and more spiritual than the other two. And, curiously, many scholars make an effort to justify *Juliana* as worthy of study, to validate its artistry and intrinsic interest. While Anglo-Saxonists are accustomed to having to justify our objects of study to non-Anglo-Saxonists, it is somewhat unusual to find such protests within the discipline. In this case, however, scholars are responding to one particularly authoritative voice: that of Rosemary Woolf in her introduction to her Methuen Old English Library edition of *Juliana*. This paper examines ways that Woolf's introduction — particularly her discussion of "style" — has shaped subsequent critical discussions of

the poem. In attempting to situate the poem within Old English heroic traditions, Woolf has (however unwittingly) helped to ensure that the poem will never measure up to Old English heroic poetry. While Woolf hints frequently at other traditions that *Juliana* might have belonged to, she consistently elides the possibility of alternative readings of the poem, highlighting instead what she sees as the poem's aesthetic weaknesses.

For Woolf, *Juliana* reflects the worst characteristics of hagiography: overly stylized, monotonous, lacking in imagination and "true native vigour." She speculates that the poem came at the end of Cynewulf's career, and that he was simply going through the paces; the poem is "competent" but lacks "poetic mastery." Moreover, she suggests, it marks the end of an era for Old English poetry in general, because it shows only the barest traces of the "old heroic style" (it lacks imaginative use of kenning, poetic compounds, litotes, and the like). She concludes: "there could be no poetic progress from it: beyond lie monotony or prose....*Juliana* brings Old English poetry into a blind alley." Little wonder, then, that subsequent readers have felt the need to justify the poem's worth.

My paper examines Woolf's critical desire to make the poem conform to a Germanic-heroic model of Old English poetry and argues that situating the poem instead within feminine Anglo-Saxon tradition resolves many of the "defects" Woolf perceives in the poem. Woolf herself notes, in her 1966 article "Saints' Lives," the intrinsic interest this poem might have held for Anglo-Saxon female (monastic) readers — and indeed, the persistent threats to *Juliana*'s body and to her chastity may well have been intensely interesting to such an audience. Yet in her edition, when Woolf describes the poem as "unrelieved by any emotional or rhetorical emphasis," she erases the possibility that within Anglo-Saxon England certain readers might have had a profoundly different response. My paper concludes by considering briefly the relationship of the Old English *Juliana* to the Middle English version, a text known to have been composed for a female readership, and considers the impact of situating the poem within a tradition far different from the one Woolf imagines in her Methuen edition.

Paul E. Szarmach (Western Michigan Univ.)

**"Editions of Alfred:
The Wages of Un-influence"**

Just as a good edition can direct study and the development of knowledge, the absence of good editions can have a chilling effect on a text or a system of texts. This paper considers the lamentable state of the texts that comprise the Alfredian corpus. Why the

output of Alfred (and his circle) is not a major industry within Anglo-Saxon studies, given its strong start about 100 years ago, may reflect several likely contributing causes, but the central contention here is that the failure of literary scholars to rise to the primary task has seriously blunted any movement towards an understanding of the literary and cultural record. While a review of what is “out there” and why it tends to subtract from the total of our knowledge are concerns herein, the more important emphases are what this state of the question tells us about the ends, purposes, and assumptions of the field. There are no benchmark or full-service editions of the four confirmed Alfredian works, which absence reflects problems in the disciplines of history and literature, not to mention specific issues such as ideas and preconceptions about poetry or about the possibility of speculative thought. Indeed, what we read and what we study both leads and follows what we read and study in a reciprocal relationship that, in Alfredian studies, could and should be more fruitful. We must at least formulate the issues and the problem, even though there is no Alfredian Klaeber at present or in prospect, and the current structure of scholarship is not likely to support one.

III. The Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Austin, TX, April 13-15, 2000:

Session 13: “Political and Social Identities in France and England”

Christine Senecal (Boston College)

“The Role of the Kingdom in the Regional Communities of Late Anglo-Saxon England”

The narrative sources of late Anglo-Saxon history, largely written by people who owed their fortunes and status in society to their relationship with the king, present a stridently royalist interpretation of the English aristocracy. Despite their awareness of the royalist biases of the narrative sources, historians have mostly accepted their portrayal of a monolithic, royally-based aristocracy. Such an interpretation promotes the idea that aristocratic social standing was structured around the king, so that those who had the most power in society seem to have arranged their lives around him, and those who were the least influential had little contact with the king or his court. But aristocratic status was not always dependent on a connection with the king. In fact, an analysis of the broadest range of sources reveals that there were no normative regulations for defining the English aristocracy at all. Legal texts, for example, declare that merchants who sail across the ocean three times, judges, and ethical

churchmen are all entitled to thegnly, or aristocratic, rights. No single characteristic, or set of characteristics, prescribed who did or did not have aristocratic status; yet without these norms to prescribe aristocratic social status, it was very difficult to assert one’s position in society. This was, however, critical for establishing one’s power. In fact, a considerable part of an aristocrat’s life was spent jockeying with one’s peers to obtain higher social status. To this end, English aristocrats and would-be aristocrats participated as aggressively as they could in what I call “thegnly culture,” a composite of many habits and activities that were intended to display social standing. It included amalgamating lands and retainers, lavishly supporting ecclesiastical foundations, fostering connections among the powerful, and exhibiting “thegnly” manners and values. It was an English person’s ability to partake in thegnly culture that actually determined aristocratic social standing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, rather than an individual’s relationship with the king.

IV. The Thirty-Fifth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 4-7, 2000. As in previous years dating from 1983, the Institute 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:

Eighteenth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 6: “Bede: New Directions”

Arthur Holder (Church Divinity School of the Pacific)

“Christ as Incarnate Wisdom in Bede’s Commentary on the Song of Songs”

Bede’s commentary on the Song of Songs has been called “a superb work of mystical theology” (Benedicta Ward). In this paper, I show that it is at the same time a work of historical theology that can be fruitfully compared with the *Historia ecclesiastica*. For Bede, what is being celebrated in the Song of Songs is an elaborately detailed theology of history which has its centerpoint in the Incarnation of Jesus Christ — the coming in human flesh of God’s own divine Wisdom and Word.

First, I identify some of the factors that determined Bede’s reading of the Song of Songs as an allegory of world history; to do so involves a brief consideration of Bede’s sources, and the sophisticated use he made of

them in his commentary. Then I sketch Bede's theology of history in outline form and illustrate parts of it by reference to some particularly interesting passages in the Song commentary in which Bede speaks of the incarnate Christ as a nursing mother — a complex interpretive move involving a linking of the feminine Christ with the ministry of pastors and teachers in a way that Caroline Walker Bynum has claimed was unprecedented prior to the twelfth century. Finally, I elucidate some ways that Bede's exposition of Christ as Incarnate Wisdom might help us appreciate what he is doing in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, especially in relation to his treatments of Cuthbert as the ideal contemplative pastor and Hild as an example of apostolic motherhood.

Session 215: "The Anglo-Saxon Classroom"

Timothy Graham (Western Michigan Univ.)

**"The Corpus Sedulius:
An Anglo-Saxon Classbook?"**

Scholarly discussion of the Anglo-Saxon classbook has focused on glossed manuscripts containing works by the Christian-Latin poets Arator, Juvenius, Prudentius, and Sedulius. In many of these manuscripts, the glosses are the work of the same hand as copied the original text; and frequently, identical glosses occur in different manuscripts, a sign that such glosses have been copied from an earlier source. There is little hard evidence in the manuscripts themselves to show that any of them was actually used in the classroom. This has obliged Gernot Wieland to re-define a classbook as a glossed manuscript "designed to be used in the classroom" — even if in reality it may not have been so used. Scholars have tended to overlook one manuscript that shows clear signs of actual use. The *Corpus Sedulius* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, Part II) is an eighth-century copy of the *Paschale Carmen* and other works by Sedulius that since at least the thirteenth century has been bound with the Parker Chronicle, the oldest surviving manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. By the late ninth or early tenth century the *Corpus Sedulius* had suffered extensive liquid damage that washed away or blurred significant portions of text. It was then painstakingly restored by the scribe who wrote the first portion of the Parker Chronicle (to annal 891) — a scribe whom Malcolm Parkes has identified as Frithestan, who became bishop of Winchester in 909. Following the restoration, the manuscript would appear to have been assigned for the use of students, for its leaves bear numerous glosses, sketches, and doodles entered variously in ink and drypoint by several hands of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Some of these hands are clearly unpracticed,

and their glosses include elementary Latin errors. Moreover, the glosses seem not to have been copied from another source, but to have been spontaneous responses to the text. The cumulative evidence suggests that the *Corpus Sedulius* justly deserves to be considered as a classbook, and that its glosses can reveal much about the teaching and learning of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England.

David W. Porter (Southern Univ.)

**"A Thumb-Indexed Dictionary
from About the Year 1000"**

The manuscript Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum 16.2 + London, BL, Add. 32246 (Ker no. 2) is a fascinating artefact of the Anglo-Saxon classroom. Exploiting the physical structure of the manuscript, scribes produced a user-friendly dictionary in the margins of a Latin grammar. Alphabetical batches fall on the first page and in the central fold of each quire, the places where the manuscript would tend to open naturally. A large rubricated initial at center top margin marks the beginning of each new batch. A second glossary organized by category weaves among the alphabetical batches, and this glossary (a "class" glossary) may also have been to some degree controlled and organized by the earlier alphabetical arrangement. The manuscript served many people over a number of years, as shown by the parchment that has quite worn away at the middle of the page. But how did they use this "dictionary"? One of its functions was to contribute glossematic vocabulary for the literary texts written on flyleaves. And there is other evidence for classroom practice: a half-page is written in what looks like the inexpert hand of an apprentice; a page holds text rearranged for easier memorization.

Session 302: "Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons III: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp"

Derek Craig (Univ. of Durham)

"The Lost Anglian Sculpture from Hoddom"

Rosemary Cramp discussed some of this material in one of her earliest publications ("The Anglian Sculptured Crosses of Dumfriesshire"). The site is very close to Ruthwell and has produced fragments of a number of high-quality crosses of Anglian type, but most of these were used for road metalling during the Second World War. Part of the site has recently been excavated, and shown to have been in occupation during the Northumbrian period.

Christopher D. Morris (Univ. of Glasgow)

“Revisiting Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture and Settlement”

Thirty years ago, Rosemary Cramp encouraged me to focus my research interests in Viking studies onto questions of the Scandinavian impact upon Northumbria. I narrowed down onto, particularly, aspects of settlement as reflected in land-holding and a particularly important group of stone sculpture in the Tees Valley. Although I travelled part of the way along this road, I was then diverted into aspects of Viking archaeology elsewhere in the British Isles. In the meantime, Rosemary has published a definitive volume of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture for this area. A paper in honor of Rosemary Cramp in 2000 gives me the opportunity to revisit some older themes in my research, by looking at aspects of the Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture and settlement in this important area of Northern England, and perhaps to repay a debt and in part complete unfinished business!

Session 359: “Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons IV: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp”

Catherine Hills (Cambridge Univ.)

“Roman to Saxon in East Anglia”

In recent years an alternative to the traditional view of the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England has become almost a new orthodoxy. This replaces cataclysm and population replacement with continuity and plays down the role of invasion and migration in material culture change. While it is possible to define and explore the reasons for the adoption of one perspective rather than another by different scholars, it is much harder to arrive at a clear view of what conclusions can really be drawn from the material evidence itself. It is too easy to take short cuts, and to impose preconceived ideas on the small selection of excavated evidence which reaches the general literature, which often misses or oversummarizes complex detail. The problem is becoming worse as our awareness of the scale of past activity — and the inadequacy of our excavated, recorded, and published sample of the evidence for that activity — has been heightened. Distribution maps represent something — but what? In this paper two projects, Spong Hill and the Lark Valley, are considered in terms of the ways in which they might throw light on the problems which still exist in understanding this period.

John Hines (Cardiff Univ.)

“Anglo-Saxon Archaeology and *Beowulf* — Revisited”

Anglo-Saxon archaeology has moved a long way since the foundation of the Society for Medieval Archaeology and the publication of the first volume of its journal in 1957. That event, and with it the appearance of Rosemary Cramp’s article on “*Beowulf* and Archaeology,” can be seen with hindsight to have marked the clearest watershed between one generation and another that Anglo-Saxon archaeology has ever experienced. 1956 had seen the posthumous publication of a Festschrift for E. T. Leeds, while around the same time the seminal research work and publications of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes and Vera Evison marked the beginning of a new intensity and growth in Anglo-Saxon archaeology. Archaeological theory and method have undergone more than one revolution since then, while many important new finds, excavations, and analyses have added to the bases of these.

Yet there is still a rather embarrassed relationship between literary scholars, historians, and archaeologists of the period. They find either that they are not talking about or apparently interested in the same things, or that one source seems rather redundant in relation to another insofar as it simply confirms what one already knows. Complementarity between types of evidence seems to be accidental, limited to instances of finds or textual sources happening to be able to fill out some definable lacuna already identified by some other field, and sparse.

A culture-historical perspective, however, suggests that archaeology should be able to do much more than supply a body of illustrations of items that happen to be mentioned in the literature. As a particular type of artefact, literature should be amenable to the same analysis as material remains. Meanwhile, literature such as heroic poetry whose meaning and function are implicit, and subject to interpretation, typically relies on the invocation of significant elements from its immediate context to convey its message.

To substantiate the argument that the discussion of literary text and material context ought to be pursued on a common basis, my discussion of specific parts of *Beowulf* in the presentation considers examples of the discursive role of artefacts within the poem.

Session 416: “Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons V: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp”

Kelley Wickham-Crowley (Georgetown Univ.)

**“Buried Truths:
Shrouds and Female Production”**

The shroud is both a material, carnal veiling for the dead, and a signpost that emphasizes the physical as emblem of what is buried beneath. But what is also buried and lost is the role women played in conferring and enhancing the status of the dead. While silks were imported and used as shrouds, underlays, or overlays, the significance of linen and embroidery is often overlooked as native productions of Anglo-Saxon women in this context. Linen was a fine enough fabric for the likes of Etheldreda and Guthlac to forswear wearing it in their lifetimes, yet special gifts of linen shrouds were sent to Guthlac, Cuthbert, and Edmund, among many, often before they had been translated or fully established as saints with cults. Thus the shrouds function as an extension both of the female role of recording male reputations (as seen in “tapestries” of deeds), and of the economy of gift exchange, which frequently traded, literally and figuratively, on women’s productions of luxury cloths and embroideries. The gift of a shroud, recorded in Lives as the first step in affirming the dead’s reputation and status, establishes women as first patrons of such notables and their legacies; their judgment affirms the worth of the dead. More, it shows women to be crucial producers in what might be called the economy of sainthood, in which wrappings become part of the trade in relics and status. Whether male or female, the status of the dead was confirmed and made visible at the hands of women.

Gale R. Owen-Crocker (Univ. of Manchester)

**“Embroidered Wood:
Animal-Headed Posts in the Bayeux Tapestry”**

There are thirty-seven zoomorphic and anthropomorphic terminals depicted in the Bayeux “Tapestry,” the majority on ships, others on furniture and buildings. The authenticity of details in the “Tapestry” is usually assumed, and it is accordingly a regular source of information on late Anglo-Saxon culture. This paper discusses the detail of the animal-headed terminal not only as a fact of life, but also as a semiotic, functional, and stylistic device in a work of art.

The creatures are seen to reflect the situations and emotions of the human beings associated with them: for example, the boat from which Harold steps onto foreign soil to immediate captivity bears an animal which perfectly reflects Harold’s mixed emotions of anger and humiliation. Some of the wooden animals echo and even, possibly, interact with the “real” animals depicted in the main register of the “Tapestry,”

while others relate to the “real” but formal animals which fill the borders.

Some of the animal heads function as devices of design: an animal head looking forward or back may connect one scene with another. Others fill awkward spaces. Stylistic differences relate to the different pieces of linen which make up the “Tapestry,” reflecting different hands at work, both of draughtsmen and embroiderers; so, although the way the animal-headed posts are used may reflect a unity of design, there is considerable discontinuity in the execution.

All of the animal-headed posts are included in the discussion, some in more depth than others. The paper ends with a contribution to the enigmatic scene captioned *ubi unus clericus et Ælfgiva*.

Elizabeth Coatsworth (Manchester Metro. Univ.)

**“The Manchester Medieval Textiles Project:
Inspired by Design”**

This paper first looks at the inspiration for the Manchester Medieval Textiles Project, and its history, and then describes its progress particularly with regard to the period 450-1100 since its inception in 1994. The aims of the project are discussed, and the outcomes to date or in prospect are evaluated in the light of the range of evidence available.

The “design” of the title refers both to the design of the project and also to how a deepening knowledge of the textile remains can illuminate related themes in the art and material culture of the medieval period. Using an example from the Anglo-Saxon period, the relationship between designer and embroiderer, and the notion of the “professional” are considered. This leads to a discussion of the relationship between the textile and other contemporary arts (with examples drawn from textiles, metalwork, and sculpture) and what that relationship indicates of the aesthetics of the Anglo-Saxon period: certainly this relationship shows which arts were the most highly regarded; and in some cases, where there are representations of complete objects originally in one medium by means of another, it may show something of the deeper beliefs of the Anglo-Saxons about what was spiritually or socially important.

Session 422: “Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture I”

Rohini Jayatilaka (Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project,
Univ. of Oxford)

**“Electronic Source Studies:
Some Lessons from the Fontes Web Site”**

The database is now on the web and contains some

17500 records, analyzing in detail the source-relationships of about 1100 Anglo-Saxon texts and identifying the use of about 975 source texts. The talk demonstrates how the database can be used to find out which texts were known to Anglo-Saxon writers, how well particular authors or texts or even parts of texts were known, and in what different ways texts were used. Although many of the source-identifications used are already in the public domain, in general terms, the project requires us to analyze source relationships in detail, sentence by sentence or phrase by phrase, and to identify the inter-relationships of different possible sources. As I go on to show, with examples from Ælfric and the Old English *Orosius*, the result throws new light on the way Anglo-Saxons used their sources and what sources they might have known.

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.)

"Consilium et Auxilium and the Lament for Æschere: A Lordship Formula in Beowulf"

For a character who never speaks and whose sole function is to die and eventually lose his head, Æschere is lamented at considerable length and in considerable detail in *Beowulf*. If his actual role in the poem is peripheral, the lament for Æschere is carefully structured, and ideologically significant. Æschere is first lamented as a counselor and then in a series of parallel clauses as a warrior who stood at Hrothgar's side in battle. The terms of this elegiac lament recall the great "feudal" commonplace of *consilium et auxilium*. The phrase defines the duties a "man" owes his "lord": to swear to give such service defines a man as a subject in a feudal relationship. Since Æschere is specifically defined as an ideal *gesith* and the terms in which his service is commemorated correspond exactly to the terminology of the phrase — *auxilium* is always understood as aid in war — I would argue that the poet is deliberately alluding to this commonplace. In conclusion I discuss the interesting problem of the relationship of this legal formula to the heroic topos of *sapientia et fortitudo*.

Christopher A. Jones (Ohio State Univ., Columbus)

"Ælfric's Exemplar of Amalarius and Its Transmission"

In several of his writings, Ælfric of Eynsham (d. c. 1010) drew upon the thought of the Carolingian liturgical commentator Amalarius of Metz (d. c. 850). Ælfric's quotations of the source make clear that his exemplar of Amalarius' *Liber officialis* belonged to a rare textual tradition, one much interpolated and revised. Until now, only one copy of the *Liber offici-*

alis, made at post-Conquest Salisbury (Cathedral Library, MS. 154), could be closely identified with the same variant tradition as Ælfric's now-lost exemplar. The first aim of the present paper is to introduce new manuscript evidence for the availability of this unusual redaction of the *Liber officialis* in eleventh-century England. My second and major aim, however, is to discuss the variant recension and its lengthy interpolated passages as survivals significant in their own right. The evidence of style, sources, and common ideas suggests that some of the new and substituted passages were borrowed from an originally separate and otherwise unknown early work by Amalarius. Though that lost source can now be reconstructed only in part, its extant passages offer new insight into Amalarius' career, and into his later reputation among the Anglo-Saxons as an authority on matters liturgical.

Session 473: "Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons VI: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp"

Colleen Batey (Glasgow Museums, Scotland)

"St. Ninian's Isle: Glass Beads Do Not a Treasure Hoard Make"

Twenty five years ago I entered the orbit of Rosemary Cramp as a young, raw student. During my years in her department she taught me how to question received evidence and how to bring out the best in unlikely material. Several years later, previously unrecorded glass beads from the original excavations of the St. Ninian's Isle Treasure from Shetland in 1955, were passed to me for publication. This brief paper combines the interests of Rosemary herself: glass and the archaeology of a premier Early Christian site. It is a true detective story.

Susan M. Youngs (British Museum)

"Missing Materials: Early Anglo-Saxon Enamels"

The addition of opaque champlevé enamel to early Anglo-Saxon metalwork is relatively unusual and has been studied and commented on in the past. Because most examples have been found in East Anglian cemeteries, the discovery in Barton, Suffolk, of a mount with swastika ornament but enamelled in medieval Celtic style, has been interpreted as demonstrating that the idea and technique of enamelling was learned by Germanic in-comers from local smiths who preserved the Romano-British traditional use of this material. With new finds both from the widespread use

of metal-detectors and controlled excavation, coupled with analyses of the glasses used, together with a better understanding of medieval Celtic enamelling, this theory of local borrowing is now critically reviewed.

There are some basic technical considerations which differentiate two traditions of enamelling in the sixth century: in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, the use of enamel with gilding, its very limited application and the type of settings; the composition of the glass (although further investigation is needed to confirm this). All these features distinguish it from the medieval Celtic tradition. The evidence for the survival of enamelling in post-Roman Britain is itself very limited but now includes some evidence for local manufacture.

The significance of the Barton disc with its swastika decoration is reassessed, in particular the use of millefiori glass which is now our best chronological indicator, together with parallels for the decorative motifs. This disc is important, but as a seventh-century piece marking the transition between the late La Tène derived style and the new Insular imitation cloisonné style of enamelling typical of Irish enamelling, and not as a British-Anglian hybrid of the fifth to sixth century. We do have evidence for the use of enamel on typically Celtic British brooches of this period but the admittedly rare deposition of such pieces in furnished Anglo-Saxon graves shows a distribution quite independent of the Anglo-Saxon enamelled items.

Finally, evidence for the independent use of enamel in Continental Germanic metalwork is considered and argued to be the probable source of the English use of this material in the sixth century.

Leslie Webster (British Museum)

“Apocalypse Then: Anglo-Saxon Ivory Carving in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries”

From at least the time that Benedict Biscop brought back from his fifth visit to Rome a series of panels depicting scenes from the Apocalypse of St. John to hang on the north wall of the church at Wearmouth, there is a visible interest in apocalyptic iconography in Insular art. This reflects a continuing eschatological current in Christian art and thought which goes back to the early fathers, and has lent support to the argument that the year 1000, and the years around it, were of no special Millennial significance within a more general belief that Anglo-Saxon Christians were living in the last age of the world.

However, there is evidence of an increasing emphasis on eschatological themes in both the art and literature of the later tenth and early eleventh centuries; the purpose of this paper is to draw attention to some newly prevalent iconographic elements which appear to link late Saxon devotional ivory carvings to apocalyptic

themes in homiletic and other writing in the troubled years around 1000.

Session 479: “Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture II”

Laszlo Sandor Chardonnens (Univ. of Leiden)

**“When Not to Let Blood:
Sources and Text Transmission of
the Old English *Dies Egyptiaci*”**

The Egyptian Days, a type of prognostics, prohibits bloodletting on specific days of the year because it will prove lethal. The genre comprises two different subgenres: one which names three specific Mondays in the year, and one which mentions twenty-four dates per year, two dates for each month. The latter is the subject of this paper.

Why this genre is called “Egyptian Days” is unclear. The thirteenth-century Franciscan Bartholomew explained that the twenty-four Egyptian Days refer to the plagues sent upon the Egyptians (although one might argue the validity of this statement as the Bible [Exodus] mentions only ten plagues). An earlier justification, included in Bede’s spurious writings, is that “Egypt” means “dark”: “Si tenebrae Ægyptus Graeco sermone vocantur, inde dies mortis, tenebrosus jure vocamus.” Fortunately, assigning a *terminus post quem* for this genre is not as difficult as justifying its nomenclature. The first attestation of this genre dates to ca. 354 A.D., in the calendar *Fasti Philocaliani*. From the eighth century onward, the Egyptian Days are frequently attested in various guises. The genre can take three shapes: (1) entries into the ecclesiastical calendar in the form of a rubricated *dies aegyptiacus/mala/aeger*, or the abbreviated *D* or *DM*; (2) Latin hexameter verses which mention the dates and contain oblique astrological references; (3) a list of the dates proper.

The twenty-four Egyptian Days survive in three Old English redactions, which are all in the form of a list. As is to be expected of a genre of which the aim is to convey a set of numbers, there is variation between the specific dates. Some of these variations might be attributed to scribal error, but some point to local tradition. The three OE Egyptian Days agree in all dates, except in those for December. Förster and Henel, who were the first to edit the Old English texts, obtained three different sets of data, which led Förster to conclude “daß die Zahlen öfter nicht stimmen, wird den Kenner mittelalterlicher Kopistenfehler nicht weiter in Erstaunen setzen.” However, inspection of the manuscripts makes clear that Förster himself had made a mistake in the transcription of one of the texts (“das wird den Kenner moderner Kopistenfehler nicht weiter in Erstaunen setzen!”). This means there are only two

different sets in the OE Egyptian Days. Instead of ascribing this to scribal error — the easy way out — I argue that the deviant dates in one Old English redaction can be explained in terms of a local tradition. With the help of church calendars and Latin hexameter verses, I demonstrate that the deviant Egyptian Days are a late Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Norman Canterbury phenomenon rather than a mistake.

Christine Molinari (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

**“Allegories of Nobilitas:
Bede’s Prose *Life of Cuthbert*”**

The *Vita S. Cuthberti* exists in three versions: an anonymous prose *Vita* (produced after 696), Bede’s metrical *Vita* (produced several years after the anonymous prose *Vita*), and Bede’s prose *Vita* (ca. 720). A number of comparisons of these works have taken Bede’s *Vita* as the main focus of their discussion. This paper focuses in equal measure upon both the anonymous prose *Vita* and Bede’s prose *Vita* to review the authors’ varying doctrinal approaches to the construction of Cuthbert’s life. On this basis, it endeavors to prove that Bede made two substantive doctrinal changes to the anonymous prose *Vita*.

First, Bede altered the anonymous prose *Vita*’s emphasis upon predestination to emphasize Augustine’s idea of grace of God which counteracts original sin and predestines the individual soul to its choices. Second, Bede connected sainthood to the types of the *miles Christi* and the *famulus Christi*, while at the same time omitting from consideration the details of Cuthbert’s actual military service found at the close of book 1, chapter 7, of the anonymous *Vita*. In doing this, Bede analogized the lives of saints and monastics to those of angels, who were both the servants and the warriors of Christ. They were engaged in a spiritual combat tied to the eremitic life led by the Ionian monks and the Desert Fathers.

For its working methodology, this paper employs structural and allegorical analysis to point out Bede’s editorial engagement with his source material. From a structural perspective, a great many of the tales told about Cuthbert in the anonymous *Vita* were in the first-person singular or plural. However, many of the tales told in Bede’s account were in the third person. Bede’s use of the third person served to create an authorial frame of reference within which Bede could position the details of his story and from which he could appeal to his royal and clerical patrons. From an allegorical perspective, Bede introduced two new topoi: the idea of grace as *gubernatrix*, and the idea of the *miles Christi*. In the role of *gubernatrix*, grace is the feminine ruler of the church and the controlling guide ushering in Christ’s faithful. It is through the grace of God that

Christ enervates his *famulus* Cuthbert to subject itself to the discipline of the church on worldly sojourn. In the role of the *miles Christi*, Cuthbert is authorized to build a hermitage on the island of Farne. Assuming the armor of the soldier of Christ, Cuthbert goes on to become monarch of Lindisfarne, initiating large-scale building projects. In adopting these allegories of *nobilitas*, Bede’s prose *Vita* demonstrates the ways in which the elect claims of soldiers, rulers, and other monastics intersected in receipt of divine grace and membership within God’s privileged city.

Ziva Mann (Harvard Univ.)

**“Rewriting Meaning: Midrashic Thought
in *Solomon and Saturn*”**

Power relations define the nature of the riddle-exchange, an engagement so carefully constructed as nearly to become a contractual arrangement. The guided flow and ebb of power seen in the movement from question to answer, from challenging questioner to rebutting answerer, reaches new heights in *Solomon and Saturn*, with the shadowy presence of the Philistines and their biblical relationship to the Israelites, and thus to Solomon himself. The tribe serves to complicate what otherwise would have been a contest of religious philosophy via the often secular wisdom of the contestants, by introducing a rivalry that is as much political into the religious and intellectual one established by the narrator. Perhaps, then, it is this added stress on Solomon that causes him not to break but rather change the rules of the riddle-match, by adding a new dimension: midrashic thought.

I am not trying to suggest that the author of *Solomon and Saturn* was familiar with midrash, a type of Judaic exegesis that reached its peak in the Middle Ages, though scholars of midrash such as James Kugel have already pointed out that this form of textual exegesis existed in the time-period when Jews and Christians still lived communally (Kugel describes this in his essay, “Two Introductions to Midrash,” found in *Midrash and Literature*, edited by Geoffrey Hartman and Sanford Budick). Instead, I suggest that midrashic thought and its exegetical methodology (or at least a very close Christian analogue) — as opposed to the body of work produced by Jewish scholars in the Classical and medieval periods — existed in the *Solomon and Saturn* author’s textual environment. Based on this, I would like to point out the way in which midrashic methodology is present in this text, and meshes with the patterns of the riddle-contest, even as it makes them more aggressive. Midrashic thought makes a distinction between *p’shat*, or plain, surface meaning, and *d’rash*, or deeper and interpreted meaning, a distinction that comes easily to the hand of a

riddle-master such as Solomon. In discussing this, I attempt to demonstrate the way in which the already paradoxical power relationships regulated by the riddle, in which the respondent is both subordinated and made equal by the asking of the question, provides an opening for the midrashist. *D'rash* is often the product of a radical interpretive act, which requires a text into which a question can first be read, then answered — much like the completing exchange of the riddle session. In this fashion, the two are parallel forms, as both begin with a text, viewed as unfinished, which they then complete via the wisdom of an author. Nonetheless, there remains a crucial distinction between riddle and midrash that I show Solomon to exploit. For, indeed, the *d'rashic* exegesis can actually serve to re-write meaning, using a given text as its template and its authority. This usurpation is within the bounds of accepted behavior for the midrashist but, when enacted within a riddle session, runs the risk of violating its contract of exchange. I hope to show that Solomon, in giving answers that do not satisfy his opponent, has in fact employed *d'rash* to rewrite Saturn's question, in a challenge that exploits Solomon's position of power as the respondent, thus rewriting the nature of the riddle asked, and inviting Saturn to engage with him on an entirely new level of wisdom.

Other Sessions

Session 15: "Re-imagining Allegory"

Sharon M. Peelor (Univ. of Oklahoma)

"Intersecting Ideals: Poetic Anglo-Saxon and Christian Heroic Codes in *The Dream of the Rood*"

The substance of my paper arises from my interest in exploring how, at times, there was peaceful or, at least, gradual and non-violent transition from the old Anglo-Saxon and Christian cultures represented in certain of Bede's stories. I see a transition two ways: in the use of the Anglo-Saxon warrior's heroic code in *The Dream of the Rood*, and in the shift of visual arts from making idols, which limited thought and promoted superstition, to Christian art, which was utilized to teach and instruct a non-reading population. I examine how the *Dream of the Rood* poet uses imagery to make several transformations: as the Rood becomes a thane, speaking and reenacting the feelings that a loyal and trusted thane would have had in unsuccessfully protecting his lord from death, the cultural imperative is most clear in how he becomes the very locus of his lord's death. In the poem, after Christ's tortured death and removal from the Rood, the Rood is also entombed "alive" and then further transformed: resur-

rected (implicitly with Jesus), "he" then participates fully with Jesus in redemption, able to heal all who embrace the message of salvation and believe in Christ. Here I see a connection with the previous idol-worship, worship of inanimate wood objects such as the Rood, to the Christian understanding of the Cross as symbol of Christian transformative self-sacrifice. An image drawn from the old culture, the hanging tree of Odin, may have been adapted by the poet to the new Christian heroic ideal. At least, in the imaginative visualization of the Rood's transformation into a loyal thane for Christ, the Anglo-Saxon warrior could see how to participate meaningfully in redemption with Christ, unifying two disparate cultural ideals — the Anglo-Saxon code and Christian discipleship — one seemed to value only one kind of sacrifice, appearing unalterably opposed to certain Christian values such as turning the other cheek, a scandal to the Anglo-Saxon warrior. I suggest other Old English poems do not successfully negotiate this opposition, yet often contain evidence of the cultural tension. Successful negotiation between the Christian and Anglo-Saxon heroic codes creates the powerful visual imagery in the poem, laying a foundation for the development of the visual arts, such as stone crosses and stained glass, to teach the events of the Christian story for a non-reading population. Cultural negotiation allowed for Christian visual arts to not collapse into idolatry, at least as far as the artistic intention is concerned. A reflection on Jewish aesthetic theory is part of my consideration at this point, relying on Lionel Kochan's idea that representation is not idol-making if it remains somehow incomplete. My thoughts at this point are offered as a possibility toward promoting dialogue about the development of iconographic religious art. Furthermore, I think studying *The Dream of the Rood* can lead and encourage students to find ways to build bridges between themselves and those with whom they find themselves in opposition, encouraging them to look for connections in the face of what seem at first to be irreconcilable differences, encouraging cultural sharing rather than cultural warring.

Session 34: "Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Studies"

Linda Cantara (Univ. of Kentucky)

"CLEARS: The Cotton Library Electronic Archive Retrieval System"

According to Phillip Pulsiano, the primary goal of the Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche project is "to make available...complete, good-quality photographic images on microfiche...of manuscripts containing Old English" ("Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile," *Medieval English Studies Newsletter* 33 [1995], 14). In many instances, this is a

simple process of converting existing microfilm to microfiche format. In other cases, however, the process is more complex. The Cotton Otho manuscripts in the British Library, for example, were severely damaged by the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, and the text of these manuscripts is almost entirely unreadable. In addition, when the Cotton Library manuscripts were restored and rebound in the 1860s, many of the folios were arranged out of order, sometimes even upside down or backwards. Consequently, the microfilm facsimiles are highly impractical for manuscript study.

Digitizing the microfilm provides enhanced access to these materials. With image-processing software, brightness and contrast can be adjusted, resulting in improved legibility. The digital facsimiles can be arranged in any order, facilitating restoration of folio sequences and reunion of parts of leaves that were erroneously identified as separate folios. (Otho B. x, BL ff. 6 and 50, for example, are actually two halves of one folio, f. 8+9 in the corrected foliation.) The Cotton Library Electronic Archive Retrieval System (CLEARS) provides a user interface to the digitized Otho microfilms for the microfiche project. CLEARS provides multiple options for studying the manuscripts including thumbnail galleries of entire codices; individual page images with links to manuscript descriptions, bibliographies and, as available, transcriptions; and high-resolution images for optimal examination. As available, full-color digital images that enhance the most illegible pages are included, and a good deal of formerly lost text has already been restored. A supplement to the microfiche facsimiles, CLEARS demonstrates one means of adapting digital imaging to the study of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Oliver Traxel (Emmanuel College, Cambridge)

**“Later Medieval glosses in
Cambridge, University Library, li.1.33”**

This paper presents one aspect of my doctoral work on a twelfth-century manuscript of mainly Ælfrician homilies and saints' lives. Despite a probably thirteenth-century Latin inscription claiming that this codex was considered useless at the time, there is evidence of later medieval interest in the Old English text. Three articles contain glosses in Middle English and Latin by two scribes. One scribe confined his work to Latin glosses within a single text; the other one seems to have switched from Middle English glosses to Latin ones, as a change in ink suggests. The relative order of the scribes and their work is discussed. The Middle English glosses contain cases of updated spellings and lexical replacement. Comparison with Book II of Gregory's *Dialogi* suggests that the Latin glosses in one article could have come from this source.

Furthermore, this article displays subheadings, probably by one of the glossators, but certainly by the same person who provided running titles to the entire manuscript. The apparently arbitrary nature of the glosses suggests that they were provided for personal interest, whereas the running titles and subheadings were useful to a larger audience. The date of the glosses is reassessed on linguistic grounds: it is likely that a fourteenth-century date (so Ker and Cameron) should be moved back to the end of the thirteenth century. This paper demonstrates that there was an audience for Old English texts in the later Middle Ages.

Aaron J. Kleist (Clare College, Cambridge)

**“The Study of Augustine in
Post-Conquest England: A Resurgent
Interest in the Pelagian Controversy”**

Of the Church Fathers whose writings were rediscovered and revered in the Benedictine Reform, few can be said to have had more influence on the Anglo-Saxon church than Augustine. Some 120 manuscripts survive that contain material attributed to him, and Ælfric alone draws on him in over half of his homilies. Nevertheless, in England before the Norman Conquest there is no evidence of Augustine's major treatises on the topic that dominated the last third of his career: the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian crisis. It is not merely that such treatises have been lost; source-studies of Ælfric, for example, suggest that much of his exposure to Augustine comes through alternate material, such as sermons found in homiliaries like that of Paul the Deacon. In the years following the Conquest, however, two exceptional bodies of texts were imported to or compiled in England that stand in sharp contrast to this dearth: Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 117 (origin unknown, s. ix/x; provenance Salisbury) and Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 444-52 (St. Augustine's, Canterbury, s. xi/xii).

Salisbury 117, first of all, contains not only material relevant to the Pelagian and Semi-Pelagian controversy, but a surprisingly complete collection of such material. It includes six major Augustinian texts: *De perfectione iustitiae hominis*, *De natura et gratia*, *De gratia et libero arbitrio*, *De correptione et gratia*, *De praedestinatione sanctorum* and *De dono perseuerantiae*. These are separated by four corresponding letters: *Epistulae* 214 and 215, Augustine's initial reply to the monks of Hadrumentum, are placed before *De gratia* and *De correptione*, his subsequent, fuller response; *Epistulae* 225 and 226, the works of Prosper of Aquitaine and Hilary which warned Augustine of the Semi-Pelagian crisis in Gaul, come before *De praedestinatione* and *De dono perseuerantiae*, the works they inspired. This is no arbitrary collection of Augustinian

material, but a carefully chosen selection from the Pelagian debates. What is more, with the exception of *Epistulae* 225 and 226, this same body of texts is found in Brussels 444-52. The parallel is striking not only because these are the only two copies of any of these works in England before 1100, but because the texts are presented in exactly the same idiosyncratic order: with *De perfectione* (415/416 A.D.) achronologically preceding *De natura* (413/415 A.D.), and the letters of Prosper and Hilary prefacing *De praedestinatione* and *De dono perseuerantiae*.

The presence of these texts raises a number of questions regarding the manuscripts' origins. First, whence does the Salisbury manuscript come? While both Helmut Gneuss and the Cathedral Library catalogue have dated it to the tenth century, Salisbury itself was not founded until 1075; it is uncertain, therefore, whether Salisbury 117 was copied in England or imported from the Continent. If it were the former, this would have significant implications for the Anglo-Saxons' knowledge of Augustine. Second, in terms of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale 444-52, who at Canterbury might have been interested in the Pelagian debates, and what circumstances would have prompted that interest? Finally, then, what connection might there be between the two sets of manuscripts? Are they the product of a Continental manuscript tradition, or an Insular tradition that has been lost? Through a study of these manuscripts' background, this paper reassesses the study of Augustine in this transitional period of English history.

Session 57: "The Hagiography of Angels"

Stephen J. Harris (West Virginia Univ.)

"Bede on Angels and Angles"

This paper revisits one of the more famous moments in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the episode in which Gregory the Great puns on the name of the Angles. In this story Bede declares his hopeful conviction that the English people, as the elect, will literally take the place of the fallen angels in Heaven (following Colossians 1:12). He uses four terms in his retelling of the traditional story which point to Scriptural paradigms. These terms — *venustus*, *pulcher*, *candidus*, and *egregria* — create a semantic field around the Anglian boys which plays upon a cultural understanding of outward beauty and its ultimate relation to the beauty of God. We see Bede engaging an Augustinian trope of the right contemplation of beauty as well as engaging a neo-Platonic sense of the relationship between outward form and natural substance.

Session 59: "Ælfric's Popes"

Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

"Natale S. Clementis Martyris"

Ælfric's inclusion of a homily for the Feast of St. Clement in the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* implies that Clement was a saint of some significance in the Anglo-Saxon church since, as Zettel has shown, Ælfric's process of selection for the *Catholic Homilies* was based on "popularity," at least as defined by liturgical calendars. His purpose in the *Catholic Homilies*, as set out in the preface to the later *Lives of Saints* collection, had been to include the passions and lives of saints which the English nation honored with festivals. But it is in some way strange that Clement should thus qualify, because although he has the distinction of being one of the earliest popes and one of the earliest martyrs, there is practically nothing known about him. The homily presented by Ælfric reflects this difficulty, focusing on miracles attributed to him, and then devoting an almost equivalent amount of space to a selection of miraculous events from the Old Testament, concluding with passing allusions to some sensational miracles associated with John the evangelist and the apostle Paul, of a kind that Ælfric was commonly not inclined to relate. This paper examines the traditions associated with St. Clement in an attempt to provide a context for the constituent parts of Ælfric's homily and charts the responses to his homily through an investigation of the manuscript transmission.

Susan Rosser (Univ. of Manchester)

"The Life of Pope Alexander in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*"

This paper examines Ælfric's decision to include the *Passio sanctorum Alexandri, Euentii et Theodoli* (BHL 266) in the Second Series of his *Catholic Homilies* collection in the light of what can be deduced about the intended audience for the Old English version and the importance of the feast of Pope Alexander in England at this time. It addresses the issue of why Ælfric originally translated only part of the Latin *passio* and then later created a longer version, and looks at his treatment of his source. It also draws thematic connections between this text and Ælfric's other homily for 3 May on the invention of the cross.

Scott DeGregorio (Univ. of Toronto)

"Ælfric, *Gedwyld*, and Vernacular Hagiography: Sanctity and Spirituality in the Old English *Lives of Saints Peter and Paul*"

The Ælfrician and Blickling legends of Peter and

Paul provide a useful frame for testing recent arguments about Ælfric's polemic reaction to vernacular religious teaching, his technique of translating Latin hagiographic sources, and his attitude toward sanctity — as well as for exploring some new issues connected with these. Chief among the latter are the differing models of sanctity visible in the Ælfrician and anonymous texts, and the prospect that these models may have been geared toward eliciting different kinds of spiritual responses from an audience. So far as I know, the possibility that ideas about sanctity and spirituality may mark further areas of contrast between Ælfric and the anonymous hagiographers, and that such ideas may have factored into his unease over the “great error” found “in many English books,” has not been investigated. In this paper, I proceed by examining the varying ways Ælfric and the anonymous writers treat select episodes in the Peter and Paul *vitae*, and in the process delineate two contrasting conceptions of sanctity: whereas Ælfric offers a powerful, almost superhuman image of sainthood extrapolated from select Gospel narratives and Patristic commentary upon them, the anonymous writers, content with following their apocryphal sources closely, present a more humanized portrait of their saintly subjects. I conclude by showing that these models of sainthood plausibly link up with different modes of spirituality, and by suggesting that the differences at stake may have factored into Ælfric's unease over vernacular religious teaching.

Session 76: “Gesture I”

Janet Schrunk Ericksen (Univ. of MN, Morris)

“Multiple Address and the Gesture of Temptation in *Genesis B*”

The pivotal gesture of the Fall story, that of offering the fruit, is dramatically presented and repeated in the Old English *Genesis B*. The gesture makes visual the equilibrium between potential and act, pinpointing the physical site of choice. It is a way of showing temptation, of illustrating the momentary balance between sin and obedience before the fruit is accepted or refused; as such, the gesture is also central to iconographic depictions of the Fall and its power is evident in the poem's three illustrations of it in MS Junius 11. The attention given to this causal gesture in *Genesis B* is compound, the product of an interplay of discursive forms and illustration that is repetitive, emphatic, and didactic. Like the Anglo-Norman play of Adam, *Genesis B* develops dramatic scenes from the relatively spare biblical verses on the Fall. The Old English poem, however, also increases narrator commentary, a seemingly undramatic maneuver. It blends elements of scene, significantly gesture and direct discourse, with

the narrator-centered discourse of biblical commentary; this yields both a theatricality absent from the biblical version and a repetition of events as they are delivered in both non-narration and narration (with the single, significant exception of the devil's temptation of Adam). Specific narrative moments within that sequence of events are repeated again in the poem's illustrations, most emphatically in the frozen gesture of choice. The resulting iterations work in concert; the gesture remains not just present for the narrator's commentary on the complexities of choice, but becomes an example, in its multiplicity of presentation, of that complexity. Of the Junius poems, only *Genesis B* uses narration, non-narration, and illustration in such repetitive and gesture-focused fashion; the result is an unusual emphasis on the visual and its power within a framework both iconographic and exegetical.

Session 80: “Dress and Textile: Sources from Beyond the Grave”

Christina Lee (Univ. of Manchester)

“[Ad]Dressing the Dead: Anglo-Saxon Textiles and Taxonomy”

This paper evolved as a result of my work as the research assistant for the *Manchester Medieval Textiles Project*. These days textile reports are an integral part of many archaeological publications on Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. The confined space available to the specialists' reports, however, often reduces the analysis to a list of technical data with a few added observations, which is more or less meaningless to the non-specialist.

One of the difficulties in working with archaeological textiles is that their survival is arbitrary. Special conditions apply for the preservation of fibre and the majority of evidence has come to us as imprints in the rust of brooches or replaced by the minerals in metals. Once the deposition of grave goods disappears, fabric remains from dress are increasingly hard to find.

Is the work on archaeological textiles therefore able to offer a contribution to the study of Anglo-Saxon culture or is this evidence too limited to give us further material beyond the preferred weave type or dress style?

Textile can give an insight into the technical proficiency of a female occupation, in contrast, for example, to metal-working, which is assumed to have been the work of men. It can offer glimpses of regional differences, which may tell us more about where and how long certain people settled. In connection with evidence from other material culture and biological data, it allows a fascinating view on how they regarded their dead. Altogether graves make compelling reading for a period when literary sources are as good as non-exis-

tent.

I have restricted my view to evidence from a few selected cemeteries of the fifth to the seventh century and hope to show what can be revealed from the surviving evidence of such a limited and arbitrary field once it has been lifted out of its confinement in appendices of archaeological publications.

Session 83: "Anglo-Saxon History and Legend"

Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. (Leiden Univ.)

**"Hereward and the Construction
of the Anglo-Saxon Self"**

The life and adventure of Hereward, an East-Anglian nobleman who revolted against William the Conqueror in 1070-71 (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*), have been described in detail in *Gesta Herewardi*, an early twelfth-century Latin translation/adaptation from an Old English original. The *Gesta* is the first example of the medieval English outlaw genre, better known through the Robin Hood cycle, in which context Hereward is often mentioned in critical studies. Little studied (because of the Latin?) for its literary qualities in an Anglo-Saxon context, the *Gesta* nonetheless is a rewarding text, which follows Hereward's travels in England and abroad. In my paper, I illustrate how Hereward's successive confrontations with Cornishmen, Irishmen, Normans, Flemings, and Frisians can help us to discover how the Anglo-Saxons of the eleventh century constructed their identity as opposed to the non-Anglo-Saxons. After all, in the *Gesta Herewardi*, through his rebellion against William the Conqueror, is sculptured as a proto-typical Anglo-Saxon.

Rebecca Schoff (Harvard Univ.)

**"A Legacy of Power and Learning:
Historiography and the Women of Wessex"**

Conventionally, Alfred the Great is revered for two legacies: the consolidation of power in Wessex and the reinvigoration of historiographical writing in England. In the early tenth century, the women in Alfred's family seem to have played important roles in the perpetuation of both legacies. Based on paleographical work published by Malcolm Parkes in *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers*, I hope to be able to show that several major historiographical texts, including the earliest extant version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, were produced in the scriptorium at Nunnaminster, where Alfred's granddaughter, Edburga, was abbess. In Mercia, Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd was responsible for the military fortifications and maneuvers that both pro-

tected Mercia from the Danes and aided Æthelflæd's younger brother, King Edward the Elder, in maintaining the dominance of Wessex. When Æthelflæd died, Edward seized Æthelflæd's daughter, Ælfwynn, and had her carried off to Wessex, while he assumed power in Mercia. However, this version of events, found in the Mercian Register, is not recorded in the Chronicle produced under Edburga's direction. In the Chronicle produced at Nunnaminster (the Parker Chronicle), Æthelflæd's military accomplishments are minimized, and Ælfwynn does not exist at all. Instead, the Mercians voluntarily pay homage to Edburga's father, King Edward the Elder, when they are left without a leader at Æthelflæd's death. What was perhaps Edburga's decision, to flatter her father's role at the expense of her aunt and her cousin, raises a number of intriguing questions about the intersection of gender (and familial ties) with Alfred the Great's dual legacy, of power and historiography. Through analysis of the later development of the Chronicle, I would like to suggest that the mode of historiographical writing that recorded Æthelflæd's accomplishments in the Mercian Register survived to provide a model for scripting the success of other women in power.

Lisi Oliver (Louisiana State Univ.)

**"The Ritual Background to
Anglo-Saxon Manumission"**

This paper examines the ritual underpinnings of the legal process of manumission as described in various Anglo-Saxon texts, and offers a partial reconstruction of the procedure as it may have been practiced in a prehistoric Germanic past. Evidence from Anglo-Saxon sources is primarily, but not exclusively, drawn from the collection contained in the twelfth-century *Textus Roffensis*; this is then compared to other Germanic legal texts such as the Frankish, Lombard, and Old Norse laws.

The first question to be considered: both in Old Norse law and in the laws of Æthelberht of Kent, we find a class of men divided into four categories, whom Seebohm (1902.484) postulated to be manumitted slaves "gradually growing by successive steps towards a higher grade of freedom." Throughout Indo-European cultures, we find kinship counted to the fourth generation: this seems to be the basis for the four-generation climb to full freedom contained in these Germanic laws. The Lombard *Edictus Rothari*, however, does not echo this four-fold division in status. Rather, here the slave is passed from one freeman to another, a third, and finally a fourth: it is this fourth who can set him free at the crossroads. In a different context in Salic law, "whoever wishes to dissociate himself from a blood relationship . . . must break four alder rods over

his head. And he must throw them to the four corners of the court" (Murray 1983.150). Both of these appear to be procedures in which the repetition of an action four times ritually compresses the progress of four generations.

Besides arguing this hypothesis in more depth and at greater range, this paper also considers the formulaic nature of oaths sworn by owner and slave, synthesizing the work of Pelteret (1995) and Oliver (1998).

Session 102: "Fruits of the 1999 NEH Summer Institute on Anglo-Saxon England I: Old English Poetry and Language"

Richard M. Trask (Frostburg State Univ.)

"Judith: Fictive Construct, Real Woman"

Both in the Vulgate and the Old English poem versions, the figure of Judith serves as an archetype for human empowerment beyond the fleshly confines of gendering, in that Judith transforms female stereotype by a striking inversion which integrates in one figure all human virtues both masculine and feminine; the Old English poem highlights the transcendent theme that spiritual beauty is truth by an intensive concatenation of stunning heterodox metaphors that intensify the provocative verbal and thematic texture of the Vulgate source. The apocryphal Book of Judith is an epic in intent, a condensed parable of salvation history for the Jewish nation, modernly thought to be unhistorical in literal plot. In the Vulgate version, the daring theme of female hero as savior presumably shows that God's way is not man's way (generic sense). This radical fiction transmuted a wily sex-object stereotype into fierce enforcer, a Cinderella and Wonder Woman in one. It became increasingly into modern times, as Margarita Stocker extensively shows, a locus of feminist expression and a focus of controversy regarding the proper and also the changing role of women in society (i.e., God's way is not "man's" way, one might still muse). Notwithstanding received critical opinion, in the Old English poem (not much invoked by Stocker) Judith is not simply chastity triumphant. The poem seems precocious by emphasizing the intellectual faculty in a female personage, in addition to the emphatic power-motif given over into the hands of a woman (as vessel of divine will); the Old English poet does not shrink back from these seeming unorthodoxies but insists upon them as evidenced by a variety of stunning kennings, unique to this poem, that linguistically emblemize the dramatic power of an eternally evocative theme and a multidimensional hero.

Paul R. Rovang (Edinboro Univ. of PA)

"Redeeming the Teutonic Past: Beowulf as a Mediating Type"

Beowulf as hero plays a mediating role between the gods of the Germanic pantheon and Christ. The *Beowulf*-poet's approach to Teutonic mythology is to euhemerize and rationalize the old gods and their stories by assigning to Beowulf deeds reflecting those of the pagan gods, but also suggestively foreshadowing the Christian redemption. A recurrent analogy in the poem is between Thor, Beowulf, and Christ, with movement from the pagan god to the Christian Savior via the suggestive mediation of a just pre-Christian hero. Early Scandinavian Christian art juxtaposing pagan and Christian themes provides a corroborative analogy for the typologizing approach of the *Beowulf*-poet. The old myths were not to be rejected as the legacy of a damned pagan past, but were to be understood and appreciated in terms of what they anticipated.

Session 105: "Old English Editing"

Barbara Bordalejo (De Montfort Univ.)

"Notes towards a System for the Transcription of Anglo-Saxon Documents"

When we browse different editions of Anglo-Saxon texts, it seems obvious that editors have not come yet to an organized, appropriate, and conventional system for their transcriptions, a system that everyone could use and that all would be able to understand. The aim of my paper is to explore the reasons why such an agreement has not been reached before and to attempt to provide an alphabet for the transcription of Anglo-Saxon material.

While preparing my own edition of the *Life of Saint Christopher*, one of the texts in the Nowell Codex, I realized that there are two different kinds of "s": the long one, and the modern "s." Not even Kemp Malone, who gives a careful list of the readings that present a special or uncommon feature in the manuscript, makes any mention of this character. The two kinds of "s" could have been, as eth and thorn, used inconsistently. But I have not been able to find anyone that has even referred to the subject, much less tried to account for it or even acknowledge its existence. For some scholars uninterested in typographical subtleties this might appear as a settled matter, but for those of us who are interested in the linguistic, philological, and paleographic aspects of the document, it presents a challenge. The characters and punctuation marks that are present in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts are part of

their original texture, which can disappear if editors keep modifying its original features.

I have devised a transcription system that could lead us to a standardization of the Anglo-Saxon alphabet. I have also put together a series of principles that scholars could use as a guide to decide which symbols should be transcribed and how, so they can test my system (which is not yet definitive), and even create their own one if mine happens not to be satisfactory.

Samuel C. Wiscombe, Jr. (Wayne State Univ.)

“The Female Translator of Old English and Rooting for a Grisly Supper with the Boar”

A paradox exists in scholarship, and that is that the further one delves into higher education, the more indecisive one becomes. The pursuit of understanding Anglo-Saxon is no different, particularly when the element of textual study is added. Suddenly, Ælfric has been forced to write in Reformist cursive, and stemmata, like ivy, strangles in a new color and smooth shape the chipped dignity of old art. Clearly, “Editors unavoidably rewrite and interpret the poems they publish” (Allen J. Frantzen, *Desire for Origins* [New Brunswick: Rutgers UP, 1990], 172). Sparing the theories from which “unavoidably” derives, the reader’s question then, begging immediate response, is “to what degree” the editor’s intrusiveness? This is the indecision turned argument that has always haunted Tanselle’s “single great enterprise” of textual transmission and reconstruction from *otherness*. Adding to the academic roil is a possible speciation aspect of Tanselle’s ghost when it approaches Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry: not only could the question be posed as “to what degree” one should intrude, but, also, “who” should intrude.

A sensitive topic indeed, but one that needs addressing. This inquiry, when connected with gender, is a question fraught with hazards to the professional health of the scholar when asked in an age of “enlightenment” brought on by political correctness; and even more distressing is the possibility that it has no satisfactory resolution. Is it, then, even worth asking? Yes, to put it simply — especially if the goal of the editor is to preserve and purvey the invariable core of the text — because of the very revisionist nature of modern scholarship.

Certainly, as Elizabeth Elstob shows, it is not a matter of a female editor’s intelligence whether or not her translation of *Beowulf* or *The Battle of Maldon* or any of their like is accurately acceptable; it is, however, a matter of that scholar’s motivation and the degree of her Feminist ideological subscription, particularly if it brings about a degree of emasculation to an older

society that would never tolerate it. Male editors, of course, are not free of their agendas, but it does seem plausible that the violent primitivism inherent in the Germanic root of some Old English poetry speaks to something less likely to betray it in the male than in the female.

The female editor is possibly at a disadvantage then. A provocative theory by Sanford Budick states that there is a crisis in alterity because there is no such thing as an entrance into another culture; the understanding of *other* is not really an understanding of *other*, but rather an understanding of what is not the translator nor the other culture, but something in between (“The Crisis of Alterity,” in *The Translatability of Cultures* [Stanford UP, 1996], 1-22). Unfortunately for the female editor of Anglo-Saxon heroic poetry, and perhaps just as unfortunately for readership in general, the male only has one gulf between himself and the source language/culture, while the female has two: a jump between the feminine and masculine, and another farther jump between the masculine and its remote, even celebratory, occurrence of an “Iron John” character.

Richard Scott Nokes (Wayne State Univ.)

“Editing as Negotiating the Audience and the Ideal Text”

Questions of editing and translation theory are often framed as questions of loyalty: loyalty to the manuscript, to the scribe, or to the author, for example. In practice, however, editing is not about loyalty, or else the very act of editing would be treasonous. Rather, a good edition will negotiate between the “ideal text” and the intended audience. This paper argues that the ideal text does indeed exist, and it provides the parameters in which the editor must work, and the audience determines the place within those parameters the edition will be located.

In this paper I examine the case of the Anglo-Saxon charms and the ways in which Dobbie’s selection in the ASPR fulfilled all the necessities of a definitive edition by successfully negotiating the ideal text and the audience of the time, by providing an edition that emphasized the poetic, aesthetic nature of the charms. Furthermore, I examine how changes in the attitudes and assumptions of that audience have since reduced the value of Dobbie’s edition, and I suggest ways in which new editions can balance between the ideal text and this new audience, primarily accentuating issues of authenticity of voice and issues of folk culture.

Session 110: “Ælfric’s Saints”

Rachel Anderson (Indiana Univ.)

“Sinful Contracts in Ælfric’s *Life of St. Basil*”

This paper examines two of St. Basil of Cappadocia’s miracles as portrayed in Ælfric’s *Life of St. Basil*, his translation of an eighth-century apocryphal text. Both miracles concern contracts; in the first a man, like Goethe’s Faust, contracts his soul to the Devil in return for a woman’s favors. The second contract is more literally sin-full: St. Basil instructs a woman, who repents her exciting life, to enumerate her sins on a paper. In both episodes the power of miracle negates the written word; the contracts are reversed and in the latter the miracle the words are literally blotted out—they become illegible. This study examines these two blotted contracts not only as symptoms of a continuing and developing anxiety about the authority of the written word in the Anglo-Saxon period, but also as indications of a more specific ecclesiastical conversation about the authority of “newly found” charters that came out of the late Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform movement.

Broadly speaking, the function of contracts in a society is a measure of the authority of literacy. In both texts, the power to place agreements into writing and the binding authority of the subsequent contract reveal a locus of anxiety: what happens when the Devil learns how to write? When is the authority of a contract not valid, and when (and how) can God’s power validate proper contracts, and negate improper ones? Although these two miracles in the *Life of St. Basil* illustrate this anxiety from different directions, both create situations where God’s power over the written word manifests itself in the same way, namely, by his blotting out of improper words and acts. This narrative move both illustrates the text’s method of reducing anxiety about improper writing and gains societal significance when placed in the context of the current monastic practice of forging charters. Ultimately, I show that Ælfric’s text, steeped in the late-tenth-century Benedictine Reform movement that was fostering the creation of “lost” charters, perhaps unconsciously supported this practice by disseminating narratives of how God deals with “proper” and “improper” contracts: a proper contract is obviously one that exists without effacement.

Samantha Zacher (Univ. of Toronto)

**“Masquerade and Mimesis:
The Old English Transvestite Lives
as Models for Female Sanctity”**

Though it is generally argued that Anglo-Saxon female saints’ lives provided active models for female

sanctity, criticism draws a clear line between *imitanda* (stories to be imitated) and *admiranda* (stories to be admired). *Admiranda* are placed in a separate category because they depict instances of self-mutilation, psychosis, transvestism, and other undesirable behaviors. Though these categories are helpful in determining the purpose and audience of these lives, they are not indisputable.

By examining Ælfric’s life of Eugenia, my aim is to challenge or “trouble” the rigidity of these commonplace divisions, and to show that the model of sanctity demonstrated by the saint is infinitely more suggestible to audience participation than is commonly allowed. Though contemporary readership emphasizes the *literal* disguise, my aim is to redirect attention to the *symbolic* act of mimesis itself.

My first task is to examine the rhetoric which describes Eugenia’s mental transformation. Epithets like *werlicum had* and *werlicum mode* demonstrate that Eugenia is able to negotiate gender boundaries to the point where she occupies “masculinity” not only in appearance, but also in thought, disposition, and even desire. However, this does not mean, as some theorists would suggest, that Eugenia obliterates her feminine identity. That Eugenia still identifies with her feminine body is readily apparent in the scene where she reveals her naked breasts to her father. Consulting Luce Irigaray and Mary Anne Doane’s observations on “female” mimesis, I show that Eugenia is not “simply reabsorbed” into her function as a mime. Rather, Eugenia’s masquerade enables her (in Mary Anne Doane’s words) to “manufacture a distance from the image to generate a problematic within which the image is manipulable, producible, and readable by women.” Doane’s assessment helps not only to explain Eugenia’s condition, but also to reevaluate the role of the audience in relation to the text. By generating a transgressive space in which categories of gender are negotiable, Doane’s assessment reveals that it becomes possible for the reader/listener to project herself symbolically and powerfully into the role of transgressor through yet another act of mimesis.

Joyce Tally Lionarons (Ursinus College)

**“Magic vs. Miracles: Sorcerers and
Saints in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*”**

A number of Old English homilies and saints’ lives feature confrontations between saints or other holy men who function as vehicles for God’s miracles and powerful pagan sorcerers who work demonic magic. Although the contest between the saint and sorcerer is generally depicted as a test of power that the sorcerer cannot hope to win, in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* the specific character both of the sorcerer’s deceptions and

of the saint's miracles also serves to illuminate the major theme or themes of the homily, whether through the literalization of the spiritual metaphor, the demonic inversion of a divine miracle, or a magician's unintentionally humorous parody of the acts of the apostles or of Christ.

This paper examines three such confrontations. The first is that between the magician Hermiones and the apostle James as described by Ælfric in his homily for the Kalends of August, *Natale Sancti Iacobi Apostoli* (CH II, 5). The second comprises two related contests in two consecutive homilies, the first between the magicians Zoroës and Arfafað and the apostle Matthew, found in the homily for the Kalends of October, *Natale Sancti Mathei Apostoli et Euangelistae* (CH II, 37), and the second between the same magicians and the apostles Simon and Jude in the homily for the Kalends of November, *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Simonis et Iude* (CH II, 38). The third is the contest between Simon Magus and the apostles Peter and Paul as it is described both by Ælfric in CH I, 26 and by the Blickling homilist in Homily 16. The focus of the paper is to demonstrate how in each confrontation the contest of magic and miracles serves as an ironic comment on the themes of the homily as a whole.

Session 115: "Medieval Sermon Studies I: Sources and Themes in Late Antique and Early Medieval Preaching"

Dorothy Haines (Shorter College)

"Law and Sermon: The Use of Legal Texts in the Old English 'Sunday Letter'"

The "Sunday Letter" is a homiletic text which circulated in eleventh-century England and is still extant in six versions found in five different manuscripts. It uses colorful, imprecatory rhetoric in order to urge the observance of Sunday. The particular focus of this paper is the material which has been interpolated into the Old English versions, specifically the portions excerpted from Anglo-Saxon law codes concerning Sunday observance and tithing. These additions provide valuable clues as to the date and origin of the adaptations and also register the attitude toward and the uses of the "Sunday Letter" in late Anglo-Saxon England. Furthermore, I examine other Old English homilies which demonstrate this practice of combining legal texts with homiletic material and consider how this evidence confirms our understanding of the role of preaching in educating the public about secular as well as ecclesiastical laws.

Session 167: "Monster Theory I: Cultural Representations of the Monstrous in Medieval Lit."

Stephen O. Glosecki (Univ. of AL, Birmingham)

"Beowulf 600a: Minding the Monster"

An alternate title for this paper could be "Grendel, the Thoughtful Thyr." It revisits a topic treated in a talk at UC-Berkeley in 1992 at a conference entitled "Myth, Magic and Medicine in Early Northwest Europe." My return to the sorcerer-Grendel was prompted by John Walter's 1999 Kalamazoo paper, "The Act of Killing in *Beowulf*." Therein, Walter refers to one of the epic's murkier hemistichs, 600a, *swefeð ond sendeþ*. After Klaeber (and most others following the legendary editor), he reads the manuscript's *sendeþ* as *sneðeþ* "cuts up [to eat]." In *Beowulf: An Edition* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998: 68), Mitchell and Robinson emend to *sændeþ*, justifying the change in a longish note on the verb as "a metathesized form of OE *snædeþ*, which means 'eats, takes a meal'." One could say that the latest emendation also follows Klaeber (who follows Imelmann in "*Beowulf* 489f., 600, 769," *Englische Studien* 66 [1932], 321-45). On the other hand, with some empathy for the scapegoat scribes of the "Dark Ages," I have never been comfortable with this emendation. It explains an arcane concept in terms accessible to twentieth-century readers but not necessarily in touch with the thought-world of the poet or the scribe. Why do editors feel bound to "correct" the poet's diction (or the suppositional "scribal error") at line 600a in the epic? Because the field still resists recognizing the shamanistic powers of Grendel the *ðyrs* or "ogre/sorcerer." Addressing itself to the ecstatic implications of *Beowulf* 600a — viewed in the context of Grendel's *hinfus hyge* "mind eager to go out" (755a), the "external soul" passages in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, and Norse and Native American parallels — this paper explains what the poet means when he tells us that Grendel "sleeps and sends." Infiltrating the margin between magic and monstrosity, my reading gives us a Grendel at once more horrific and more subtle, "one minded like the weather, most unquietly."

Session 217: "Medieval Sermon Studies II: Conceptions of Medieval Preaching"

John R. Holmes (Franciscan Univ. of Steubenville)

"The Use of Performance in Stylistic Analysis of the Sermons of Wulfstan"

Dorothy Bethurum's observation in her edition of Wulfstan's sermons that the Archbishop of York's sentences "must be *heard* to be understood" has guided several generations of students through the otherwise tangled clauses of Wulfstan's prose. Like many bril-

liant insights, it seems blatantly obvious once stated: I am sure that anyone attempting to make sense of Wulfstan, before or after Bethurum, has resolved a difficult passage simply by reading it out loud. But the extent to which declaiming — not just pronouncing — can illuminate an entire sermon has not been sufficiently explored.

My presentation is intended to explore the idea of performance as analysis, not as a startling insight peculiar to Wulfstan, but as the working out of a basic truth in the particular case of Wulfstan. Aspects of style such as balance and parallelism can be appreciated in a silent reading, can even be visualized by tracking the parallel elements with the eye or finger. But other elements are hidden by uncertainties of emphasis, tone, and perhaps even pitch. One example is Wulfstan's adversative use of "and." The "and" is ubiquitous in Wulfstan's prose, so much so as to risk the charge of monotony, much as Erich Auerbach accused St. Francis of sloppy Latin style with his clumsy "et" constructions. The great number of "and"s is sometimes obscured in the manuscript by the scribal abbreviation which makes it easier for the eye to glide over them. But what keeps them from being a stylistic barbarity is the great variety of rhythmic and syntactic effects in the simple conjunction. Wulfstan even uses the "and" in an almost adversative sense, as we would use "but," or "yet."

In an early passage in Wulfstan's famous *Sermo ad Anglos*, a series of contrastive clauses are connected with "and," where the reader might expect "yet": "On hæþenum þeodum ne deað man forhealdan lytel ne micel þæs þe gelagod is to gedwolgoda weorðunge; and we forhealdað æghwær Godes gerihte ealles to gelome" [Among heathen people one dare not withhold little nor much that is ordained for the worship of pagan gods; and we withheld everywhere God's dues all too often].

Here we would expect after the first clause an adversative, "and yet." The "and" is not fulfilling the adversative function, though it could easily be by a slight adjustment in tone, as we often do conversationally: "You never come to class, and you expect an A?"

The presentation demonstrates the wresting of nuances from Wulfstan's prose by adjusting the readings of selected passages.

Session 220: "Medieval English Studies in Poland I"

Jacek Fisiak (Adam Mickiewicz Univ., Poznan)

"Studies on Old and Middle English Language in Poland"

Medieval English did not occupy an important position in English studies in Poland before 1939. There were only two scholars who were seriously

involved in research in the field, i.e., Roman Dyboski (1883-1945) in Cracow and Z. M. Arendt (d. 1944) in Poznan. A breakthrough in the studies of medieval English came with the return of Alfred Reszkiewicz from his post-graduate studies in the United States in 1949 and with Margaret Schlauch's arrival in Warsaw in 1951. Another stimulating factor for the spread of interest in the subject was the reform of higher education which introduced *inter alia* a two-semester (four hours a week) course on Old English and a two-semester course on the history of English with one semester devoted to Middle English (also four hours a week). Both of the courses were obligatory for anybody reading English. This lasted until 1971, when the two courses were reduced to one two-semester course. Since 1981 (depending on the university) each student of English must take a course on the history of English which lasts from one semester (University of Warsaw) to two semesters and from two hours a week to three hours a week (A. Mickiewicz University, Poznan).

In the early sixties three younger scholars entered the field, i.e., Jacek Fisiak (until 1965 in Lodz and since then in Poznan), Ruta Nagucka (nee Sikora) in Cracow, and Walerian Swieczkowski (1931-1997) in Lublin. The number of medievalists trained by A. Reszkiewicz, J. Fisiak, and R. Nagucka started growing. The trend continues primarily in Poznan until today where a Department of the History of English was established under the headship of Professor J. Fisiak in 1996, and 18 students have completed their Ph. D. programs. In 1994 Poznan organized the First International Conference on Middle English and in 1996 the Ninth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics. The research interests of Polish medievalists cover a broad spectrum of topics and range from Old and Middle English phonology and grammar to word-formation, semantics, sociolinguistics and pragmatics. Books and papers written by Polish medievalists have been published both in Poland and abroad. A fairly large number of contributions have appeared in *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia: An International Review of English Studies* (editor J. Fisiak) which has been published in Poznan since 1968.

Ruta Nagucka (Univ. of Cracow)

"Conceptual Semantics and Grammatical Relations in Old English"

Not every historical linguist embraces the idea of Chomsky's syntactocentrism with enthusiasm. It may be untimely to say unkind things about it, but there are syntactic problems which cannot be resolved satisfactorily only by formal operations. Under the current psycholinguistic views there seem to be some chances of recognizing the old conceptual world of the speaker

and thus contributing to a more appropriate understanding of the writings he has left.

The subject of this paper has been inspired by Jackendoff's recent views which he presented in *The Architecture of the Language Faculty* (1997). His claims are discussed to see if they succeed in a better understanding of grammatical relations in Old English. The following Old English grammatical relations are considered: word order, thematic roles, and word formation (compounding). These relations when actuated in language may each result in structural ambiguity of one sort or another, well recognized and described in linguistic literature, but often poorly or unsatisfactorily accounted for semantically. Thus, my hope is that a new approach to these Old English relations will offer a possible explanation for some troublesome relational problems.

Session 222: "Anglo-Saxon Riddles I: New Solutions"

John D. Hosler (Iowa State Univ.)

"Do You See the Light? Another Solution to Exeter Riddle 72"

Despite exhaustive research and decades of interpretation, several Old English riddles in the Exeter Book remain unsolved; *Riddle 72* is one of them. This short and complex enigma places many demands on its readers, most notably the oppositional features of man/woman, fly/swim, and dead/alive. Few solutions are able to satisfy all these paradoxes, though many fine solutions have been offered. Always, it seems, there is room to call a potential answer "incomplete" yet "imaginative and interesting." For *Riddle 72*, ten or more solutions have been offered, debated and reinforced in the past thirty years. This paper argues for the author's inclination towards "moon" as a logical and satisfactory solution.

This solution to *Riddle 72* revolves around the twin approaches of historicism and strict lexical study. After a short discourse on the value of such a methodology, the cultural and historical backdrop of the riddle is discussed, delving into the influence of runic futharks, Anglo-Saxon myth, and the geography of western Britain, where the Exeter Book was most likely constructed. Having established a connection between the riddles and the environment in which they were transcribed, the paper subsequently examines previous solutions for their potential viability within a cultural reading. Next, the critical clues of the puzzle are reexamined in a lengthy lexical study. Past translations and solutions are discussed and analyzed, and in accordance with the premise of cultural interpretation,

coupled with the full range of reasonable definitions, a new rendition in Modern English is suggested. Finally, the solution of "moon" is shown to pleasantly meet all the paradoxes and demands of the riddle. In totality, the paper suggests that cultural/historical readings of Old English poetry are instructive; moreover, they constitute valuable and sometimes overlooked methods of interpretation.

Session 224: "Monster Theory II: Cultural Representations of the Monstrous in Medieval Lit."

Alice Cooley (Univ. of Toronto)

"Grendel and the Giant of Mont St. Michel: Examples of Old English and Middle English Monsters"

The basis of this paper is an examination of the way in which two monstrous adversaries are characterized and presented to the reader. The monsters in question are *Beowulf's* Grendel and the giant of Mont St. Michel as portrayed in the *Alliterative Morte Arthure*. Similarities between these two monsters and their function in each narrative make comparison particularly fruitful, and highlight important differences between the conception of the monstrous in each era. The author of the *AMA*, writing in an era when the romance mode was dominant, chose to give his work a markedly heroic tone, which invites comparison with Old English works in the same vein. However, an analysis of specific elements like these two monsters makes clear the fundamental gulf between the spirit of the Middle English and the Old English works.

Both Grendel and the giant of the *AMA* are figured as cannibalistic and superhuman in stature. In each case there is considerable ambiguity as to just how human the monster is. An examination of the vocabulary used to describe Grendel and the giant yields much information about how each poet conceived of his monster, but the overall impression remains equivocal. Is Grendel a demon or merely an unhappy outsider? Is the giant of Mont St. Michel five fathoms tall, or is he short enough for Arthur to strike him in the head with his sword? A cloudiness and uncertainty of description, though it is achieved through radically different means by each poet, is a key feature of both the *Beowulf* and the *AMA* monsters. The Old English poet offers hardly any visual description of Grendel; the Middle English poet lavishes so much description on his giant that it is difficult to form any coherent picture out of it all. In relation to the hero in each work, the monsters function in similar ways. Their giant size emphasizes the courage and prowess of Beowulf and Arthur, both of whom are newcomers in the monsters' territory and undertake

single combat on behalf of others who have been harmed.

In turning to the role of the monster in relation to his victims, a very interesting point arises. The giant of the *AMA* lives on a mountain-top, from which he menaces the surrounding land. Grendel is characterized as “he who held the wastelands,” an outcast who dwells in the swamps on the outskirts of civilization. The giant is frequently called a tyrant, while Grendel is an outsider. The idea behind each monster draws upon a deep-seated cultural concept of what an enemy is. The Middle English poem was written in an age of hierarchy and powerful monarchs; the Old English work was produced in an era of fragmentation, in an insular society under constant threat of attack from foreign ravagers. It is not surprising, then, that the *AMA* uses the idea of anger and outrage at oppression, casting the giant as a tyrannous ruler on a mountain, while *Beowulf* exploits the fear of the outsider, making Grendel an alien creature from the borderlands, whose stealthy attacks take the warriors of Heorot unaware.

Mark Jones (Saint Louis Univ.)

“‘Welandes geweorc’ in *Beowulf*”

In the early sections of *Beowulf*, the corselet makes at least as powerful an impression as the sword, and Beowulf wears the finest, not to mention the strangest, armor to be found in the poem: “Welandes geweorc.”

This half-line reference to the legendary smith sets in motion a kind of typology whereby, to an audience versed in Weland lore, one hero may be identified with another. Ultimately, it must be admitted that the typology breaks down. Indeed, by invoking the story of a wicked smith who is, on the whole, more like than unlike Beowulf, the poet creates a foil against which the Geat can be measured and which signals a monstrous potential in his own heroism.

The Weland of the Norse analogues is skilled in his craft, to be sure, but what makes him a wonder-smith is his ability to use that craft to forge a terrible revenge. Revenge is also a highly visible theme in *Beowulf*, but here the rules are considerably more stringent: in short, the Old English poem draws a distinction between “good revenge” and “bad revenge”; between the vengeance of one who is *heore* (“pure”) and of one who is *unhiore* (“monstrous”).

Even so, a word study of the ON *hyrr* and OE (*un*-)*hiore* reveals a tenacious resemblance between Weland and Beowulf: the smith and the warrior are alike *unhiore*, for each is a suspicious outsider, an alien specialist in a kingdom that is not his own.

Pat Belanoff (SUNY, Stony Brook)

“The *Pyrs* and *Ides* of *Maxims II*”

About two-thirds of the way through *Maxims II*, we read/hear: “Scur sceal on heofenum, / winde geblanden, in þas woruld cuman. / þeof sceal gangan bystrum wederum. Pyrs sceal on fenne gewunian / ana innan lande. Ides sceal dyrne cræfte, / fæmne hire freond gesecean, gif heo nelle on folce geþeon / þæt hi man beagum gebicge” (40b-45a).

This segment begins by creating out of wind-blown storms and showers a visual image of nature in a threatening mood. Into this image comes a thief who must, to ply his trade, move about in darkness. Also in the land is a *pyrs*, a monster who dwells alone (like the thief); the monster’s abode, the fens, adds murky elements to our image. And then what? Into our scene comes a woman who secretly seeks her “friend” because she does not wish to enter into a traditional marriage exchange. It is indeed difficult to escape the sequence here from thief, to monster, to woman.

Close examination of this passage and its vocabulary leads to the conclusion that women who refuse to abide by society’s conventions and definitions of them, particularly when they become the sexual aggressors, are viewed as outside the civilized world. They are demonized, creatures who “steal” from society something crucial to its maintenance. Although Anglo-Saxon poetry does not focus on such women very often, we do see shadows of them: in Modthryth in *Beowulf*, in the wandering woman of *Maxims I*, and in other passages which touch on the status of women who are isolated in some way either by choice or necessity.

Traditionally marriage can be seen as a way to “tame” such women, a way to control the “monsters” among us. Eventually, of course, the church provided another way for society to control women, and in one Old English poem, *Juliana*, a woman’s refusal to marry makes her into a saint. Of course, she’s also dead at the end of the poem. But we know that monasteries did provide alternatives for many women; ironically, however, Christianity also engendered the possibility of a form of alterity which the church eventually also came to criticize, at least in its more extreme forms: mystic transport.

There is a way in which *Maxims I* almost mirrors this historical change. The poem begins with a king and ends with God. As the composer works toward the end of the poem, ideas lengthen from short spurts, often just subject-verb-complement, into ideas covering several lines. By the end, we come to four-line syntactically connected thoughts. Reason and language prevail; order is restored. Quite frankly, however, I still see that thief, *pyrs*, and woman at the edges of this order.

As Jeffrey Jerome Cohen concludes in his study of medieval giants, perhaps the most fearful thing about monsters is that they can move in and out of society. That is exactly what the *ides* of *Maxims II* does. And perhaps that is why she must be equated with the *þyrs* and may, in fact, be even more frightening because she is, after all, one of us.

Session 242: "The Digital Atheneum: New Techniques for Restoring, Searching, and Editing Humanities Collections"

Demorah Hayes (Univ. of Kentucky)

"The Digital Microfilm of King Alfred's Prosimetrical *Boethius*"

King Alfred's Old English translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy* is preserved in British Library MS Cotton Otho A.vi. This manuscript, the only surviving witness that contains both the prose and verse sections of Alfred's *Boethius*, was damaged in a 1731 fire. Kevin Kiernan has initiated a project to restore the original manuscript readings wherever possible and to make this data available to scholars in an electronic edition.

I am assisting this project by collating digital images of the microfilm of Otho A.vi against a composite of the Sedgefield (prose) and Krapp (verse) editions to determine how much of the manuscript survives. My work will produce a transcript of the manuscript as it is reflected in digital images of the microfilm; we will use this transcript for additional collations with ultraviolet photographs and digital images of the manuscript to determine to what extent these techniques can further restore the manuscript. I am also encoding certain features of the manuscript, such as damage and scribal additions, to facilitate investigation of those areas through a searching tool. In this presentation I discuss the current status of this project, the procedures I am following and problems I have encountered in collating and encoding the text.

Session 245: "Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons II: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp"

Roberta Frank (Univ. of Toronto)

"The Boar on the Helmet"

This paper — a footnote to Rosemary Cramp's classic essay on "*Beowulf* and Archaeology" — looks at the boar-helmets of archaeologist and poet, hunting for evidence that their dispositions might not be fully

compatible, that they might have different cultural affiliations, be non-English and non-Christian in different ways.

It is frequently acknowledged that "the weaponry described in *Beowulf* only fits with the material culture from the sixth and seventh century." A second goal of this paper is to confirm that the literary bounds of *Beowulf*'s boar-helmet are far broader than traditionally drawn.

Session 253: "Human Economy and Natural Environment in the Middle Ages I: Manipulations and Adaptations"

Paolo Squatriti (Univ. of Michigan)

"Offa's Dyke between Nature and Culture"

An analysis of the environmental impact of the construction of Offa's Dyke, the long linear earthwork separating the West Midlands from Wales thought to have been built in the late eighth century, this paper combines archaeological and literary data to suggest that the importance of the Dyke lies not in the delimitation of borders or the defense of the realm of Mercia, but in the modification of eighth-century ecological equilibria. It is thus a significant departure from traditional methodologies and conclusions applied to what Stenton considered Anglo-Saxon England's most important extant monument.

Session 270: "'Mid godcundre gife gemæred ond geweorðad': Miracles and the Common Man in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*"

John Damon (Univ. of Nebraska, Kearney)

"'Wadan Wraeclastas': Bede, Cadwalla of Wessex, and the Exile's Path to Kingship"

We have an exceptionally large number of literary accounts of King Cadwalla of Wessex, who abdicated after only two years in office. These accounts record his rise from obscurity to the pinnacle of power in the early Old English kingdoms. Bede, in particular, presents the contradictory nature of this controversial figure. Cadwalla was in many ways the opposite of a "common man," since he became king of Wessex, and he was clearly a member of the aristocracy, but his route to power was very commonplace in the period. He rose from being an outcast, forced to "tread the paths of exile," to become one of the most powerful of Anglo-Saxon kings. His successes fit very uneasily into Bede's account of the history of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, first because the enemies Cadwalla

defeated to obtain the throne included a number of Christians, and, more significantly, because Cadwalla himself appears to have remained a pagan even after gaining the throne. He led a band of exiled and outlawed men in the overthrow of the Christian king Æthelwath of the South Saxons, over whom he briefly ruled. Later he helped to create the role of overking of the West Saxons. As king of Wessex, his conquest of the Isle of Wight included the brutal slaughter of the "native gens" as well as the execution after forced baptism of the last two athelings. These bold and bloody acts contrast sharply with his pious death in Rome, recorded by Bede and other sources. In this case, the miraculous seems to be an outgrowth of the commonplace: a member of the archetypal Anglo-Saxon roles of exile and warrior transformed into a pious figure (if not really a saint) through offerings to god (however grisly the form), association with clerical figures, and pilgrimage.

Sharon M. Rowley (Univ. of Puerto Rico)

"Being Healed: Symbolic Economies, Miracles, and Class in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*"

In this essay I explore the relationship between what Henry Mayr-Harting describes as Bede's ideal of a classless monastic society and the language of social distinction in the *Ecclesiastical History*. While a sense of Bede's ideal religious order based on seniority, common property, and spiritual worth comes through loud and clear in the *Ecclesiastical History*, so does the inevitable presence of kinship bonds, money, and power. Throughout the text, kings oust bishops, sisters "inherit" positions as abbess, and nobles become more noble by giving away their earthly possessions and joining a monastery.

It is the persistence of social distinction apparent in this last formulation, the role of symbolic capital, and the distribution of class revealed by a reconsideration of Bede's miracles that I focus on in this essay. Using Pierre Bourdieu's critique of the Marxist theory of class and his concepts of social space and symbolic capital, I discuss the healing miracles in the text, as well as Imma's lie, Cædmon's gift, and the language with which Bede describes Cuthbert in contrast to that with which he describes Gregory the Great. I conclude that reading miracles and references to spiritual "nobility" as indices of social distinction in the text reveals that, at least for Bede, the significance of rank and nobility mixed better with spirituality than one might have expected. Collectively, Bede's miracles, which have long been disparaged as lamentable, ahistorical elements of his text, may, in fact, prove to be the most historical reflection of social diversity he presents in the *Ecclesiastical History*. In contrast, when Bede

invokes language of social distinction, the oppositions he generates do not correspond with oppositions in the world. Although spiritual nobility has everything to do with nobility, spiritual poverty has nothing to do with poverty. "Sick men and cattle," Cædmon and Cuthbert, might be "especially marked out by grace," and perform or receive miracles, but they are never made more noble by their actions. Despite Bede's ideals of a classless monastery and the mobility within the ranks of a spiritual aristocracy implied by metaphors of spiritual poverty and nobility, such capital remains reserved for those symbolically sacrificing wealth, but not power or distinction.

Session 271: "Poverty in the Middle Ages"

Virginia Cole (Cornell Univ.)

"The Poor in Anglo-Saxon England"

Examination of Old English vocabulary for the poor can reveal something about conceptions of the poor in Anglo-Saxon England. Using the University of Toronto's on-line *Dictionary of Old English* supplemented with a host of classic and recent print dictionaries, thesauri, and editions of texts, I looked at the frequency, association, and context of Old English terms designating the poor. In England, Anglo-Saxons writing in Latin followed Continental practice and most often used the word *pauper* which conveniently masked the complex reality of poverty with scriptural associations. Anglo-Saxons writing in Old English were forced to choose between a rich vocabulary of terms for poverty, none of which was an exact equivalent for the Latin *pauper*. The two most commonly used were *earm* and *þearfa*. In earlier texts, the two terms were used with almost equal frequency. Gradually, *þearfa* became dominant, outpacing *earm* by a ratio of 3 to 2. *þearfa* became the equivalent for *pauper*. In those rare instances when writers wanted to be descriptively precise, for instance in wills or laws, they avoided or modified *þearfa*.

Session 279: "The Anglo-Saxon Riddles II: Culture and Contexts"

Jon Wilcox (Univ. of Iowa)

"Masters and Slaves: Social Inversion in the Old English Riddles"

Part of the pleasure of the *monde renverse* of the Old English riddles is a repeated representation of social inversion in which servants and slaves govern their masters. A straightforward example occurs in *Riddle 21*, the plough riddle, where the plough cuts

effectively, “gif me teala þenap / hindewardre þæt biþ hlaford min,” where the position is deliberately disrespectful. In this paper, I discuss and catalogue a range of such social inversions. Through this discussion, I come to offer a new reading and solution to the as-yet-unsolved *Riddle 4* (Williamson 2).

Brian McFadden (Texas Tech Univ.)

**“The Social Context and Function
of ‘Wundorlicu Wiht’
in the Exeter Book Riddles”**

This essay examines the “wonder riddles” of the Exeter Book in context of the ecclesiastical and social upheavals of the tenth century. Given the unrest caused by the Benedictine reforms and the constant conflict with the Vikings, the English were constantly wary of signs and wonders such as those reported in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; although miraculous signs, *tacna*, were seen as indicators of divine favor or directions to perform certain acts in the literature of miracles, natural or monstrous wonders, *wundra*, were ambiguous and could portend either good or ill. In hagiography or ecclesiastical history, *wundor* and *tacen* are often found together to indicate that the unusual occurrences come from God; in wonder texts, however, *tacen* is usually absent, leaving the reader to wonder whether the wondrous thing depicted is hostile or friendly. A number of the Exeter Book riddles play on this ambiguity by using the phrase *wundorlicu wiht*, “a marvelous or wondrous creature,” or one similar to it to describe their subjects. Unlike Latin riddles, which state their subject and invite the reader to see the familiar thing as something much more than it is, the wonder riddles begin with an unfamiliar, potentially dangerous object which the solver must whittle down to something familiar and safe; for example, the unease induced by the martial images of Craig Williamson’s *Riddle 1* (*Riddles 1-3* in ASPR) can be calmed somewhat when the pillaging force is revealed as the natural phenomenon of a storm. Just as Edgar’s containment of the potential danger to church and state from the Vikings or from the supporters of unreformed monasteries temporarily eased the anxieties of the English, the riddles serve as a site for dissipating this anxiety through their containment of potentially dangerous wonders in the generic expectations of riddle solving.

Jerome Denno (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

**“Oppression and Voice in
the Anglo-Saxon Riddles”**

The late Ted Irving, among others, has read certain Exeter Book riddles as the production of otherwise

silent, marginal voices in the texts’ culture. I would like to push this reading practice further, to suggest a larger cultural preoccupation with literal and figurative oppression, and to suggest that this apparent preoccupation, prominent in the corpus, indicates something of the social-political reality out of which the riddles arise. Specifically, I want to identify the voice of oppressed figures in a selection of the riddles as an expression of marginalized consciousness in a rigidly stratified society. Taking *Riddles 1* and *53* (usually solved as “storm” and “battering ram,” respectively) as prominent expressions of the theme, I argue that each riddle’s first-person speaker becomes unmistakably identified with a complex category of outlaw-exiles ranging from the reluctant retainer of a savage lord to the banished Satan, harried into and throughout the netherworld. Describing its desperate, coerced condition, the storm speaks for this same marginal category of outlaws and exiles.

The Dream of the Rood, another riddlic poem, offers an even more complex instance of this oppression, with the tree/rood representing yet another coerced implement, inspired with speech, pressed violently into service (and achieving, in this case, eternal glory as a consequence). Each instance features a once-silent, marginal speaker describing a straitened existence, transcendable only ephemerally by this extraordinary grace of speech in an otherwise muted state. The paradoxical language of riddles, combined with the poetic gift of speech in such first-person poems, indirectly produces voices of a narrowly constrained Anglo-Saxon underclass, otherwise rarely heard.

Session 295: “Old English Poetry I”

Robin Norris (Univ. of Toronto)

**“In the Shadow of the Cross:
The Dream of the Rood and Same-Sex Piety”**

The Dream of the Rood has long been considered a poem which blends Christian themes with pagan heroic elements in such a way that the cross itself becomes a retainer of the heavenly Lord Jesus Christ. More recently, Allen Frantzen’s observations about the relationship between retainer and lord show that affection between men was not considered transgressive of heterosexual norms during the Anglo-Saxon period, although sex between men remained strictly forbidden. My argument is that the intimacy between Christ and the cross in *The Dream of the Rood* is an example of same-sex affective piety, with the poet employing a rhetorical strategy similar to that of writers during the later Middle Ages: to envision one’s relationship to God in terms of an earthly relationship. One effect of this strategy is that other believers who accept

the message of the cross are invited to enter into a relationship with God based on the lord-retainer model. Yet, when attempting to follow the old heroic code under a new, pacifist Lord, the cross faces a gender crisis which can only be resolved when male believers adapt themselves to a new code of masculine norms. Despite the difficulties of this transformation faced by the cross, heroic homosocial relationships remain key to Anglo-Saxon constructions of masculinity after the conversion; and the poet's unusual choice of a homosocial relationship, rather than the more common trope of a male God and female or feminized believer, reflects the centrality, significance, and normalized status of emotional intimacy between men in Anglo-Saxon culture.

Andrew Maines (Univ. of Connecticut)

**“Hall-less Society:
The Wanderer as Cultural Metaphor”**

Over the past decade, a good deal of attention has been paid to the importance of the hall in Anglo-Saxon culture and literature. In *Images of Community in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge UP, 1996), Hugh Magennis explores the importance of hall imagery in Anglo-Saxon literature. He effectively shows how hall life throughout the Anglo-Saxon period was “the expression and symbol of communal relationships based on lordship” (14). However, while the image of hall is central in Anglo-Saxon literature, recent archaeological evidence from sites such as Yeavering, Cheddar Cowdery's Down, and Lejre seems to support Rosemary Cramp's claim that the hall life of *Beowulf* and other Anglo-Saxon poetry was “at once familiar and strange” (“The Hall in *Beowulf* and in Archaeology,” in *Heroic Poetry in the Anglo-Saxon Period* [Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993], 343), but it in no way represented their audiences' daily existence. Furthermore, recent historical evidence seems to confirm that, by the time Anglo-Saxon poetry was written down, the hall life which is so prevalent in that genre no longer existed as a part of the reality of Anglo-Saxon life.

Armed with this literary, archaeological, historical, and even anthropological evidence, *The Wanderer* can be read in a new light. No longer is it a poem about a single man lost in the wilderness, but rather it is about a culture that lacks, and longs to regain, the close relationship between a leader and his subject that hall life affords. Just as the wanderer can only return to hall life through flights of fancy, Anglo-Saxon culture can only return to the comforts of this earlier time through its literature. My reading of *The Wanderer*, therefore, is not only informed by recent scholarship, but attempts to impact upon recent studies concerning the image of

hall life in Anglo-Saxon culture.

Holly Jagger (Univ. of Toronto)

**“The Rhetoric of Body in Old English Poetry:
Why All the Fuss about the Head?”**

My paper suggests that Anglo-Saxon poets conceived of the body in ways that differed considerably from those that yielded the much discussed corporal imagery of later medieval English literature. Examining the uses of metaphor and metonymy in Old English verse, I argue that the Anglo-Saxons perceived the body as an organic unity, intimately connected with the urban and natural environment, and the cosmos at large. In representing this “landscape” of body, poets of the Old English period seem far less concerned than their later counterparts with compartmentalizing and ranking the bodily components according to the symbolic signification of each.

The head, for example, is typically understood, from both the medieval and indeed a modern perspective, as a figure of authority — a concept which is clearly bound up in the semantic evolution of the word itself and compounded by the figure of the allegorical body politic so abundantly illustrated in Middle English works. But rarely in Old English poetry is the head explicitly depicted as the “chief” among body parts. The majority of *heafod*-compounds denoting superiority of any kind seem to be OE calques of Latin ancestors, and so presumably developed after the earliest stages of verse composition; the poet favored prefixes such as *eald-* and *heah-* for this particular connotative role. It is rather a sense of wholeness and equality, than one of division and hierarchy, that informs the early poetic depiction of body and which, in turn, reflects an important aspect of the Anglo-Saxon notion of embodiment and the self.

**Session 299: “Integration of Computer-Aided
Teaching and Research”**

John Gray (James Cook Univ.)

**“INSTANT ANGLO-SAXON:
New Developments in
Computer-Assisted Pedagogy”**

The INSTANT ANGLO-SAXON project has sought to develop a teaching technique (“instant feedback”) to enable students of Anglo-Saxon to reach very quickly a high level of competence. “Instant feedback” identifies at an early stage untenable learning strategies. It takes seriously Bruce Mitchell's claims that retaining vocabulary is the most serious problem for those learning Germanic languages. It also believes that the

teaching of Old English proceeds best if students are concurrently aware of the other cultural contexts in which the language is grounded. Students are encouraged to offer a “road-test” or electronic report in any academic area of Anglo-Saxon studies in which they have a strong prior interest.

The method involves computer-assisted pedagogy especially designed to attain the goals above. The unproductive “fall-back strategies” each student employs are removed by “deep revision” and by a proactive alert, and feedback tailored electronically to individuals. The pedagogy includes the use of computer-assisted peer-teaching, live-to-camera demonstrations in which students “road-test” web-sites for their peers, and an online “bingo” game for reinforced vocabulary retention. A further technique, “the sandwich,” a structured learning situation supported by a Microsoft Excel program, was specifically designed to remove early learning impediments.

On removing learning defaults, an exhilarating rise in language competence followed. Students have obtained markedly higher results from the computer-assisted resources Instant Anglo-Saxon provides. Vocabulary retention has been attested by success with poetry, and a substantial proportion of students attempting unseens. Other teaching resources include a limelight voice-sensitive camera, a WebBoard, and online “poker.” The subject “Instant Anglo-Saxon” and its resources are included in James Wilcox’s “The Teaching of OE: A Collection of Syllabuses,” *OEN* 32.3 (Spring 1999): 13ff, especially Gray 3 [19]. Finally, peer-teaching has provided some 60 “reusable units of learning materials” deliberately keyed to the central cultural sections of Bruce Mitchell’s *An Invitation to Old English & Anglo-Saxon England*.

Session 334: “Alfredian Texts and Contexts”

Shelly Rae Clift (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

“Re-Writing and Un-writing Violent Women in the Old English *Orosius*”

The Old English *Orosius* is not a loose translation of the Latin *Historiarum adversum Paganos Libri Septem*, as some scholars have suggested, but a selectively edited text designed to conform to the translator’s own cultural needs. In this text are signs of the translator’s (and possibly Alfred’s) interest in using history and writing to create and preserve social order and harmony. In this paper I examine selections from the OE *Orosius* to see how the translator’s changes, his revisions and excisions of history, reveal his desires to instruct and reinforce ideals of kinship and loyalty that held his society together.

These revisions are most obvious in the histories

involving violent women. Book I, Chapter 8 of the Latin *Historiarum* deals with crimes of wives against their husbands. In the Old English, every crime associated with women has either been deleted entirely or re-written by the translator, or more accurately “re-generated” so that the women are no longer active agents of the crime. Thus, the Old English tells of sons rising up and killing their fathers rather than wives killing husbands. Other historical women, such as Medea and Procne, are eliminated from the text entirely. Is this simply due to a desire to shorten the text? Possibly. Yet all the histories of men from this same chapter, including that of Oedipus, are included, in the translation.

Although the crimes of women against their husbands are transformed in the Old English, the equally violent actions of the Amazons and other women are translated virtually word for word. The difference is that the Amazons seek revenge for the deaths of their husbands. They participate in the blood-feud tradition. Here is where I see the desire of the translator to instruct and reinforce Anglo-Saxon ideals of kinship and loyalty. Women are expected to put aside their loyalty to their own blood-kin and take up loyalty to their husbands. This is the uncertain, even chaotic, element in the joining of families.

In the OE *Orosius* I see a pattern forming. Women who act “unjustly” against their husbands are transformed or excised from the text. They are “un-written” from history. But women who avenge the deaths of their husbands or who rule in place of their husbands, preserving a semblance of order, remain. Written at a time when society was under attack by constant Viking marauding and other uncertainties, the translation of the *Orosius* makes cultural sense. It does the work that Augustine envisioned. It helps Christians realize that things were worse under heathendom than under Christendom. But it also provides examples of behavior, reinforces ideals of kinship and loyalty, and reflects the anxieties of the translator in relation to his culture. When women stray into male territory — the blood-feud, and family politics of honor and inheritance — chaos and death ensue. To help keep his world safe from the horrors of self-interested women, the Old English translator re-writes and un-writes their stories.

Session 337: “Old English: Tradition and Innovation: In Honor of John Leyerle”

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent Univ.)

“The Voice of Meditation in Old English Devotional Voice”

Where is the speaker positioned within the liturgical poetry of Anglo-Saxon England? When we hear *ic* or *we*, are we to understand them as personal or commu-

nal? The act of writing verse is generally accepted as one that derives from the self; the notion of communal verse seems somehow contradictory. Nevertheless many of the Old English poems that are based on the liturgy use the first person plural pronoun, and this raises a number of issues worth exploring.

Can verse compositions speak for a community, in the way that hymns — so very popular within Anglo-Saxon England — were perceived to do? Is the pronoun *ic*, then, of any significance over and above a stylistic one? Can we ever “hear” an individual voice “at prayer” within any of these poems?

There seem to be three kinds of Voice at work within the canon of liturgical poetry from Anglo-Saxon England. The first, Liturgical Voice, uses the model of the liturgy on which it is based and says *we* throughout, making no attempt to personalize the prayer from which the content comes: thus, its Voice is transparent through to its liturgical original, which creates an interesting aesthetic, the Germanic structural form through which the Latin content flows unimpeded. The second kind, Devotional Voice, uses *ic* as well as *we*, but still retains the liturgical trajectory of prayer: thus, there may be a tension at work between a devotional performance of the Latin liturgical piece — recited silently or privately, and thus by the self alone — and the implicitly oral nature of Old English poetry, read aloud rather than in silence. The final Voice is Meditational and is the most interesting of all. It seems to bypass the inherently communal nature of prayer and to develop a sense of individual speaker by its consistent use of *ic* over *we*. Here we may suppose is clear evidence of an Anglo-Saxon aesthetic where we can propose communal liturgical performance consciously refashioned into personal expression that is innovatively performative, through the interactive changes of language (Latin to Old English) and genre (prayer to poetry).

Joseph Harris (Harvard Univ.)

“Repetition in *Beowulfian* Narrative”

Starting from John Leyerle’s concept of interlace structure and employing a similar metaphor from the visual arts, the paper describes, and evaluates for its meaning, a type of story-internal repetition known to narratologists as “mise en abyme,” here defined as “nested narrative parallels.” The structure is located first and least controversially in the Old Man’s Lament (2444-62a) and its framing story, the grief and death of Hrethel (2425-43, 2462b-71). The ancient maxim at the heart of the Lament (2451b-54, reconstructed with reference to *Sonatorrek*, st. 17) is claimed as a third iteration in the form of a transformational equivalent of the narrative of the dilemma of a son-bereaved father.

The outermost shell is Beowulf’s own life, especially as captured in his last speeches. This quadrupled story constitutes cultural thought in terms of the family and leads *en abyme* to the heart of the epic.

Session 347: “*Beowulf* I”

Renée R. Trilling (Univ. of Notre Dame)

“The Monster’s Mother: Maternity, Femininity and Alterity in *Beowulf*”

The figure of Grendel’s mother presents an enormous problem for *Beowulf* scholars. Just as Beowulf and the Danes are rattled by this monster-woman’s attack, modern critics don’t seem to know quite how to handle her. They tend to follow one of two paths: either they group her with the other monsters and analyze her in terms of warrior culture and the hero, or they read her through feminist framework as a woman disturbing patriarchy with her “unfeminine” behavior. Both readings fall short of offering a comprehensive analysis of what is ultimately one of the most important figures in the poem. Both her disruptive behavior as female avenger and her curiously constructed role as mother indicate there is more to Grendel’s mother than meets the traditional critic’s eye.

In this paper, I offer an alternative way of reading Grendel’s mother that sheds new light on the entire poem. The critical framework of Luce Irigaray provides a paradigm in which we can see both natures of Grendel’s mother simultaneously. Irigaray’s thought centers on a depiction of the feminine as spatially outside the masculine organizing principles of society — namely language. The feminine is thus not simply different from a masculine norm; it is completely outside of discourse, unspeakable and totally unrepresentable. Anything truly feminine, therefore, is relegated to the outside of a masculine cultural economy, and the truly feminine will appear as something totally Other — perhaps even as something monstrous. By reading Grendel’s mother as feminine not just by virtue of her gender as mother, which is inescapable, but also by her position outside a masculine cultural and linguistic economy, we can more fully understand how she operates as both monster and woman, and we can explore what her presence tells us about the rest of the poem.

Dana M. Oswald (Ohio State Univ.)

“Consequential Actions/ Marginality and Perversion: Breaking the Man-Monster Binary in *Beowulf*”

I argue that the characters we are most troubled by in *Beowulf* (particularly Beowulf and Grendel’s moth-

er) are either perverse, marginalized, or both, not by their essential nature, but through action. In simple terms, I suggest that each character does what the other ought. At the most basic level, Beowulf is perverse because he does not reproduce, and Grendel's mother is marginalized because she does. This understanding of marginality, as influenced by Michael Camille and bell hooks, therefore means that characters are not essentially "monstrous" but exist under a different set of social obligations than the norm. Alternately, perversion, following along the lines of Jacques Lacan and complicated by Sigmund Freud's earlier works, is the defiance of already-occupied social roles.

Because one does not preclude the other, marginality and perversion occur most frequently in consequential relationships. By relegating a character to the margins, it is almost certain that a perversion of role will occur. And this perversion cannot help but affect the society to which it is marginal. The most meaningful moment of *Beowulf*, therefore, is the moment of Beowulf's perverse grapple with Grendel's mother; the dance between Grendel's mother and Beowulf has more far-reaching consequences than her death. She is the only woman that the poem ever shows Beowulf touching, and though her perversion results in a destructive offspring, the consequence of Beowulf's lack of reproduction is more destructive. Grendel consumes a few of Hrothgar's thanes, but Beowulf's living actions result in the annihilation of his entire people after his death.

Bridget Peach (Univ. of South Alabama)

**"The Suppression of the Powerful,
Avenging Woman in *Beowulf*:
Beowulf's Encounter with Grendel's Mother"**

Grendel's mother, who is traditionally accused of being a cruel, heartless monster, is in fact a self-justified avenger in *Beowulf* who is threatening because she performs a traditionally masculine role, and for this reason she is ultimately destroyed by the male hero of the poem. The threatening quality of Grendel's mother can be analyzed in terms of the literature of modern psychoanalytic theory, which often casts women as the holders of the male look, the signifiers of desire. From this perspective, Beowulf must kill Grendel's mother because he feels intimidated by the object of his gaze ("Ongeat þa se goda grundwyrgegne," 1518). Immersed in an extremely masculine and explicitly patriarchal society, he fears Grendel's mother's "lack" (she lacks a penis and he fears castration). Grendel's mother possesses a power over Beowulf that must be eliminated. The narration of the struggle/battle between Beowulf and Grendel's mother is erotic in manner within a mere which itself can represent a chaotic state

of female sexuality. Grendel's mother is monstrous and intimidating because of her uncanny powers as female and her ability to perform masculine feats in an androgynous manner.

This paper examines and reevaluates conventional criticism which either ignores Grendel's mother, casts her as a monster, or simply treats her as a component of Grendel's character. By applying the theories of Lacan and Freud, I argue that Grendel's mother is a threat to Beowulf's society (i.e., she creates castration anxiety in Beowulf, she is nameless, and she is estranged from the Name-of-the-Father). I contrast Grendel's mother with two other female characters, Hildeburh and Wealhtheow, both of whom are passive and embody traditional roles. By applying theories on the look and gaze (i.e., those of Laura Mulvey), I also show that Grendel's mother problematizes the traditional active/male and passive/female roles in vision.

Session 394: "Anglo-Saxon Poetry in Its Tenth-Century Context"

Mary P. Richards (Univ. of Delaware)

"Ember Fasts in Anglo-Saxon England: An Issue for Poetry at the Turn of the Millennium"

The controversy over the dates of the quarterly fasts known in England as Ember Days is worth exploring for its relevance to developments in late Anglo-Saxon literature and its implications for the kind of self-conscious nationalism discussed in recent scholarship about the period. At issue are the dates of the spring and summer fasts which, according to English tradition, are to be observed in the first week of Lent and in the week after Pentecost Sunday. This differs from the Continental practice which fixes the dates to the first week of March and the second week of June. Egbert of York was the first to attribute the English dates to a directive from Gregory the Great, although there is no evidence to support this claim. Nevertheless, these dates are reflected in many English calendars before and after the Benedictine reforms.

In taking up the topic of the Ember dates, the poet of "Seasons for Fasting" reflects the contemporary interest in fasting as a general topic, a specific pronouncement in the legal code VI Æthelred, and other statements in materials associated with Archbishop Wulfstan. In using poetry as his medium, he follows the example of the poets in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* whose work performed an ideological function within their prose context, helping to produce a nation and a history, as Janet Thormann has shown. Similarly, as he draws upon prose sources, the "Seasons" poet speaks to contemporary issues in such a way as to embody them in a providential view of the English nation.

Donald Scragg (Univ. of Manchester)

**“The Battle of Brunanburh
in its Chronicle Context”**

This paper examines the poem in its manuscript, textual, and historical contexts. The poem survives as the common stock entry for 937 in *Chronicle* manuscripts ABCD. MS D is eleventh-century and therefore outside the scope of the session. MSS B and C are related, but they themselves are relatively late copies, and therefore only MS A offers a manuscript context which is anything like contemporary, the scribe of this section being dated to 955. The same scribe copied all the material from 924 to 955, possibly all at one sitting, and this is the manuscript context that the paper addresses.

Apart from accession and obit, there are no entries for the reign of Eadred and just two for Athelstan's, both marking military successes. In Edmund's reign, all entries are concerned with the king's martial success, and this provides an initial link with the entries for Athelstan's. But the first of the Edmund entries is the poem on the *Capture of the Five Boroughs*, and this has many verbal and stylistic links with the *Battle of Brunanburh*, which the paper details. Between the two comes Athelstan's obit, with its reference to the death of Alfred forty years earlier. *Brunanburh* has a similar historical reference at its close, one which might be self-referential. The paper questions, therefore, whether all these entries are linked and were distributed together, in the form they are entered in MS A, by someone concerned to promote the sons of Edward the Elder, and whether it is possible that the author of the poems might have written them for their present place in the *Chronicle*. The conclusion has some speculation on a possible authority for the distribution.

Session 404: “Beowulf II”

Leslie Lockett (Univ. of Notre Dame)

**“Grendel's Arm:
A ‘Clear Sign’ of the Body's Role
in the Laws of Culpability and Requit”**

Line 833b of *Beowulf* describes Grendel's severed arm and shoulder, displayed on the wall of Heorot, as a *tacen sweotol*, a clear sign. However clear such a sign may have been to the poem's Anglo-Saxon audience, the modern reader may need to ask: a clear sign of what? In the feud between the men of Heorot and the Grendelkin, the severed limb's public appearance communicates in the language of Germanic customs relating to feud and criminal justice, as such customs have been preserved in Anglo-Saxon and Salic law

codes as well as Icelandic sagas. These varied sources suggest that the settlement of disputes arising from both feud and crime in Germanic societies employed the bodies of involved parties as the canvas on which to make manifest guilt or to record the status of the exchange of hostilities. For example, in the eyes of Beowulf's allies, the displayed arm makes known that Grendel's terrorism has been fittingly halted; for the Grendelkin, however, the arm is not a sign of closure but a shocking reminder of past offenses still wanting requital. The removal of the arm suggests Grendel's position in the social system of *Beowulf* as well: the loss of the limb responsible for committing crimes is a fitting punishment under the law for individuals unwilling or unable to compensate their offenses with money, that is, those outside the law, be they slaves, foreigners, or monsters. Furthermore, the light shed on *Beowulf* by written and customary law can also illuminate “clear signs” expressed on the body in other Old English literary sources such as *Genesis A* and Ælfric's *Passio Sanctorum Machabeorum*.

C. Justin Romano (Seton Hall Univ.)

**“Through a Glass Darkly:
Beowulf's Monsters as Social Speculum”**

One of the defining elements of *Beowulf* is its representation of the conflict between good and evil. The hero's struggles against the monsters bring the eternal combat to a human level, making the intangible accessible and offering a subtle commentary on the human social condition.

Iconographically united as foes of man, Grendel, his dam, and the dragon symbolize the medieval tradition equating monstrosity with inhumanity. Viewing the three together unfolds a clear progression from the semi-human Grendel to the utterly bestial dragon which involves not only increasing physical monstrosity, but increasing anti-sociality. With this social scaffolding erected, the poem is then able to reify the medieval polarity between God and the Devil in an Earthly microcosm through its presentation of the relationship between Beowulf and the trinity of monsters.

This binary opposition drives the work violently towards its conclusion, where the death of the hero condemns an entire society to destruction. The circumstances of Beowulf's demise and the subsequent fall of the Geats force the scope of the text beyond the forever-attendant questions of Christian versus pagan interpretation and towards a deeper didactic impulse—a dark allegory which warns that the gulf between the center and the margin, between man and monster, might be narrower than it seems, and leaves the reader with much to ponder as the echoes of Beowulf's funereal march fade amid the rising drumbeats of

doom.

Session 407: "Old English Meter"

Geoffrey Russom (Brown Univ.)

"Metrical Incompetence and Stylistic Preference in Old English Poetry"

In the metrical systems of Sievers and Bliss, verse types are legitimated by frequency of occurrence alone. Frequencies in *Beowulf* have been regarded as standards to which all Old English poets should be held accountable, but this view has been questioned sharply by Ashley Crandell Amos. The word-foot theory puts all Old English poets on the same level playing field. Within this theoretical framework, assessment of metrical deviance is not based on statistical frequency in any poem. Rather, the appropriate frequencies for verse types are predicted from word frequencies in the natural language used by all Old English poets. The word-foot theory predicts, independently, that a careful poet would place low-frequency types most often in the a-verse and high-frequency types most often in the b-verse. Comparable predictions are made for variants of each type, with the complexity of the variant defined in terms of its deviation from a two-word paradigm.

In this paper I provide definitions of metrical strictness and metrical lapse that are not biased towards *Beowulf*, with specific examples drawn from all the longer poems. The poems are tested for distribution of types predicted to have a low frequency and of closely related types predicted to have a high frequency. Relative frequencies in the a-verse and b-verse provide an independent check on conclusions drawn from total frequency. In general, expert intuitions are borne out by the facts of frequency and distribution. Poems generally regarded as lacking in metrical refinement turn out to have higher frequencies of deviant verses and to allow such verses much more frequently into the second half of the line. The less refined poems indict themselves in that they show respect for principles of strict versecraft, differing from the more refined poems only in their much lower degree of strictness. As expected, *Beowulf* is identified as a metrically strict poem, but it does not model the strictest metrical practice in all particulars.

In *The Meters of Boethius*, the variant of type D consisting of a single large compound has remarkably high frequency in both a-verse and b-verse. The stricter poets employ this variant with fairly high frequency, and it appears to be stylistically neutral, neither an ideal expression of its type nor a markedly deviant one. Cynewulf and the *Beowulf*-poet, for example, use this variant with identical frequency in the a-verse and b-verse. King Alfred's fondness for large type D com-

pounds seems to have been a personal stylistic preference meriting neither praise nor censure.

Session 427: "Medieval Languages and Linguistics I: Focus on English"

Felicia Jean Steele (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"Exhortation and Discourse Marking in the Transition from Old to Middle English"

The Old English pre-modal *uton* ("let us"), found most frequently in Old English homiletic works, takes on a specialized function in Middle English poetry. Middle English debate poetry, such as "The Owl and the Nightingale," and political epic, such as Layamon's *Brut*, incorporate this hortative form that had previously been largely reserved for direct exhortations to a present or implied audience. *Uton*, in Old English, appears primarily in public rhetorical works, such as homilies and the liturgy. In Ælfric's work, it functions to mark discourse as authoritative.

Middle English poetry presents evidence for the final stage of *uton*'s grammaticalization before it disappeared. In Middle English *uton* is grammatically and functionally equivalent to its eventual replacement "let us." On one occasion the two verbs appear in coordinated clauses, presumably in free variation with one another. Because this grammatical equivalence exists as early as 1200 A.D., appearances of *uton* in Middle English poetry emphasize the speaker's authority in the given discourse and fulfill other pragmatic functions rather than contributing directly to poetic meaning.

Uton appears rarely in Old English poetry, only once in *Beowulf*. However, the text types evinced in Middle English debate poetry owe more to the Old English rhetorical genres. The Middle English poetic corpus indicates that the pragmatic constraints of text type (directive, narrative, etc.) are more important than the mode of discourse (poetry, prose) in determining vocabulary.

Session 455: "Makers of the Middle Ages: The Age of Tennyson III: Appropriations"

Julie Towell (Wayne State Univ.)

"Writing/Righting the Childhood of the English Race: Anglo-Saxonism in Victorian England"

Although chivalric and Arthurian-centered medievalism captured the imagination of Tennyson and other nineteenth-century writers more deeply than Anglo-Saxon medievalism — and has also drawn the

most attention from literary and cultural historians — Anglo-Saxon medievalism (or Anglo-Saxonism) was a concurrent phenomenon. The phenomenon of Anglo-Saxonism, which has roots preceding romantic and post-romantic medievalism, has been overlooked, for the most part, until recently.

During the nineteenth century, Anglo-Saxon (or Old English) literature was seen primarily as a resource for a variety of ends: philological, lexical, patriotic, racial, nationalistic, political, religious, etc.; but it was rarely appreciated for purely aesthetic reasons. Old English literature, however, did serve a literary function during the nineteenth century as historical interest in the period grew. By mid-century, an idealized Anglo-Saxonism can be identified in a number of biographies, histories, novels, poems, and plays. In this paper, I examine the valorizing of “Anglo-Saxonism” in a group of works written during the mid-nineteenth century, which were to influence Tennyson, directly or indirectly, especially in his writing of *Harold; a drama*, published in 1877. These works are: Francis Palgrave’s *A History of the Anglo-Saxons* (1831); Bulwer-Lytton’s *Harold, the Last of the Saxon Kings* (1848); John Mitchell Kemble’s *The Saxons in England: A History of the English Commonwealth till the Period of the Norman Conquest* (1849); and Edward A. Freeman’s *The History of the Norman Conquest in England* (1867-79). These men were generally interested in presenting positive views of their predecessors, for they saw the Anglo-Saxon period as the origin or childhood of the great English race of the nineteenth century. Consequently, Anglo-Saxonism had an active role in the creation of an English past worthy of the nineteenth-century English national identity. This enterprise envisioned a “progressive” development from the originary Anglo-Saxon “race” and society to the great English “race” and nation. As a result, an array of elements are produced and reproduced to construct and authenticate a set of beliefs and characteristics defining English history, culture, and destiny in the histories written by Palgrave, Kemble, and Freeman, and the historical novel written by Bulwer-Lytton; and they serve as elements in the construction of a historical basis for English superiority.

Session 461: “Beowulf III”

Leslie Stratyner (Mississippi Univ. for Women)

“Beyond ‘Gold-hroden’: Oral Formulaic Theory and the Women of *Beowulf*”

Like much poetry rooted in oral tradition, one of the central features of *Beowulf* is that it is agonistically toned, or concerned with praising and blaming the

various actions of the central characters.

Though a good deal of critical attention has been devoted to the way in which the poem praises and blames its male characters, and the degree to which these characters can work within the seemingly inflexible social code and still determine their own destinies, not much has been done in that regard with the females in *Beowulf*. Does oral-formulaic theory have anything to say in response to some feminist interpretations of *Beowulf*? What kind of light can a discussion of appositional relationships within the poem (which are key in understanding its agonistic nature) shed upon our understanding of the women within it?

Via a synthesis of recent feminist criticism on the poem, and oral-formulaically influenced studies which discuss the role of the *Beowulf*-poet, the “authenticating voice” of the poem, the “singers” in the poem itself (including *Beowulf*), and actual formulas utilized to describe the female characters, I examine both the degree and kind of freedom these women have to determine not only their fates, but the fates of nations as well.

Harold Zimmerman (Indiana Univ.)

“Beowulf’s Bestiary: Animals, Imagery, and Social Authority”

This paper examines the tension built between two complementary yet diverging animal depictions within *Beowulf*, the boar and the serpent. The boar/swine is found on the helmets and banners of the warriors, serving as a humanly controlled and malleable representation of protection and power and royal legitimacy. The serpent, on the other hand, is shown on swords and, to a much greater extent, as a real and direct physical threat to the characters. The serpent is displayed as directly challenging legitimacy; it is the embodiment of that from which the boar must protect the individual.

The opposition that is built between these two depictions is combined within the third major animal representation within *Beowulf*, the dragon. The dragon is a serpent, but also one step removed from serpents, a bane to royal power and rule, though it contains the symbolism of the ruler as well. Combining both the uncontrolled violence of the serpent with distinct and definite characteristics of the royal and ruling (his purpose in life is protection, after all), the dragon embodies the contradictory nature of power, its destructive force and focusing capability.

If one extends this tension between hierarchical empowerment and anarchic destruction to the plot as a whole, a new dynamic becomes apparent. A reading becomes possible whereby the battles which *Beowulf* faces throughout the poem become increasingly legiti-

mate, direct, and threatening, each dealing with more central issues of rule. If Grendel and his mother are viewed as internal threats to the social order (societal and kin violence, respectively), then the dragon incarnates a threat more legitimate and dangerous, the threat of the ruler himself. In addition, while the Breca serpents can be loosely aligned with the battle against Grendel, and the serpents at the mere of Grendel's mother are more closely tied with her threat, the dragon himself is a serpent; the threat of destruction and anarchy symbolized by the serpent becomes more immediate as the danger to the legitimization of power increases. As the legitimacy and threat to social authorization increase, so too do the imagery of serpentine destruction and the failures of protection. Thus, at the end of *Beowulf*, we are left with an image not of heroic folly or the futility of the pagan world, but of the contradictory and unresolvable nature of power and rule.

Session 470: "Engaged Learners: Using Computers in the OE Classroom"

Richard B. McDonald (Utah Valley State College)

"Opening Up Student Access to Meaning through Electronic Manuscripts"

As the sole medieval literature professor at a four-year college, I am constantly searching for ways to foster students' engagement with the many different areas of interest within my field. With the breadth of coverage that is necessary in a Junior/Senior-level medieval survey class, two areas that particularly can suffer are an appreciation for Anglo-Saxon language and a recognition of what one loses when reading translations.

Frequently, British Literature Survey students have little or no appreciation of the critical differences between a translation and an original text. By encouraging an awareness of the process required to translate a text (especially a poetic text) from one language into another, many students gain an appreciation for the value of the original text. Once they are familiar with the decisions translators make about texts, students begin to recognize the necessity of consulting the original text when discussing a translated work.

In order to cultivate an understanding for translation and the Anglo-Saxon language, I have been experimenting with web pages that provide students with the ability to translate Anglo-Saxon and explore Anglo-Saxon pronunciation. Employing hypertextual access to a variety of scholarly sources (manuscript pictures of *The Wanderer*, a straight transliteration of the text, a poetic transliteration, three different example translations, a hyperlinked grammatical glossary, and audio

files), I have been able to provide novices with the information they would need to translate short sections of the poem (10-20 lines). Additionally, I encourage students to record their rendition of the lines using a pronunciation chart I routinely distribute. I hope that by including direct experience with Anglo-Saxon texts as a short segment of the medieval survey class that students leave with a better appreciation of the beauty and power of Anglo-Saxon poetry and an understanding of the numerous decisions that are made about a text before that text emerges in translated form. Who knows, maybe someday my college will offer an undergraduate class in Anglo-Saxon Literature because of student demand.

Allen J. Frantzen (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

"Seafarer as a Model of Anglo-Saxon Studies as Cultural Studies"

Seafarer (<http://www.anglo-saxon.net>) is an interactive program designed to help undergraduates learn about Anglo-Saxon studies through hypertext. The program currently comprises nine modules that represent a cross-section of Anglo-Saxon cultural institutions and processes (processes are conceptualized horizontally as fields, institutions vertically as silos that intersect with fields), ranging from The Book to Rank and Social Relations. Although the program offers students access to a wide range of websites, its main focus is a narrative that digests essential information about the topic of the module and connects it to a wide variety of link assignments. The challenge in designing and maintaining the program is to combine sufficient depth of content with multiple layers of coverage. At some point surfing a succession of shifting images and screens has to give way to concentrated reading and writing; the latter activities are not as yet as web-friendly as the former. Thus *Seafarer* represents an intersection of the textbook with the webpage and is in its form as well as its content a problem for cultural studies.

Session 501: "Old English Prose"

M. Jane Toswell (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"Prophecy in Anglo-Saxon England"

A prophet (*witega* in Old English) engaged in the practice of prophecy (*gewitegian* or *bodian*), and then the words proclaimed or known in the prophecy were *awriten . . . on witegunbocum*, written in a book of prophecies. This paper examines the prophetic texts of Anglo-Saxon England, beginning with Bede's well-known visions or Drihthelm and Fursey, and considering their translation in the tenth-century Old English

rendition of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. The paper considers some other manifestations of a prophetic concern in late Anglo-Saxon England (the translation of the *Vision of St. Paul*; the vision of Leofric, earl of Mercia; the poetic versions of Daniel and Azarias; and the many copies of the other great prophetic book of the Old Testament, the Psalms). It concludes with the argument that interest in prophecy was more acute *after* than *at* the millennium, that the true millennial anxiety at Y1K happened after the millennium in the ensuing decades. That is, copies of Bede's visionary texts about Drihthelm and Fursey appeared in late homiletic collections beside sermons and homilies, and were symptomatic of a more focused concern with prophecy and with apocalyptic matters.

Jocelyn M. Price (Univ. of Manchester)

“*Þæt leoht lyht on ðystrum
7 þystro þæt ne genam*”:

**Shedding Light on the Harrowing of Hell Theme
in an Anonymous Old English Homily”**

This paper examines the depiction of the Harrowing of Hell which is contained in the anonymous Old English homily found within the margins of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, pp. 295-301 (Ker 32, art. 13). This representation of the apocryphal *descensus* story is compared with those of two other anonymous Old English homilies — Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 162, pp. 382-91 (Ker 38, art. 32), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius MS 121, fols. 148v-54v (Ker 338, art. 33) — with an emphasis on the treatment of source materials, noting the distinctive features found within the Old English depiction of this theme where this differs from sources or analogues. The paper also assesses the evidence for the date of composition of the Corpus Christi 41 homily through examination of its manuscript context, orthography, and choice of imagery, in order to evaluate the place of the homily in the dissemination of this popular apocryphal theme through Old English literature.

Britt Mize (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

“**Translation and Narrative Technique
in the Old English *Boethius*: Two Irregularities”**

I have completed a study of two peculiar features of narrative technique (broadly defined) in the Alfredian rendering of Boethius' *De Consolatione*: the handling of the narrative voice (Boethius' voice in the original), and the handling of Boethius' personification allegory of Lady Philosophy. The translator's approaches to these two features of the text do not remain consistent for the duration of the narrative; both undergo some

interesting (and apparently related) changes as the text progresses, and the whole situation seems to invite certain questions concerning the circumstances of the work's production.

I first describe these features of the narrative or representational technique, the changes they undergo, and their relationship to each other. I conclude by arguing that the kinds of radical changes in technique (and implicitly, in conception) that are observable — and their distribution in the text — are rather difficult to account for. I suggest that the phenomena I describe are most easily explicable by positing a translation project in which more than one person had a hand, or at least a translation project that was subject to significant interruptions and periods of inactivity.

This kind of argument can invite further work by myself and others, but it is, of course, inconclusive in itself, and I do not attempt to build firm conclusions on that evidence alone. The primary purpose of the paper is to describe the irregularities themselves in a systematic fashion — to pose the problem, that is.

Session 505: “Old English Poetry II”

Alison Powell (Univ. of Cambridge)

“**Perception and Response:
A Theme in Old English Poetry”**

This paper seeks to demonstrate the existence in Old English verse of a theme depicting the effect of perception on the mental state of the perceiver. This theme appears in *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, *Elene*, *Judith*, *Juliana*, *Guthlac B*, *Exodus*, *Christ and Satan* and the verse psalms of the Paris Psalter, and is characterized by the presence of four elements: (1) a main clause expressing emotion; (2) the conjunction *siddan*; (3) a subordinate clause expressing perception (with the same subject as the “emotion” clause); and (4) the object of perception.

The primary concerns of this paper are the frequency with which the theme appears, the high degree of similarity between the examples, and the stylistic effects achieved by poets using the pattern. Similarities of both syntax and diction relate not only to the four basic elements, but also to several other shared features, which illustrate even more strongly the consistency with which this theme is used.

The account of the actual event is subordinated to the perception of that event, but, in most cases, the perception also syntactically precedes the emotion that it inspires (“they despaired when they saw the army approach” rather than “they saw the army approach, and despaired”). Such subordination (when the main clause is in initial position) allows poets to delay the audience's resolution of the lines, often creating

suspense: we experience the discovery with the characters. Some poets, meanwhile, prolong the delay by inserting inessential elements, such as adverbial phrases, before the object of perception. Frequent syntactic and lexical parallelisms, moreover, suggest that the pattern was recognized as such by poets: if the construction was perceived as conventional, varying the pattern would have enabled poets to achieve particular emphases and effects by playing on their audience's expectations.

Susan Crane (SUNY, Stony Brook)

"Fruit for Thought: An Examination of Words that Designate Fruit in *Genesis B*"

Since confirmation of Eduard Sievers' 1875 hypothesis that the Old English *Genesis B* has roots in an Old Saxon source, many scholars have written about the significance of this text. Although the entire text of the Old English *Genesis* is written in the same hand, *Genesis B* stands out because it greatly expands the narrative of the scene of temptation and the consumption of the fruit. Last year's discussion on ANSAX-NET about the words employed by the *Genesis B* poet fuels my study. I focus my exploration of the general expansion of language by tracing the usage of the three words that the poet uses to designate the fruit: *wæstm*, *æppel*, and *ofet*. I argue that these words punctuate the narrative at highly significant moments and form a framework within which to consider the story. For example, the Tempter is the only character to use the figurative meaning of *wæstm* (form, appearance): when he first tries to tempt Adam and just after he has succeeded in getting Eve to eat the fruit. The figurative meaning overlays the literal one and cleverly shifts the climax of the story away from the word that most appears to be the climax, *æppel*, which occurs only once in *Genesis B*. The subtlety of this use of the two meanings of *wæstm* reinforces the message of the story: beware of appearances; they may not represent underlying reality. Where appropriate, I am careful to refer to the usage of these words elsewhere in the Old English corpus. The meanings of other words for fruit (for example, the Latin word *fructus*, as used in the Vulgate) that appear in other versions of the Bible are also examined in context.

Patrick Murray-John (Univ. of WI, Madison)

"The Fall and Materiality in the Old English *Genesis B*"

The milieu of problems surrounding the epistemological value of dreams make Eve's vision in *Genesis B* particularly important for understanding the

spiritual state which led to the Fall. In particular, the allusions throughout the poem to matter and materiality guide us toward their role in Eve's vision itself. Thus, focusing on the use of materiality with particular reference to Eve's vision, I pursue the question of the role of materiality in the Fall.

Drawing from the work of Gillian Overing and Eric Jager, I begin by discussing the role of matter as a necessary element for understanding the spiritual state of Satan, Adam, and Eve as it functions in their language. After establishing the presence of matter as an index of spiritual condition embedded within language, I engage the corollary question of matter's role as an epistemological parameter in the theory of dreams informing Eve's vision. Ultimately, the nexus of matter, language, and vision serve as a guide to the theology of the Fall expressed in the poem.

Using this guide, I conclude with a discussion of Adam's and Eve's culpability in the Fall. Specifically, the association of matter with Eve's vision, Lucifer's fall, and language itself shows that within material creation there always existed a trace of damnation. Hence, the Fall was inevitable from the start: inextricably linked to matter, we are also inextricably linked to the corruption and sin attendant upon it.

Session 512: Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons VII: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp

Elizabeth O'Brien (Independent Scholar)

"Literary Insights into the Basis of Some Burial Practices in Ireland and Anglo-Saxon England in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries"

References to death, burial, and associated phenomena which appear in Irish and English hagiography, penitentials, and canons in the seventh and eighth centuries can provide an invaluable insight into practices which prevailed during this crucial period. Topics include the reluctance of Christians to abandon the use of ancestral cemeteries; anomalous and/or mutilated burials; pagan practices associated with burial; recognition of pre-historic burial places; ritual attached to Christian burial. The literary references are compared to archaeological examples, and these are illustrated where possible.

Session 529: "Ælfric's Homilies"

Katherine Emblom (Indiana Univ.)

“Forbugað unrihtwisnesse’:
Sin and Sexuality in the Transmission
of Ælfric’s *De Initio Creaturae*”

De Initio Creaturae, the first sermon in Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*, is one of Ælfric’s most-copied works, appearing in over eleven manuscripts dating from the late tenth century to the beginning of the thirteenth. By recounting God’s grace through the history of humanity’s disobedience and redemption, the sermon urges its listeners to live godly lives. Not surprisingly, sins of sexuality, a by-product of Adam’s disobedience, occupy a prominent place in the narrative. What is surprising, however, is that the early manuscripts offer a vision of the nature of prelapsarian sex and reproduction, while the later manuscripts delete these references. As a result, the manuscript tradition of *De Initio Creaturae* helps to chronicle changes in cultural attitudes toward sin and sexuality.

Clare Lees’ recent work on Anglo-Saxon sexuality helps establish the cultural context of Ælfric’s comments about the sinfulness inherent in sexual reproduction. A comparative analysis of tenth-, twelfth-, and thirteenth-century versions of *De Initio Creaturae*, in conjunction with Sherry Reames’ exploration of the cultural significance of manuscript variants as an indication of *mouvance*, or meaningful textual instability, yields insights into sin and sexuality. The manuscript tradition of *De Initio Creaturae* suggests a shift in the audience and use as the debate on celibacy and chastity moved from monastic to lay religious practices.

Charles H. Golden (Univ. of Toronto)

“Contextualizing Ælfric’s
Sermo De Populo Israel”

Two approaches are prominent in studies of the late Anglo-Saxon homilist Ælfric. First is the reading of Ælfric’s writings by way of source criticism, which yields the portrait of a writer largely derivative in thought, though innovative in style. The other approach, displayed in the writings of Pope, Gatch, and Clayton, examines themes recurring throughout the monk’s work, mindful of how these themes fit into a generally understood cultural context.

Ælfric’s milieu was one in turmoil over the proper role and strength of the English church. In the wake of King Edgar’s generous sponsorship of reformed monasticism, displaced landholders, lay-tenants, and secular canons routinely voiced and acted upon their grievances against the monks. This paper argues that Ælfric’s *Sermo De Populo Israel* is a well-planned monastic reply to this specific problem, not simply a

generally relevant topical lesson against a certain type of sin. *De Populo Israel* recounts the tale of God’s wrath against rebellious Israelites following their exodus from Egypt, doing so in a manner that illuminates clear parallels to Israelite grumbling in the murmuring of the discontented Englishmen.

We might wish for more external evidence than we have of the social context surrounding Ælfric’s homily: what survives is very partial indeed. But the best record of a specific context of dissent perhaps prompting the writing of *De Populo Israel* comes in a letter between 983 and 1009, in which the sitting pope rebukes an ealdorman for seizing monastic properties. The evidence of this letter warrants contemporary readers’ response — speculations that are grounded in the internal evidence of the homily’s rhetorical pragmatics.

Session 537: “Old English Poetry III”

Erin Mullally (Univ. of Oregon)

“Repossessing Power:
Gender in Old English Hagiography”

This paper explores the intersections between gender, genre, and didacticism in the Old English *Elene* and *Judith*, two poetic female saints’ lives. *Judith* relates the Old Testament tale of Judith’s beheading of her people’s enemy, Holofernes, while *Elene* tells of the discovery of the true cross by Elene, Emperor Constantine’s mother. I consider how these texts relate to other representations of exemplary women, such as *Wealhtheow* in *Beowulf*, *Æthelthryth* in both Bede and Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*, and the virgin Victoria in Aldhelm’s *De Virginitate*. In Old English “secular” literature, men are often represented as warriors and sometimes heroes — Germanic heroism emphasizes aggression, action, and physical prowess. In Christian literature, male figures, since they extol Christian heroism, are either soldiers of Christ (*miles Christi*) or they value the monastic virtues of contemplation, mediation, physical passivity and peace. Women in Old English “secular” literature are presented as essentially passive mediators, or peace-weavers, extolling contemplation and peace. In *Elene* and *Judith*, by contrast, we see characterizations of the Germanic warrior figure, the *miles Christi*, and the ideal of feminine behavior. Both *Elene* and *Judith* are anomalies among other Christian female saints’ lives in that they embody both Christian and Germanic notions of heroism. My paper examines how these female heroes complicate both Christian and Germanic notions of heroism and the didactic significance of such exemplary figures.

Carrie Lindley (Univ. of Virginia)

**“Wundenlocc’ and ‘Hupseax’:
Gender Expression and Transgression
in the Old English *Judith*”**

The Old English *Judith* depicts its heroine in terms arguably suited more to an Anglo-Saxon warrior than to an Anglo-Saxon woman. In so doing, the poem worries our understanding of male and female roles in Anglo-Saxon England. If Judith, through her decapitation of Holofernes and her victory in battle, threatens or transgresses the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon gender, then why is her success so seemingly celebrated? While some Anglo-Saxons (such as Aldhelm) expressed an ambivalence toward the Judith figure, most seem to have enjoyed and endorsed the poem and its heroine. This begs the question of how such transgressive behavior could be tolerated. We find the answer in the multivalenced language of the poem itself. By looking at the language of *Judith* in relation to the language of the Anglo-Saxon *Riddles*, the double entendre of the decapitation and battle scenes becomes clear. As a result, Judith emerges not as a unique transgressor of gender, as a female become functional male, but instead as a powerful, sexualized woman. Indeed, the Anglo-Saxon Judith expresses rather than simply transgresses her gender.

In this paper I analyze the uses of *wundenlocc*, *hupseax*, and other potential metonyms for genitalia which appear throughout *Judith* and the *Riddles*. Through this analysis, I argue that *Judith* participates in the type of verbal economy seen in the “sexual double-ness” of *Riddle 25*. At key moments, the poem describes Judith, and later her male troops, as *wundenlocc* (having curly hair) — a highly connotative, sexually-loaded term. It emerges that Judith is most (sexually) female at the precise moment when she is most (militarily/politically) male. When this coincidence of genders is understood as the product of sexual double entendre, Judith’s expression of gender(s) emphasizes the power of the female and undermines the power of the male. She does not transgress her biological and social gender role so much as she fulfills it by being identified as undeniably female (*wundenlocc*) just as she cuts off Holofernes’ head. Finally, although this empowers Judith (and her troops) as a female figure, it restricts her power to the world of riddle and game; the threat of the powerful female remains, but it is necessarily diffused.

Bridgette Weir (Univ. of Louisiana, Lafayette)

**“Reconsidering the Chronology
of the *Waldere* Fragments”**

While scholars recognize the possibility that the first fragment of the *Waldere* manuscript may, in fact, belong after the second fragment, I maintain that the fragments are in the most likely order and present us with the story of a warrior handicapping himself in battle to give his opponents a fighting chance against him. The action in Fragment I probably occurs before the first encounter between *Waldere* and *Guthhere*’s men or between this encounter and *Waldere*’s encounter with *Guthhere* himself. These two chronologies are equally possible since Fragment I contains *Hildegyth*’s exhortation to *Waldere* before what appears to be an impending battle against *Guthhere*, who has not accepted the already-proffered peace offering. What is missing between the two fragments is *Waldere*’s encounter with *Guthhere*’s men. The action in the second fragment, then, would occur immediately before the fight between *Guthhere* and *Waldere*. If we try assuming that it is *Waldere* who refers to at least one “better” sword that he is holding back, it may well follow that he still has not used his better sword, *Mimming*. In that case, *Waldere* has, in effect, handicapped himself during his fight with *Guthhere*’s men and *Guthhere* himself to even the odds between them. Moreover, *Waldere*’s remarks suggest that *Hagena* has not yet advanced against him and that the conflict between *Waldere* and *Guthhere* has not yet occurred. This conflict and the one between *Waldere* and *Hagena*, may have followed the two fragments in the original.

Session 546: “Constructions of Wood, Stone, and Ink: The Material and Intellectual Culture of the Anglo-Saxons VIII: Papers in Honor of Rosemary Cramp”

Jane Hawkes (Univ. College, Cork)

**“Constructing Salvation:
The Figural Iconography of the Iona Crosses”**

Historical sources suggest that contacts between the ecclesiastical center on Iona and foundations in Anglo-Saxon England, initiated in the early seventh century, continued after 664 A.D. This was a time which saw stone being used in an increasingly visible manner in the construction of ecclesiastical buildings and monuments in England, and from the middle of the eighth century a number of large and impressive stone crosses were erected in and around Iona: the crosses of St. Martin, St. Oran and St. John, on Iona, and the Kildalton cross on Islay. Like some of the contemporary Anglo-Saxon monuments, these display an impressive amount of figural decoration. Yet, unlike the Anglo-Saxon crosses, this has received little attention in academic circles.

The non-figural motifs of the Iona group of crosses, and their relationship to sculpture and manuscript decoration elsewhere in the Insular world, have, admittedly, long been the subject of academic enquiry. Such studies have demonstrated, at the very least, the pivotal situation of the Iona monuments in the Insular world. But, apart from discussion of the figural carving in terms of its "style" — reinforcing the cultural links suggested by the non-figural motifs — only Henderson's 1986 study of Insular images of David, and a more recent study on the Virgin and Child schemes in Insular sculpture, have broached the question of the figural iconography of the Iona crosses. Nevertheless, these images (and the non-figural ornament) co-exist as part of larger iconographic programs, and their significance should be examined within this context.

On the cross of St. Martin, for instance, the David scenes are found in conjunction with other Old Testament scenes; the Virgin and Child scheme functions as the apogee to this collection. This paper suggests that, viewed together, the images present a series of references linked in a number of ways in biblical and exegetical passages. The Letter to the Hebrews (11-12), for instance, cites a number of Old Testament figures (including those featured on the Iona crosses) as noteworthy because they bore witness to the future Messiah and his Salvation. The passage is particularly apposite as it culminates with an articulation and celebration of the nature of Christ Incarnate and his Salvation. Read in this way, together with the non-figural motifs carved on the monument (which can be understood as symbols of the Resurrection and the universality of Christ's Salvation), the decoration of the cross offers an extended iconographic program that, in the manner of iconographic programs featured on Anglo-Saxon crosses, expresses the complexities of Christ's nature, his church and its sacraments, and their relevance to the Christian community on earth.

Éamonn O'Carragáin (Univ. College, Cork)

"Who Then Read the Ruthwell Cross in the Eighth Century?"

The Ruthwell Cross has been much admired, but its inscriptions have had a bad press. In particular, the vernacular poem (most of which is in columns of runes set out in *scriptura continua*) has been seen by several scholars as absurdly difficult to read. It has been argued that its layout shows that the poem was an afterthought for the lower stone of the cross. This paper examines the question of the possible audience(s) for the monument, and in particular its inscriptions, in the eighth century:

(1) *Scriptura continua*: word division was a new development of the sixth through eighth centuries, an

innovation by Irish scribes. In the period, *scriptura continua* (with little or no word division) was still a prestige script. The necessity to work out orally (by rumination of the words) what an inscription said, before being able to read it with confidence aloud, was a normal preliminary to the act of recital, particularly suitable for poetry.

(2) The incipits of each half of the Ruthwell runic poem run from left to right and are easy to read. But monastic culture was a culture based on incipits (e.g., *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo*). This culture depended on memory (no written music). The Ruthwell Cross presented no difficulties for a community of liturgical practitioners.

(3) The layout of the Ruthwell inscriptions corresponds to that of a series of byzantine crosses and cross reliquaries, and to major relics such as the Cross of Justin II and the Icon of S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome.

(4) To combine different languages and different scripts was characteristic of Roman churches (e.g., S. Maria Antiqua) and of prestigious manuscripts such as sacramentaries. Bede, at the beginning of his *Historia ecclesiastica*, praises the mixture of vernaculars and Latin in Britain.

Seen in its historical context (that of an ecclesiastical settlement or *monasteriolum*), it is very likely that in the eighth century the Ruthwell Cross was read and understood.

Carol Neuman de Vegyar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"The Doors of His Face: Early Hellmouth Iconography in Ireland"

The image of hellmouth, jaws agape, swallowing demons and sinners alike with appalling gourmandise, is one of the deliberately terrifying images developed in the art of the medieval church as an admonishment to the living concerning their potential fate after death. Current art historical understanding places the evolution of hellmouth iconography in later Anglo-Saxon England, predominantly in the context of manuscript illumination. This image, it has been suggested, then influenced the lionhead doorpull, a type common in classical art and commonly considered to have been revived in the Carolingian period with the doors of the Capella Palatina at Aachen, to produce a series of Romanesque doorpulls with a human head in the jaws of the lion.

Two pre-Carolingian western medieval lionhead handles have been found in Ireland. One is part of an assemblage of eighth-century door fittings from Donore (Moynalty, Co. Meath; now Dublin, National Museum of Ireland). The other, an eighth- or ninth-century example from Navan (Co. Meath; now National Mu-

seum of Ireland), was found with an assemblage of horse trappings excavated in dark soil along with human and animal bones, and has been published consistently as a harness mount. However, the identification of the assemblage by James Graham-Campbell in 1976 as a Scandinavian burial, potentially containing a mixture of metalwork looted by Viking raiders, and the resemblance of the handle to the Donore doorpull, has led to the re-identification of the Navan handle as a doorpull or shrine handle, possibly from a coffin-reliquary. The Donore lion bares its teeth at the viewer gripping the handle, but the Navan mount shows the additional feature of a bearded human head in the open jaws of the lion. These two handles demonstrate that lionhead handles were produced in Ireland before the date of the Carolingian doorpulls at Aachen, and the human face on the Navan handle suggests strongly an early development of the hellmouth doorpull type in Ireland as well.

The present paper proposes to explore potential iconographic sources for the Irish hellmouth handle from Navan. 2 Timothy 4:17 refers to delivery "from the mouth of the lion" but in the present world, not in an explicitly eschatological context. The Latin recensions of the *Visio Sancti Pauli* mention the swallowing of evil princes and their ministers by a dragon in Hell; one of these recensions extends the swallowing to generic sinners, but it is uncertain that this particular recension was known and widely circulated in Ireland. However, a certainly well-known text was Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job*, with its multiple references to the devouring of sinners by Leviathan and Behemoth; here as elsewhere Gregory himself may have been influenced by the *Visio Sancti Pauli*. In Gregory's text, Leviathan can take on the identity of several different animals, including a lion. The *Moralia* were in Ireland already by the seventh century, where they were published in abbreviated form as the *Eclogues* of Laidcen of Clonfert-Molua; the *Eclogues* demonstrate a decided taste for the more visually vivid allegorical passages in Gregory. In the period of the Navan handle, Gregorian eschatology (as also found in the Dialogues) was influential in the increasing popularity throughout western Europe of the Mass for the Dead, in which the offertory calls for the delivery of the deceased *ex ore leonis*. It is my contention that a critical mass of textual iconographic source material was available in Ireland by the eighth-ninth centuries to permit the evolution of hellmouth imagery on doorpulls and shrine handles without the precedent of the later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

V. The International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 10-13, 2000:

Session 101: "The Things of This World: Anglo-Saxon Art, Archaeology and Text"

Robert DiNapoli (Univ. of Birmingham)

**"(Un)Common Objects
in the Old English Riddles"**

The Exeter Book riddles challenge their readers on more than one level, constructing enigmas of identity often deeper than just the obvious question of their solutions. In this regard they seem to function much differently than the Latin riddles that may have inspired them. Where the Latin riddles probe the resources of language, displaying their author's ability to compose elaborate figures of speech around an already identified solution, the Old English riddles seem much more focused on questions of cognition and perception. The Anglo-Saxon riddler is not just demonstrating ways of naming things; he is also revealing how the poetic resources of his language afford him privileged glimpses into the hidden and marvelous depths of even the most prosaic objects.

Certain clusters of riddles, particularly those dealing with the implementa of the scriptorium (quill, inkhorn, bookworm, book, etc.), those that address the production of voice (the songbirds, speech), and those that hover in between (chalice, runestaff), fall into a consistent pattern in which their authors appear to value the oral above the written and allow the poet's vision an authority in its own right that equals and even preempts the authority medieval monastic culture sought more commonly in scripture and patristics. From this vantage a majority of the Old English riddles can be seen as the playful exercise of a visionary faculty latent in the practice of poetry itself. The special ground they stake for themselves may underlie the practice of Anglo-Saxon poets in other genres: in the Anglo-Saxon literary imagination, the poem itself may prove to be the most uncommon object of all.

Patricia Reid (Univ. College, London)

**"Feet First: An Archaeological Investigation
Using the Footwear of Northern Europe"**

Urban "rescue" excavation over the last three decades in Northern Europe has produced unprecedentedly large quantities of tenth/eleventh-century footwear. Although such finds have in some cases been published in site-specific accounts, little formal attempt has been made to use this abundant resource to explore wider research questions. This paper gives an account of progress to date on a research project designed to explore the processes of cultural reproduction and transformation in Mid-Medieval Northern Europe,

focusing on changing cultural constructions of corporeality through a comparative study of footwear. A rigorous methodology for recording stylistic variability in archaeological footwear using largely fragmentary remains is outlined, with assumptions clearly stated. Variability within London and nearby centers such as Winchester and Bruges is then discussed, with some reference to work under way using the footwear from York, Durham, and Dublin. Further discussion draws in images from representational sources, such as manuscripts and statuary, and literary sources such as poetry and homilies. In this way, some of the complexities and contradictions underlying taken-for-granted "culture domain" terms such as *Anglo-Saxon*, *Viking*, *Norman*, and *Celtic* are highlighted. The paper concludes with a brief outline of the next stage of the project which will draw in footwear from areas labelled as *Slav*, *Frankish*, and *German*.

Session 201: "'Behionan Humbre' and from over the Water: The Study of Old English"

Christina Lee (Univ. of Manchester)

"The *Cwic* and the Dead"

"Remember me when I am far away..." could have been the heartfelt plea of many in the Middle Ages. In times where life was short and death was the only constant, the relations between the living and the dead had a special dimension.

In a society where interactions between people seem to be based on obligation and exchange of gifts, the idea that the living owed the dead the service of remembrance was commonplace. Continental scholars have demonstrated that the dead were very much alive to the medieval mind. Status and possessions inherited from the deceased were exchanged for an "eternal presence."

Much has been said about pagan Anglo-Saxon burial rites, which certainly give us an idea of how the living regarded their dead during this period. In order to portray a picture of life and death here I intend to include evidence from material culture, before I look at attitudes towards death and the dead in literature. I want to examine whether the ideas about death correspond to those in Continental sources, and if there were certain rituals connected with remembering the dead.

Oliver Traxel (Univ. of Cambridge)

"Cambridge, University Library, MS li.1.33: A Case Study"

This paper is based upon my doctoral work on Cambridge, University Library, MS li. 1. 33, a twelfth-

century manuscript of Ælfrician homilies and saints' lives. In my dissertation the number of scribes is reassessed both on paleographic and linguistic grounds. Further evidence found in near-contemporary additions and alterations is discussed. Later medieval additions show that this manuscript was used again after a period of neglect. The complicated question of origin is also discussed. The entire paper is intended to serve as an introduction to a hitherto largely neglected codex.

Session 301: "'Groping in the Dark Ages': The Search for the Anglo-Saxon Body"

Claire Healey (Univ. of York)

"'Strange Creatures': Masculinity in the Exeter Book Riddles"

Through a detailed examination of the depiction of the male body in the Exeter Book *Riddles*, I hope to indicate the extent to which the male body is elided from the texts, the relevance of this absence, and the possible historical context for it. The Exeter Book *Riddles* are perhaps one of the most marginalized bodies of texts within the Old English Corpus — they have been long derided as little more than children's games, folkloric remnants, or bawdy pub-games. This is even more true of the so-called "obscene" riddles, numbering 8-11 separate riddles (depending on interpretation) which have all too infrequently been examined for their ideological and political content. The study of masculinity in Old English literature is equally little pursued: there have been several recent publications, but the riddles remain as yet little more than an aside to the critical debate. However, given the "strangeness" of the obscene riddles, and of the male forms which they depict, further inquiry into their treatment of masculinity is absolutely paramount to an understanding of both Anglo-Saxon attitudes to the male body and the diversity of Old English literature. This paper considers attitudes towards the body in such riddles as *Soul and Body* and asks what the overall use of a riddling motif can suggest about attitudes towards how reality can be depicted through literature. It then discusses the obscene riddles, asking why they are called "obscene" in the first place, and what this can tell us both about the Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Saxonists. In combination with the evidence from the riddles as a whole, it moves on to the question of how the male body is depicted in the riddles, with their emphasis on *wunder*, humour, disgust, age, virility, derision, and interaction with the female. What can this then tell us about the attitudes towards masculinity? These riddles are "strange creatures" indeed if produced by monks: what can this depiction of the male body tell us about the Benedictine Reform?

Victoria Thompson (Univ. of York)

**"Execution to Mutilation:
The Changing Face of Punishment
in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries"**

This paper develops recent work, particularly that of Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andrew Reynolds, on the significance of the changes in judicial punishment in the late Anglo-Saxon period by looking more closely at the theology of mutilation. It looks in particular at the attitudes to the death penalty expressed by the senior churchmen Ælfric and Wulfstan, and the role that ecclesiastics had to play in the administration of the death penalty. It goes on to draw analogies between the theology of criminal mutilation and the understanding of death, the punishment resulting from Original Sin, as the mutilation of the whole human being by the amputation of soul from body. It concludes by looking at the ways in which corpses were treated, and how a dead body could continue to be read as a manifesto of vice or virtue.

Session 319: "Old English and Early Irish Time-Travel"

John Grosskopf (Florida State Univ.)

"Notions of Time in the Anglo-Saxon Elegies"

This paper examines two of the Anglo-Saxon Elegies, *The Seafarer* and *The Wanderer*, as possible strategies for coping with the passage of time. By framing the notion of time in Augustinian terms, reflected in the ideas of St. Gregory, this paper examines how the Seafarer and the Wanderer deal with the human condition of being grounded in time. The Wanderer is lost within the currents of time, caught in a repetitive cycle of loss. Rooted in the heroic tradition, this solitary warrior is unable to leave behind the concerns of this world. The Seafarer is a spiritual success story who, following in the tradition of sea-going ascetics, exists in a condition where time can be ignored for contemplation of the eternal.

Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre (Univ. of Murcia)

**"Discourse and Ideology in *The Wanderer*:
Time and Eternity"**

The classical interpretation of *The Wanderer* as a Christian didactic poem has been challenged by recent proposals which define it as a kind of palimpsest where different layers of meaning are combined. While some sections — particularly the closing one — exploit the contrast between the fleeting human world (time) and

the permanent heaven (eternity) and can only be interpreted in the light of the Christian eschatological tradition, the core of the poem constitutes a secular lament on mutability as it affects the retainers of heroic society, their activities and way of life. I believe that the clash between both perspectives is reflected in the surface structure of the text and intend to explore these dissonances in my paper, particularly in connection with certain devices (narrative construction and the organization of tenses, among others) which refer the audience to distinctive discursive instances and conflicting value systems: the dominant Christian belief in eternity, on the one hand, and the heroic residual reliance on the eternal return of magnificent past realities, on the other.

Petra S. Hellmuth (Univ. College, Cork)

**"Ancient Concepts of Time-Travel:
The Theme of Time and Eternity
in Early Irish Literature"**

There is much evidence that the Celts believed in a life after death. However, the Otherworld of the insular Celts is not necessarily the place where people go after death. Indeed, while Irish literary tradition often locates the realm of the Dead on a small island off the west coast of Ireland, the Otherworld is depicted as an Elysian land in which the ancient gods live in eternal bliss. This land is known by a number of different names such as *Tir inna mBeo* "Land of the Living," *Tir inna mBan* "Land of the Women," or *Mag Dá Cheo* "Plain of Two Mists." The best-known genre of early Irish literature dealing with the Otherworld is that of the *Echtraí*. These tales, describing the hero's journey to this Otherworld, not only abound in descriptions of this wondrous place and its beautiful inhabitants, but they also indicate that time passes differently for people who are there. My paper explores the literary evidence for this particular motif in early Irish literature by examining the perceptions of time and eternity illustrated in them. I focus in particular on the tale *Echtra Nera*, in which the difference in the passing of time between the two worlds constitutes the central theme.

Session 501: "Religious Beliefs in a Time of Transition: Heathen and Christian Elements in Old English Texts"

Alexandra Velten (Univ. of Wales, Swansea)

**"Pre-Christian Elements in
Old English Poetry and Prose"**

Many people assume that Christianization completely replaced pagan religions in Anglo-Saxon

culture. However, not all symbols, gods, and references of pre-Christian life were eradicated, and we can still find traces of paganism to varying degrees in Old English poetry and prose. Christianization as a long-term process did not only try to replace concepts of pagan religions but also adapted certain elements for its own purposes. In this paper we examine what the pagan elements in Old English literature are, where they came from, and why they still remained in Christian poetry and prose. We look, for example, at what Christianity made of the use of magic in pagan Britain by examining Old English charms. A wide range of literature has been taken into account, including such well-known examples as *Beowulf* and *The Wanderer*, but also the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Nine Herbs Charm. To make the picture complete, we also go beyond mere literature and take into account some aspects of daily life in Anglo-Saxon culture and their connection with pagan religions.

Session 520: “Time and Eternity in First Millennium England”

Michael D. C. Drout (Wheaton College)

“Staðolfæst to Ece’: Engines of Eternity in the Benedictine Reform”

In this paper I examine how ideals of *staðolfæstnesse* or *stabilitas* were interpreted and enforced during the tenth-century Benedictine Reform. *Stabilitas* had always been an important value of Benedictine monasticism, but in the tenth century Æthelwold, Dunstan, Oswald, and their followers linked such “stability” to the very idea of reform, contrasting monks who were “stable” with the “lascivious” married clerks that they expelled from various foundations. The Benedictine Reformers used the ideal of *stabilitas*, and the methods of textual mediation and reproduction of behavior across generational boundaries, to attempt to lay the foundations for earthly institutions that would not only be *staðolfæst*, but would have the potential for being *ece*, eternal and unchanging. By the time of the *Regularis Concordia*, these institutions and the monastic stability they required and celebrated were characterized as masculine. Valuing *stabilitas* and masculine same-sex reproduction of identities simultaneously combats the variability inherent in sexual reproduction while at the same time leaving the monastery dependent upon the vicissitudes of the extra-monastic production of children. This masculinization of traditional reproduction, with its roots in textualized and standardized regulations of behavior, is the productive contradiction at the heart of tenth-century monastic culture, and is particularly clear in the sections of the *Regularis Concordia* and Æthelwold’s translation of the Benedic-

tine *Rule* that deal with oblation, children, and sexuality. The reformers’ struggle for the persistence (until eternity) of earthly institutions was a powerful force shaping tenth-century Anglo-Saxon culture.

Session 601: “History and Hagiography”

Mary Clayton (Univ. College, Dublin)

“Ælfric and Æthelræd”

Ælfric’s entire working life was spent under King Æthelræd and his views on kingship cannot but have been affected by the events of Æthelræd’s reign. There has, however, to date been no study of Ælfric’s attitudes towards his king and of how his views on kingship developed and changed throughout Æthelræd’s long reign. This paper is a first step in a study of Ælfric’s attitudes towards Æthelræd, drawing on his explicit discussions of kingship and war, his depictions of kings and emperors within his work, his references to former kings of England and his discussions of the importance of counsel and counselors for the proper government of the country.

Susanne Kries (Univ. Potsdam)

“Counting and Recounting History: The Poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*”

The paper seeks to explore the intricate relationship between the presentation of history and the writing of poetry manifest in the poems of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. These display the thematic and formal characteristics of Old English poetry, while at the same time presenting the narrated events with a precision (dates, places, names) as befitting the genre of chronicle writing, even including references to the *computus* and the authority of written sources. The paper’s main emphasis is on the interpretation of the lesser-known poems (“The Capture of the Five Boroughs” [942], “The Coronation of Edgar” [973], “The Death of Edgar” [975], “The Death of Alfred” [1036]), some of which have been criticized for their poor poetic quality, rather than contextualized within the field of historical writing.

Session 624: “Landscape of Late Saxon Wessex I”

Ryan Lavelle (King Alfred’s College, Winchester)

“Kingship in the West Saxon Landscape: ‘The Farm of One Night’”

By the tenth century, and certainly by the time of the Domesday survey, manors providing the “farm of

one night" seem to have been royal demesne in the former West Saxon shires, but signs remained that they had developed from an earlier, wider supply system of food and entertainment for an itinerant royal court.

The layout of these manors may have indicated some evolution from West Saxon royal administration to Anglo-Saxon royal demesne and regional administration. There was a close relationship between the organization of the hundreds and the primary manorial units of the farms of one night, which could suggest that royal authority presided over local administration for some time. In some cases, attached boroughs could also have been a means of turning render in kind into cash if necessary.

The issues here addressed are what the renders of the night's farm can show regarding the provision of the king and royal court in Wessex. Contrasts between eastern and western Wessex are examined through comparisons between the two West Saxon shires of Hampshire and Dorset. As Pauline Stafford suggested in *Economic History Review* 33 (1980), the night's farm manors appear to have continued to function in Dorset to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period due to reorganization up to a date as late as the eve of the Norman Conquest. This paper considers the chronology of some night's farm provision prior to the eleventh century.

Session 701: "Sexual Politics and the Representation of Women"

Berit Åström (Umeå Univ.)

"The Wages of Sex: Repression of Female Sexuality in Old English Texts"

This paper advances the view that many Anglo-Saxonists work under the assumption that love and sexual desire were not literary topics used by Anglo-Saxon writers. When such topics do occur, the scholars employ a variety of strategies in order to erase or circumvent those topics, the most striking of which is the reading into the texts of sexualized violence against women. In this paper I look at some scholarly analyses of a number of texts — some of the riddles of the Exeter Book, *Genesis A*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, *The Wife's Lament* and *Cynwulf and Cyneheard* — and the strategies the scholars use to deal with the topics of love and sexual desire.

Session 801: "Beowulf"

Ágnes Kiricsi (Eötvös Loránd Univ., Budapest)

"Time Patterns in *Beowulf*: The Relationship between the Minor Digressions and the Composition of the Poem"

The events of *Beowulf* follow abrupt shifts in time, with references to the past and future crisscrossing the story-line. When scrutinizing these allusions, we primarily tend to think of the much-studied long and spectacular digressions such as the Sigemund, Finn, Offa, Hygelac, or Battle of Ravenswood episodes, which occupy numerous lines and can be regarded as separate stories within the main narrative.

By taking a closer look at the poem, we notice that the conspicuous shifts are outnumbered by other, less lengthy digressions alternating with each other within only a few half-lines. Yet, they have considerable significance in unraveling the plot as these minor shifts accompany and focus the hero's adventures throughout the poem and contribute to the complexity of the "grassroot-level" structure of the work.

The shifts in time can be classified as follows:

(1) '*Heroic past*' — allusions to people, places, episodes that help us understand and evaluate *Beowulf*'s actions or the characters of the story. These, however, are outside the actual story-line, and are references to the days of yore even for *Beowulf* himself.

(2) *Past in the sequence of events within the frame of the story* — are allusions to events recorded in the lines preceding. In this case the starting point and the referent can both be found in the poem.

(3) '*Prophetic future*' — The references all point to events outside the frame of *Beowulf*. The name — prophetic — indicates that the far future is foretold in all such allusions. These events are not known to our heroes or they are represented only by minor signs in the present of the story-line.

(4) *Future in the sequence of events within the frame of the story* — The allusion in this case is to an event appearing later in the narration. The starting point and referent can both be found in *Beowulf*.

The aim of my paper is to try to analyze the characteristics of these flashbacks and flashforwards in the story by examining some of the crucial aspects of their arrangement and patterning. After demonstrating how the four types of chronological shifts appear in the story, I endeavor to reveal how they enrich *Beowulf* by contributing to the narrative development.

Session 818: "Time and Time-Cycles in Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical Life"

Joyce M. Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

**“Coping with Conflict:
Lunar and Solar Cycles
in the Liturgical Calendars”**

Liturgical calendars, of which several survive from the Anglo-Saxon period, are organized according to the Roman (i.e., the solar) calendar. Each calendar is therefore arranged into months, within which there is a fixed numerical sequence of dates. The feasts of the *sanctorale* can thus easily be recorded because there is usually a recognized fixed date within the Roman/solar calendar on which each saint is commemorated. It is also easy to include certain other commemorations which have fixed dates: Christ’s nativity, for example, and the occasion known in Rome as the Major Litany, which seems from its inception at the time of Gregory the Great to have been associated with April 25. However, with the exception of Christmas Day, the major feasts of the ecclesiastical year, which annually celebrate the Incarnation and Redemption, cannot readily be accommodated because they are movable feasts tied to Easter, whose “date” is associated with the movable Judaic feast of the Passover, itself determined by the lunar calendar. The Anglo-Saxons were very conscious of the resulting complexities and yet, within the rigidity of their liturgical calendars, which operated according to a completely different time-structure, they nevertheless incorporated Easter and Ascension. This paper examines the ways in which this was done and attempts to define the logic which lies behind it. Within this context, some new findings about the dates of the Major and Minor Litanies are also offered, since there is some conflict in early medieval traditions between the Roman and Gallican customs and nomenclature, which surface in Anglo-Saxon England, as well as an underlying difficulty with respect to the calendars that, while the Roman Litany celebration of April 25 was on a fixed date, that of the Gallican Litany was on the three days preceding Ascension and thus had a movable date. Investigation of the way in which these traditions are named and recorded helps us to understand the liturgical calendars, and to appreciate that the users — for all their evident awareness about the changing date of Easter, and its implications for ecclesiastical orthodoxy — were willing to accept a record in which certain movable feasts appear to be fixed. Those who consulted such records must have understood them as incorporating true and “conventional” dates.

Roy Liuzza (Tulane Univ.)

**“Dreaming in Latin:
Anglo-Saxon Lunar Prognostics in Context”**

BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii, an eleventh-century manuscript from Christ Church, Canterbury, is one of the most important landmarks of the later Benedictine Reform in England. Among the many texts in this miscellaneous collection are a series of prognostic works and books of dream interpretation. In general these texts have been overlooked by scholars; though they are also found in a number of monastic manuscripts, they are usually omitted from editions and discussions of these manuscripts. They have generally been studied, when they are studied at all, under the heading of “folklore” or “superstition” and removed from their manuscript context. Despite their relative neglect, these texts are of considerable interest. The popularity of prognostics extends from earliest Greek and Roman times well into the Middle English period and beyond, and is a strong, though often overlooked, link of continuity between antiquity and the Middle Ages. They offer a window into monastic psychology; they bear witness to the ways in which monks and priests thought about the interrelations of time, the heavens, and the body. This paper, concentrating on prognostics for dream interpretation, tries to return these works to the monastic world in which they were used. Despite the doubts and warnings of some churchmen, the practices of prognostication, divination, and oneiromancy were part of monastic life. In manuscripts and in cultural practice they exist, it may be argued, at the intersection of the *computus* and the penitential, the reckoning of time and the examination of the motions of the soul. Reading these texts in their context encourages us to broaden our sense of monastic life and furthers the ongoing critical debate over the nature of orthodox religious practice in Anglo-Saxon England.

Session 1001: “Old English Language and Literature: Cultural and Linguistic Connections”

Christine Thijs (Univ. of Leeds)

**“Old English Translation and
Translation Technique”**

The first part of this paper is concerned with late antique and early medieval general concepts about, and expectations of, translation, mainly focusing on translation technique in literary texts with Latin as source language and Old English as target language. Such study is of particular interest for literary Old English,

as it originally developed as a tool for the translation of important Latin texts, and consequently defined its own identity to a great extent by means of its structural and grammatical differences from Latin. Since the Anglo-Saxon translators did not themselves theorize their activity, the paper presents a brief overview of recent achievements in the field of extrapolation from translation practice to translation theory, considering both the intended function of a translation and the applied method, and also the relation between both.

This conceptual framework then informs my detailed analysis of the linguistic relationship between Gregory's *Dialogues* and Wærferth's Old English translation. Although this text is traditionally thought of as slavishly literal, a close examination leads one to conclude that Wærferth was quite exceptional and modern in his methods. What is particularly remarkable are his modest clarifications and rephrasings, always endeavoring, if perhaps not always succeeding, to present the matter a little more explicitly, a little more visually than Gregory's rather metaphorical and intellectual style. Yet coupled with this is an inherently diligent and conservative approach with respect to Gregory's authority and Alfred's intention to make Gregory's text accessible for people who could not understand Latin, leaving only limited room for creative intervention by Wærferth.

Sabrina Frau (Univ. of Leeds)

"On the Concept of 'Soul,' 'Spirit,' and 'Mind' in Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon Christian Poetry"

This paper investigates the employment of words relating to the concept of "soul," "spirit," and "mind" in the Old Saxon poem *Heliand* and Old English Christian poetry. Linguistic and thematic evidence (word collocation, formulae, variation, context) is assessed through the examination of passages in order to establish possible interrelationships between Anglo-Saxon Christian poetry and *Heliand*. Sample words such as OE *sawol*, *gast*, and *sefa* are discussed so as to highlight similarities in the use of these terms by Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon poets. This material is put into the context of the Germanic/pagan and Christian cultural traditions.

Antje G. Frotscher (Christ Church, Oxford)

"Structure and Function of Old English and Old Norse Flytings"

The subject for discussion is the verbal duel (in English mostly called *flyting* from the similar, better-known Middle Scots genre of poetical invective) and its incidence in Old English and Old Norse poetry.

In this paper I talk specifically about the structure of some Old English poetic examples, taken from heroic as well as biblical and Christian poetry. A comparison of these structures with those of the verbal duels called *sennur* and *mannjafnadir* in Old Norse, which are found in the *Poetic Edda*, reveals a number of similarities.

The close relationship between flytings of both literary traditions which becomes obvious in this comparison of form leads me to an examination of parallels in function, and I discuss some of the explanations for the occurrence of flytings in these texts as proposed by critics of the genre. In this second part I also hope to show how in my opinion the use of the native terminology of Old Norse verbal duels can make a significant contribution to, and provide new insights into, the analysis and interpretation of their Old English counterparts.

Ferdinand von Mengden (Freie Univ., Berlin)

"French Influence in Old English Glosses"

There is an ongoing debate about the extent of lexical borrowing from French before 1066. The number of words suggested to be such early French loans amounts to about 50. Most of these words have never really been accepted as French loans. Some of them are not recorded before the Norman Conquest and thus cannot be considered "pre-Conquest" loans.

In my paper I employ the phonological development of Early Old French as a standard against which to measure the supposed loan words. If they do not reflect the sound changes usually reconstructed for lexemes from the Romance vernacular of tenth- and eleventh-century France, then it is more likely that they are borrowed from Medieval Latin.

Apart from OE *prut* "superbus," the only prose word for which an Old French etymology seems to be certain, only four eleventh-century glosses remain as possible cases of Old English borrowings from Old French: *coitemære* "boiled wine," *custure* "seam," *leowe* "league [measure of distance]," and *capun* "capon." For a fifth gloss, *iugelere* "magician," the phonological development is a bit obscure, but French origin cannot be ruled out.

The first three of these words are hapax legomena. For *coitemære*, *custure*, and *leowe*, the sound structures show without doubt that they are derived from the Early Old French vernacular. I argue that we have no proof that these words have ever been part of the English lexicon and they could just as well be Romance glosses to Latin lemmata.

Phonology and manuscript evidence suggest that — apart from OE *prut* — only OE *capun* and, with a much lesser degree of certainty, OE *iugelere* can be

considered as pre-Conquest loan words from French. This small number of isolated borrowings proves that there was language contact between French and English monasteries as early as the tenth century, even though its impact is very limited.

Session 1120: “Spiritual Temporality, Temporal Spirituality: Experiencing Eternity”

Karen Louise Jolly (Univ. of Hawai‘i, Mānoa)

**“Visualizing Eternity in Time:
Meditating on Anglo-Saxon Illustrations
of Heaven and Hell”**

How does one draw a picture of the endless and boundless? In the traditions of Christian spirituality, the infinite God is visible insofar as he penetrates the world and reveals himself, most especially in the Incarnation. Likewise, eternity and the infinity of Heaven are illustrated in terms of their intersection with human time and space: in the hand of God reaching down from a cloud-bordered zone; in a mandorla-throned God surrounded by angels; in a built city of God in the clouds. Eternity and infinity exist in human consciousness only in relation to sense perception and experience of time. Consequently, in order for humans to experience timelessness in time, they have to cross that boundary, to exist in a meditative space between time and eternity first bridged in the Incarnation.

Pictorial representations of this complex relationship between time and eternity is one way of negotiating the boundary between the two. Anglo-Saxon illustrations depicting heaven, hell, or other timeless states functioned as ways of locating oneself in relation to the eternal, even as one existed in time. Illustrations in psalters and other biblical and religious manuscripts, such as the *Psychomachia*, helped the meditative reader locate him or herself in relation to the eternal God and imagine a state of being outside of time and space. Consequently, contemplating the “end of time” is more than an apocalyptic fear; it is a critical component of monastic spirituality and Anglo-Saxon world views in general.

Session 1201: “Poetic Frameworks”

Katalin Halácsy Scholz (Eötvös Loránd Univ., Budapest)

“Verbal Patterning in *The Seafarer*”

This paper sets out to study repetitive patterns in *The Seafarer*: variations, formulae, and exact repetitions. The general picture in respect of other Anglo-Saxon poems is that these stylistic features are used in

them with different frequency and in different combinations, but in the shorter poems the patterns are similar throughout the poem.

The Seafarer is a rather special case among the poems that I have studied, as the seafaring and the homiletic parts differ to a great extent in the use of these stylistic features. As far as variation is concerned, there are fewer in the second part than in the first, but that looks rather natural, as seafaring is a far more traditional topic in Anglo-Saxon poetry than Christian teaching, and fewer synonyms are available for the poet. But there is a great discrepancy between the number of exact repetitions of special content words used in the first and the second halves. In the first part there are so many exact repetitions that they are the decisive patterning feature rather than variation.

My aim here is to find out the possible reasons for this stylistic change in the middle of the poem with the help of a comparative analysis carried out on a larger corpus of Anglo-Saxon poetry. This leads me to an attempt at opening the question whether style depends on the topic or rather on the poet.

Session 1308: “Plants and Seasons in Anglo-Saxon England”

Debby Banham (Univ. of Cambridge)

**“‘The Fruits of the Earth in their Season’:
The Agricultural Cycle and Anglo-Saxon Diet”**

With spring vegetables and autumn fruits on our supermarket shelves all the year round, it’s hard for us to imagine what it was like to depend on seasonal produce for the flavor and character of one’s food, still less to experience the hungry gap, eking out the remains of last year’s crops while waiting for the new harvest to come in.

The Anglo-Saxon diet would no doubt have seemed very dull to modern palates, but what variation it did possess will have been due to the availability of different crops at different times of year. Only cereals, pulses, cheese, and possibly bacon would be available all the time, and that only in good years. Even leeks, the archetypal Anglo-Saxon vegetable, were lacking in the summer, replaced by onions and garlic. The virtues of root crops as long-term nutrient stores seem not to have been appreciated: it was probably the leaves of beets and turnips that were eaten, mostly as flavorings, and these would only be available in the growing season. Cabbage-stuff, like other greens, will have been scarce in late winter and early spring. With fruit also non-existent at that time of year, people were at real risk of scurvy. Apples were probably stored, but the longest-keeping varieties had yet to be developed. They may possibly have been made into cider, and grapes, where

they were grown, into wine, but neither is a good source of vitamins. The winter diet must have been extremely restricted, probably deficient in several nutrients, and for the poorest people, frequently insufficient in calorific value. We know of famines that drove up the price of cereals in the late Anglo-Saxon period, but even in average years, many people must have been hungry once the previous year's harvest began to run low, until the new one began, a period that could stretch to half the year.

Author Index

Anderson, Rachel	A-23	Holmes, John R.	A-24
Åström, Berit	A-48	Horner, Shari L.	A-8
Banham, Debby	A-51	Hosler, John D.	A-26
Batey, Colleen	A-13	Jagger, Holly	A-31
Belanoff, Pat	A-27	Jayatilaka, Rohini	A-12
Bennett, Helen T.	A-2	Jolly, Karen Louise	A-51
Black, Jennifer C.	A-2	Jones, Christopher A.	A-13
Bloomfield, Josephine H.	A-8	Jones, Mark	A-27
Bordalejo, Barbara	A-21	Keefer, Sarah Larratt	A-32
Bremmer, Rolf H., Jr.	A-20	Kiricsi, Ágnes	A-48
Cantara, Linda	A-16	Kleist, Aaron J.	A-17
Carlson, Christina M.	A-6	Kries, Susanne	A-47
Chardonens, Laszlo Sandor	A-14	Lavelle, Ryan	A-47
Clayton, Mary	A-47	Lee, Christina	A-19, A-45
Clift, Shelly Rae	A-32	Lindley, Carrie	A-42
Coatsworth, Elizabeth	A-12	Lionarons, Joyce Tally	A-23
Cole, Virginia	A-29	Liuzza, Roy	A-1, A-49
Conde-Silvestre, Juan Camilo	A-46	Lockett, Leslie	A-35
Cooley, Alice	A-26	Maines, Andrew	A-31
Craig, Derek	A-10	Mann, Ziva	A-15
Crane, Susan	A-40	McDonald, Richard B.	A-38
Damon, John	A-28	McFadden, Brian	A-30
DeGregorio, Scott	A-18	Mize, Britt	A-39
Dendle, Peter J.	A-6	Molinari, Christine	A-15
Denno, Jerome	A-30	Morris, Christopher D.	A-11
DiNapoli, Robert	A-44	Mullally, Erin	A-41
Drout, Michael D. C.	A-6, A-47	Murray-John, Patrick	A-40
Emblom, Katherine	A-41	Nagucka, Ruta	A-25
Ericksen, Janet Schrunck	A-19	Neuman de Vegvar, Carol	A-43
Fisiak, Jacek	A-25	Niles, John D.	A-5
Frank, Roberta	A-28	Nokes, Richard Scott	A-2, A-22
Frantzen, Allen J.	A-38	Norris, Robin	A-30
Frau, Sabrina	A-50	Nugent, Christopher G.	A-4
Frotscher, Antje G.	A-50	O'Brien, Elizabeth	A-40
Gewanter, David	A-5	O'Carragáin, Éamonn	A-43
Glosecki, Stephen O.	A-24	Oliver, Lisi	A-20
Golden, Charles H.	A-41	Oswald, Dana M.	A-33
Graham, Timothy	A-10	Owen-Crocker, Gale R.	A-12
Gravlee, Cynthia A.	A-4	Peach, Bridget	A-34
Gray, John	A-31	Peelor, Sharon M.	A-16
Grosskopf, John	A-46	Porter, David W.	A-10
Haines, Dorothy	A-3, A-24	Powell, Alison	A-39
Hall, J. R.	A-3	Price, Jocelyn M.	A-39
Harris, Joseph	A-33	Reid, Patricia	A-44
Harris, Stephen J.	A-18	Richards, Mary P.	A-34
Hawkes, Jane	A-42	Romano, C. Justin	A-35
Hayes, Demorah	A-28	Rosser, Susan	A-18
Healey, Claire	A-45	Rovang, Paul	A-21
Hellmuth, Petra S.	A-46	Rowley, Sharon M.	A-29
Hill, Joyce M.	A-18, A-49	Russom, Geoffrey	A-36
Hill, Thomas D.	A-13	Schoff, Rebecca	A-20
Hills, Catherine	A-11	Scholz, Katalin Halácsy	A-51
Hines, John	A-11	Scragg, Donald	A-35
Holder, Arthur	A-9	Senecal, Christine	A-9

Squatriti, Paolo	A-28
Steele, Felicia Jean	A-36
Stratynner, Leslie	A-37
Szarmach, Paul E.	A-8
Thijs, Christine	A-49
Thompson, Victoria	A-46
Thormann, Janet	A-7
Toswell, M. Jane	A-38
Towell, Julie	A-1, A-36
Trask, Richard	A-21
Traxel, Oliver	A-17, A-45
Trilling, Renée R.	A-33
Velten, Alexandra	A-46
von Mengden, Ferdinand	A-50
Webster, Leslie	A-14
Weir, Bridgette	A-42
Wickham-Crowley, Kelley	A-12
Wilcox, Jonathan	A-29
Wiscombe, Samuel C. Jr.	A-22
Youngs, Susan M.	A-13
Zacher, Samantha	A-23
Zimmerman, Harold	A-37

How to reach the Old English Newsletter

Effective immediately, for all business correspondence including publication information, subscriptions, back orders, *Subsidia* information, OR to notify *OEN* of an address change, please contact:

Publisher, *Old English Newsletter*
Medieval Institute
Western Michigan Univ.
1201 Oliver Street
Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3801
phone: 616-387-8832; fax: 616-387-8750
e-mail: mdvl_news@wmich.edu
website: <http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/oen/index.html>

As of volume 30, the editorial operations of *OEN* have moved to the University of Iowa. All correspondence regarding the editing of *OEN* including submissions should be sent to:

Jonathan Wilcox
Editor, *Old English Newsletter*
Department of English
Univ. of Iowa
Iowa City, IA 52242
phone: 319-335-1913; fax: 319-335-2535
e-mail: jonathan-wilcox@uiowa.edu

To request information concerning the *Year's Work in Old English Studies*, or to send comments and suggestions, write the *YWOES* general editor:

Peter S. Baker
Department of English
Bryan Hall
Univ. Of Virginia
Charlottesville, VA 22903

To submit abstracts of papers given at conferences, or to receive information about the annual appendix of conference abstracts to the Spring issue, write:

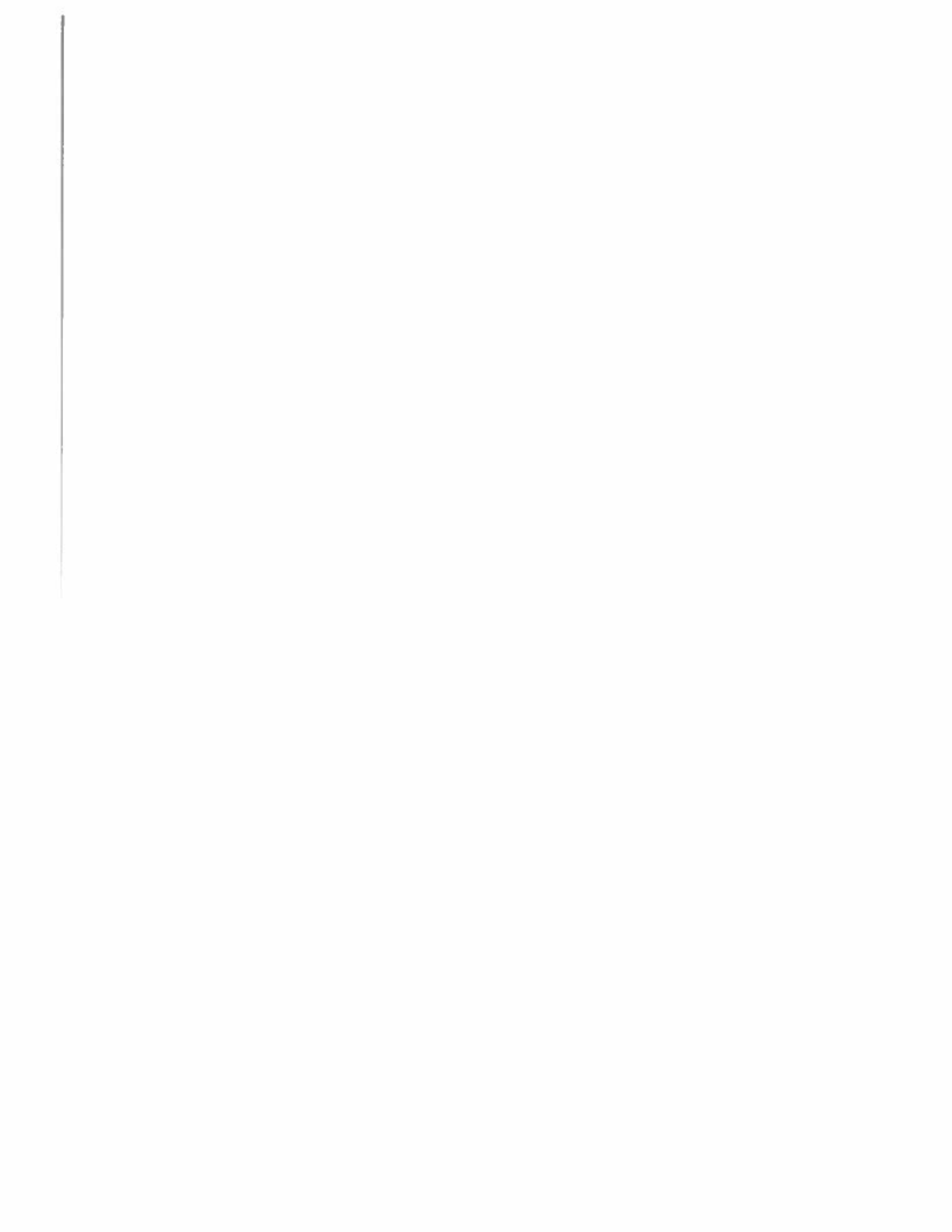
Robert L. Schichler
Department of English
Arkansas State Univ.
State University, AR 72467-1890
fax: 501-972-2795
e-mail: rschich@toltec.astate.edu

For information about the *Old English Bibliography* featured in each summer issue, write:

Carl T. Berkhout
Department of English
Univ. Of Arizona
Tucson, AZ 85721

Send *Research in Progress* information concerning current research, work completed, and forthcoming publications to:

Phillip Pulsiano
Department of English
Villanova Univ.
Villanova, PA 19085
e-mail: pulsiano@usic.vill.edu





A New Series!

PUBLICATIONS OF THE RICHARD RAWLINSON CENTER

Publications of the Richard Rawlinson Center is a scholarly series covering the general field of Anglo-Saxon culture, with particular emphasis on the study of manuscripts. The series is published by the Richard Rawlinson Center for Anglo-Saxon Studies and Manuscript Research in association with Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan University.

THE RECOVERY OF OLD ENGLISH

Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries

edited by Timothy Graham

The eight essays in *The Recovery of Old English* consider major aspects of the progress of Anglo-Saxon studies from their Tudor beginnings until their coming of age in the second half of the seventeenth century.

Individual essays focus on the work of key figures who opened up the study of the Anglo-Saxon language and culture: John Joscelyn, Richard Verstegen, William L'Isle, William Somner, and Francis Junius. The aims and methods of these and other scholars are explored through analysis of the ways in which they studied such landmarks of Anglo-Saxon literature as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the homilies of Ælfric, and the Old English poetic corpus. A special feature of the volume is the emphasis placed upon unpublished materials which are richly informative, but which hitherto have not received the attention they merit: the early scholars' workbooks, their transcriptions of Old English texts, and their annotations in the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that they acquired, borrowed, or read in the major antiquarian libraries established during this period. *The Recovery of Old English* should appeal to a broad audience of those interested in Anglo-Saxon language, literature, and history, and in the religious and political context in which study of these fields first developed.

Contributors: Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker, Timothy Graham, Stuart Lee, Kathryn A. Lowe, Angelika Lutz, Danielle Cunniff Plumer, Phillip Pulsiano.

Copyright 2000

ISBN 1-58044-013-4 (casebound) \$40.00

ISBN 1-58044-014-2 (paperbound) \$20.00

THE OLD ENGLISH HEXATEUCH

Aspects and Approaches

edited by Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C. Withers

Cotton Claudius B. iv, an illustrated Old English Hexateuch that is among the treasures of the British Library, contains one of the first extended projects of translation of the Bible in a European vernacular. Its over four hundred images make it one of the most extensively illustrated books to survive from the early Middle Ages and preserve evidence of the creativity of the Anglo-Saxon artist and his knowledge of other important early medieval picture cycles. In addition, the manuscript contains the earliest copy of Ælfric's Preface to Genesis, a work that discusses issues of translation and interpretation.

Given the complexities of its textual history and illustrations, Claudius B. iv invites approaches such as those included here that merge different disciplines in complementary ways. Some of the essays consider the authorship and investigate how the translations contained in the manuscript came to be; others concern the nature of the possible audience and question when, how, and by whom the text was read in the eleventh century; still others study the illustrations and the importance of this manuscript for English culture.

The ten essays in this volume significantly expand our understanding of the importance of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon England, of the role of the vernacular translator, and of the consequence of narrative illustration for the eleventh century and, as two essays show, for early modern and modern England as well.

Contributors: Rebecca Barnhouse, Timothy Graham, David F. Johnson, Catherine Karkov, Sarah Larratt Keefer, Richard Marsden, Melinda J. Menzer, Mary P. Richards, Jonathan Wilcox, Benjamin C. Withers.

Copyright 2000

ISBN 1-58044-024-X (*casebound*) \$40.00

ISBN 1-58044-050-9 (*paperbound*) \$20.00

MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

Western Michigan University

1201 Oliver Street

Kalamazoo, MI 49008-3801 U.S.A.

Phone (616) 387-8755 FAX (616) 387-8750



OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER
Research in Progress Report

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

Name _____

Address _____

Academic Affiliation (if not above) _____

a = article; b = book or monograph; d = dissertation; IP = in progress; C = completed; TBP = to be published in / by.

1. **Research in progress (aIP, bIP, dIP):**

2. **Research completed (aC, bC, dC):**

3. **Research to be published in / by (TBP):**

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER
MEDIEVAL INSTITUTE
WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY
1903 W. MICHIGAN AVE.
KALAMAZOO, MI 49008-5432

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT 478
KALAMAZOO, MI