

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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NEWS

I

MLA 2002

The Old English Division of the Modern Language Association has organized three sessions and a cash bar at the next meeting of the MLA on 27-30 December 2002, to be held at the Hilton Hotel, New York. In addition, one session has been arranged by Robert Bjork, to be unofficially sponsored by the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists. For further information about the conference, visit the MLA's website at <http://www.mla.org>.

Diction and Friction: Ambiguity and Polysemy in Old English Poetry and Prose

Saturday, 28 December, 7:15-8:30 p.m., Sutton North, Hilton.

Presiding: Antonette diPaolo Healey, University of Toronto

1. "The Flood of Ambiguity in *Andreas*: Text versus Audience," Robin Waugh, Wilfrid Laurier University.
2. "'Ides ælfscienu': Armed and Dangerous Women in Old Testament Verse," Heide Estes, Monmouth University.
3. "'A huge rude heape': Reading 'Chaos' in the Early Middle Ages," Christopher A. Jones, Ohio State University.

Special Session on Klaeber's *Beowulf*

Sunday, 29 December, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Nassau A and B, Hilton.

Presiding: Helen Damico, University of New Mexico

1. "Language, Text, and Glossary," R. D. Fulk, University of Indiana.
2. "The Structural, the Historical, the Bibliographic," Robert E. Bjork, Arizona State University.
3. "Context and Theme," John D. Niles, University of Wisconsin.

Poetry, Prose, and Gloss: Probing Genres

Sunday, 29 December, 3:30-4:45 p.m., Nassau A and B, Hilton.

Presiding: Roy Liuzza, Tulane University

1. "Oral Tradition and Architecture in Old English Poetry," Lori A. Garner, University of Illinois, Urbana.
2. "Alfred the Poet and the Proems to the Boethius," Nicole Guenther Discenza, University of South Florida.
3. "Glastonbury Glosses and Exeter Books: The Traces of Æthelwold," Matthew Hussey, University of Wisconsin.

Theorizing *Beowulf*: The Cognitive-Economic-Postcolonial *Beowulf*

Monday, 30 December, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Murray Hill B, Hilton.

Presiding: Allen Frantzen, Loyola University, Chicago

1. "Narrative and Cognition in *Beowulf*," David John Herman, North Carolina State University; Rebecca L. Childs, University of Georgia.
2. "The Institution of Feasting: Consumption of Alcohol and Luxurious Objects in *Beowulf*," Haruko Momma, New York University.
3. "'On fagne flor': The Postcolonial *Beowulf*, from Heorot to Heaney," Seth Lerer, Stanford University.

Cash Bar

A cash bar arranged by the Division on Old English Language and Literature is scheduled for Saturday, 28 December, 5:15-6:30 p.m., Sutton Center, Hilton Hotel.

II
ISAS 2003
Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies
(Arizona State University)
4-9 August 2003

The Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies will host the eleventh meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, 4-9 August 2003. The conference theme is **Conversion and Colonization**. The theme, conceived as the examination of cultural contact and exchange, is intended to be broadly inclusive: possible areas of interest might include relations between Romans and Britons, Britons and Saxons, pagans and Christians, Irish and English, English and Frankish, Danish, or Norman. For the purposes of this conference the terms "conversion" and "colonization" may be taken as interrelated, each figuring a kind of cultural annexation; in any instance of cultural appropriation the dominant and subaltern cultures affect each one. As always, papers on any topic and in any discipline germane to Anglo-Saxon studies are also welcome.

The conference will be held at the Chaparral Suites Resort in Scottsdale, Arizona, with special rates for ISAS participants. There will be a reception at the Arizona State University Art Museum, while possible excursions include a visit to the Grand Canyon. There will be additional possibilities for excursions after the conference, including a river rafting trip through the Grand Canyon, a float trip through Glenn Canyon, a boat trip on Lake Powell to Rainbow Bridge, or a trip to Mexico.

For further information, contact the conference host:

Prof. Robert E. Bjork
 Director, ACMRS
 P.O. Box 872301
 Arizona State University
 Tempe, AZ 85287-2301
 USA.
 e-mail: robert.bjork@asu.edu
 fax: 480-965-1681
 conference website: http://www.asu.edu/clas/acmrs/ISAS_2003.htm

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
 Executive Director, ISAS
 Department of English
 216E William Johnston Building
 Florida State University
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 USA.
 e-mail: djohnson@english.fsu.edu
 fax: 850-644-0811

You can also apply for membership through the society website at: <http://www.english.fsu.edu/isas/>.

III ISAS at Kalamazoo

For the first time, the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists will sponsor sessions at the International Congress on Medieval Studies at Kalamazoo, May 8-11, 2003. The following two sessions have been organized by the Advisory Board of ISAS:

New Voices in Anglo-Saxon Studies

Presiding: Sarah L. Keefer, Trent University

1. "The E-text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Metamorphosis and Tradition," Malasree Home, Cambridge University.
2. "Monsters, Here and There: The *Marvels of the East* and the Anglo-Saxon Identity," Asa Simon Mittman, Stanford University.
3. "Towards an Anglo-Saxon Conception of *Peregrinatio*: Religious Idealism and Obligation in the Eighth-Century Anglo-Saxon Missions to the Continent," James T. Palmer, University of Sheffield.

Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture

Presiding: Elaine M. Treharne, University of Leicester

1. "Talking about History: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*," Elizabeth M. Tyler, University of York.
2. "Rhetoric as Cultural Process," Michael Matto, Yeshiva College.
3. "'Althings Considered': The Place of the Moot in the Physical and Social Landscape of Late Anglo-Saxon England," Aliko Pantos, Manchester, UK.

IV Prizewinning Edition

A recent Anglo-Saxon edition has won a prestigious prize in medieval studies. The Medieval Academy of America has announced that Christopher A. Jones is the co-winner of this year's John Nicholas Brown prize for the best first book in the field of medieval studies for *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 24 (Cambridge University Press, 1998). The citation observes the strengths of the book: "Christopher Jones's meticulous edition of Ælfric's monastic customary makes available an important monastic text of the early eleventh century. Professor Jones not only edits and translates this little-known text but provides a richly detailed commentary on it, which affords an unprecedented glimpse into monastic life in England of the late tenth and early eleventh century. In his introduction he also discusses the complex arguments as to transmission, authorship, date, and purpose of the text. He is thus able to place it in context as a response to, and in important ways a revision of, the *Regularis concordia* of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester of the preceding century. Jones shows himself to be a first-rate philologist, a keen observer of style, and a perceptive interpreter of political and ecclesiastical history."

V

Journal News: JEGP

JEGP, the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, published by the University of Illinois Press and first issued in 1897, is changing its focus as indicated by a new subtitle: Medieval English, Germanic, and Celtic Studies. The new content will encompass the earliest documentary and archeological evidence for Germanic and Celtic languages and cultures; the literatures and cultures of the early and high Middle Ages in Britain, Ireland, Germany, and Scandinavia; and any continuities and transitions linking the medieval and post-medieval eras. C. Stephen Jaeger joins Marianne E. Kalinke and Charles D. Wright on the Board of Editors. Submissions are welcome on any aspect of Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Latin language and literature. For further information, contact Charles D. Wright, Editor, JEGP, 208 English Building, 608 South Wright MC-718, Urbana, IL 61801, cdwright@uiuc.edu.

VI

Journal News: ANQ

ANQ: A Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews is pleased to announce that volume 15, number 2 (Spring 2002), is an Old English issue on the theme of textual scholarship. The issue, edited by J. R. Hall, is dedicated to Arthur Wrobel, editor of *ANQ* since 1981, who has welcomed and published many Old English essays over the years and who is retiring from the editorship. The issue comprises twelve short essays by notable Anglo-Saxonists: J. R. Hall, "Nota Bene: Preface to a Collection of Notes by Various Hands on Various Old English Texts"; Peter S. Baker, "How to Cheat at Editing: The Domitian Bilingual Chronicle, Anno 679"; Joyce Hill, "Provost and Prior in the *Regularis Concordia*"; Jane Roberts, "The Case of the Miraculous Hand in the Old English Prose Life of Guthlac"; R. M. Liuzza, "The Devil and His Father: A Case of Editorial Irresponsibility in the Old English Gospels?"; Paul E. Szarmach, "Meter 20: Context Bereft"; Thomas D. Hill, "'Leger weardiað': *The Wife's Lament* 34b"; Bruce Mitchell, "Phoenix 71-84 and 424-42: Two Syntactical Cruces Involving Punctuation"; Fred C. Robinson, "Five Textual Notes on the Old English *Judith*"; Carl T. Berkhout, *Beowulf* 2200-08: Mind the Gap"; Roberta Frank, "An Aspirin for *Beowulf*: Against Aches and Pains—*ece* and *wærc*"; E. G. Stanley, "Paleographical and Textual Deep Waters: <a> for <u> and <u> for <a>, <d> for <ð> and <ð> for <d> in Old English." Pp. 72. \$22. ISSN 0895-769X. Heldref Publications, 1319 Eighteenth Street NW, Washington, DC 20036-1802. To order call 800-365-9753 or (from outside the USA) 202-296-6267.

VII

Brief Notices on Publications

Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Life of Saint Mary of Egypt*, has been published by University of Exeter Press. This comprises a new edition of the Old English text with a facing Modern English translation, a substantial introduction and commentary, an exhaustive glossary of the Old English, and an edition with facing translation of the Latin source drawn from the Cotton-Corpus Legendary. Pp. xii + 260. \$22.95. ISBN 0-85989-672-2 (paperback).

Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage, edited by Bernard J. Muir has also been published by the University of Exeter Press. This collection of essays in honor of Margaret M. Manion includes one of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists: Bernard J. Muir, "The Genealogy of Christ and the Decoration of Folio 188 of *The Book of Kells*." Pp. xxv + 337. \$85. ISBN 0-85989-713-3 (hardcover).

Oxford University Press has released a second edition of *Medieval English Literature*, ed. J. B. Trapp, Douglas Gray, & Julia Boffey. This teaching anthology of Old and Middle English literature in translation includes a section of Old English poetry. Contained here is the complete Edwin Morgan 1952 translation of *Beowulf*, Caedmon's *Hymn*, "The Wanderer," "The Wife's Complaint," "The Husband's Message," "Wulf and Eadwacer," "The Dream of the Rood," "The Battle of Maldon," for the most part in translations by Michael Alexander, and excerpts from *Judith*, Maxims, the Exeter Book Riddles, and *Genesis B*. Pp. xxiii + 626. \$36.95. ISBN 0-19-513492-3 (paperback).

Boydell Press has issued a second edition of Kevin Crossley-Holland's *The Anglo-Saxon World*. The volume contains a range of poetry and prose in translation with brief introductions by Crossley-Holland and many illustrations. Pp. xix + 275. \$50. ISBN 0-85115-885-4 (hardcover).

VIII Essay Collection

Yale University Press announces the publication of *Old English Literature: Critical Essays*, edited by R. M. Liuzza. This volume reprints twenty-one articles on Old English texts that are central to the study of Old English literature along with an introductory essay on interpretation by Liuzza. The essays contained here are: Nicholas Howe, "The Cultural Construction of Reading in Anglo-Saxon England"; Susan Kelly, "Anglo-Saxon Lay Society and the Written Word"; Sarah Foot, "The Making of *Anglecynn*: English Identity Before the Norman Conquest"; Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Orality and the Developing Text of Caedmon's *Hymn*"; Kevin S. Kiernan, "Reading Caedmon's 'Hymn' with Someone Else's Glosses"; Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing, "Birthing Bishops and Fathering Poets: Bede, Hild, and the Relations of Cultural Production"; Stephen D. White, "Kinship and Lordship in Early Medieval England: The Story of Sigebert, Cynewulf, and Cyneheard"; Stephanie Hollis, "The Thematic Structure of the *Sermo Lupi*"; Earl R. Anderson, "Social Idealism in Ælfric's *Colloquy*"; Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, "The Hero in Christian Reception: Ælfric and Heroic Poetry"; Clare A. Lees, "Didacticism and the Christian Community: The Teachers and the Taught"; Roy F. Leslie, "The Editing of Old English Poetic Texts: Questions of Style"; M. R. Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind"; Robert E. Bjork, "*Sundor æt Rune*: The Voluntary Exile of The Wanderer"; Margrét Gunnarsdóttir Champion, "From Plaint to Praise: Language as Cure in 'The Wanderer'"; Peter Orton, "The Form and Structure of *The Seafarer*"; Shari Horner, "En/closed Subjects: *The Wife's Lament* and the Culture of Early Medieval Female Monasticism"; Sandra McEntire, "The Devotional Context of the Cross Before A.D. 1000"; Carol Braun Pasternack, "Stylistic Disjunctions in *The Dream of the Rood*"; Fred C. Robinson, "God, Death and Loyalty in *The Battle of Maldon*"; John D. Niles, "Maldon and Mythopoesis." Pp xxxviii + 479. \$25. ISBN 0-300-09139-7 (paperback).

Fontes Anglo-Saxonici
A Register of Written Sources Used by Authors
In Anglo-Saxon England
 (<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>)

Seventeenth Progress Report

Peter Jackson
for the Management Committee

It is very pleasing to be able to report a further year of continuing progress for *Fontes*: as noted in the list printed at the end of this report, thirteen more Old English texts, yielding over 4000 entries, have been added to the database. These include a very substantial contribution (over half the total) from Professor Roy Liuzza completing his submission on the Old English Gospels, and nearly 500 entries on four poetic texts by Dr. Daniel Anlezark, a former Research Associate who, like others before him, has continued to support the project loyally. Dr. Susan Irvine sourced MS E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* while preparing a new edition of that text, and Professor Malcolm Godden's current research on the Alfredian corpus produced 125 entries on the *Soliloquies*. Over forty further Old English texts are either in the course of being sourced, or have been sourced and are awaiting editing and incorporation in the database – texts ranging from homilies (Ælfrician and anonymous) to saints' lives (Pantaleon) and poetry (*Guthlac B*).

As always, the project is immensely indebted to Dr. Rohini Jayatilaka, who has been associated with *Fontes* since 1994 and is now in her third and final year as Research Associate and Database Manager. In addition to the laborious (and largely invisible) task of editing and processing many thousands of entries in the past year, Dr. Jayatilaka has herself sourced, and added to the database, Æthelwold's Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule (over 700 entries); made a presentation about the project at the ISAS conference in Helsinki; prepared and distributed hundreds of instructional flyers; and has been working with a computer consultant in the final stages of development of the CD-ROM version of the database. With Professor Godden and Mr. Stewart Brookes, she also addressed a session on "Alfred, Ælfric, and the Rewriting of Old Books," held at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in July 2001. It is little surprise, then, that the Arts and Humanities Research Board, who funded Dr. Jayatilaka's present appointment, notified us in January 2002 that *Fontes* "was considered to be progressing well and generating a great deal of interest and response."

It was also a pleasure to welcome Dr. Joana Proud, of Manchester University, on her appointment as temporary Research Assistant in the summer of 2001, using the balance of a grant originally awarded in 1999. During the four months of her tenure, Dr. Proud sourced the Old English versions of the Life of St James the Greater, the Rule of Chrodegang and the Life of Pantaleon – all now either added to the database or nearly so. Dr. Proud is now employed on Professor Don Scragg's project on spelling variants in eleventh-century manuscripts, but hopes to make further contributions to *Fontes* as time permits.

On the Latin side, work has unfortunately been interrupted. Dr. Katharine Scarfe Beckett, whose appointment as AHRB Institutional Research Fellow at Cambridge University was notified in the last report, resigned her post in September 2001 on taking up a position in Jordan, though before leaving she had been able to complete several hundred entries on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* which will be processed and added to the database. In the meantime, Cambridge has now appointed a successor for the balance of the AHRB Fellowship: Mr. Augustine Casiday, who has submitted a Ph.D. thesis at Durham University on John Cassian, and who will begin work on 1 June 2002, concentrating initially on Aldhelm's prose *De Virginitate*. It should also be noted that Professor Malcolm Godden has just completed sourcing Ælfric's excerpts from the *Prognosticon* of Julian of Toledo.

There were meetings of the Management Committee in Cambridge in May 2001 and in Birmingham in October 2001. The Committee has been further strengthened by the addition of Professor Clare Lees, who generously hosted the eighteenth Open Meeting at King's College London on 16 April 2002, including, as always, papers from doctoral students and established scholars.

By the end of March 2002, 1145 texts had been sourced and 28,546 entries added to the database (21,948 in Old English and 6598 in Latin), and well over 1000 source-texts identified. Offers of further assistance, in either Old English or Latin, are, however, always welcome – especially so as the AHRB grant under which Dr. Jayatilaka is employed is about to end. Potential contributors in the Old English field should contact Professor Don Scragg (Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, University of Manchester, Oxford Road, Manchester, M13 9PL, UK), and in the Latin field, Dr. Rosalind Love (Robinson College, Cambridge, CB3 9AN, UK); while enquiries about the database should be addressed to Dr. Rohini Jayatilaka, either via the *Fontes* website or by e-mail (fontes@english.ox.ac.uk).

April 2002

Appendix

Fontes entries added to the database since 1 April 2001

Old English	
C.A.1.2, ANON (OE), Exodus, D.C. Anlezark, 250 entries	C.B.10.4.1, ANON (OE), Chrodegang of Metz, Regula Canonicorum, Joana Proud, 188 entries
C.A.3.14, ANON (OE), The Order of the World, D.C. Anlezark, 13 entries	C.B.17.9, ANON (OE), Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS E, Susan Irvine, 287 entries
C.A.3.2.1, ANON (OE), Guthlac A, Catherine Clarke, 31 entries	C.B.3.3.11, ANON (OE), St James the Greater, Joana Proud, 59 entries
C.A.3.28, ANON (OE), Pharaoh, D.C. Anlezark, 2 entries	C.B.8.4.3.3, ANON (OE), Old English Gospels (Luke), R.M. Liuzza, 1138 entries
C.A.31, ANON (OE), Seasons for Fasting, Mary P. Richards, 35 entries	C.B.8.4.3.4, ANON (OE), Old English Gospels (John), R.M. Liuzza, 880 entries
C.A.6, ANON (OE), Meters of Boethius, D.C. Anlezark, 207 entries	C.B.9.4, ALFRED, Augustine, Soliloquies, M.R. Godden, 125 entries
C.B.10.3.1, AETHELWOLD, Benedict of Monte Cassino, Regula, R. Jayatilaka, 720 entries	

**ANGLO-SAXON PLANT-NAME SURVEY
(ASPNS)
Third Annual Report**

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

The highlight of 2001 for ASPNS was that I was able to spend three months on collecting the Latin plant-names of Anglo-Saxon England, thanks to a Visiting Fellowship at Clare Hall, Cambridge, and the nearby facilities of Cambridge University Library. The Old English plant-names have already been listed (with thanks to the *Thesaurus of Old English*), and the Latin names are the next big data-collecting challenge. The task has not been completed, but much of the checking and reading has been accomplished. It is planned to produce a database of Latin names and their Old English and Latin interpretations, where such exist. This will enable a researcher to enter an Old English plant-name and retrieve the Latin names which are associated with it, or *vice versa*. No judgements will be made of this material, so that patently obvious errors of translation will be included if that is what appears in the manuscript evidence. The database is intended as a preliminary research tool for plant-name investigators, and it will be available free of charge on the ASPNS web-site, which is hosted by the Department of English Language, University of Glasgow. It is hoped to provide an initial version by the summer of 2002, and, thenceforth, data will be added as time permits.

Work is progressing well on the proceedings of the first ASPNS symposium. Hopes that it might see the light in 2001 were a little too optimistic, but thirteen of the fourteen papers have now been edited and indexed, and it should be ready for the publisher in the spring. The book will be illustrated, and will contain papers from many disciplines which are relevant to plant-studies.

I presented and discussed the work of ASPNS in a lecture entitled "Researching Anglo-Saxon Plant-Names" at Clare Hall, Cambridge on 16 October 2001. The international audience showed great interest in the project, and question time, fuelled by wine, lasted for some time.

Sadly, 2001 saw the death of Professor David Burnley of the University of Sheffield, the ASPNS adviser on Middle English language and texts. He gave great encouragement to ASPNS, and was never stinting with valuable help.

The annual reports of ASPNS are now being published in the *Old English Newsletter*, and are also, of course, all available on the ASPNS web-site at <http://www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESL/EngLang/ihs/projects/plants.htm>

Thanks are due to those who have helped and enquired about ASPNS in the past year, and, especially, to the Department of English Language, and Institute for the Historical Study of Language, both at the University of Glasgow.

January 2002

APPENDIX: PUBLICATIONS

Biggam, C. P., "Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey (ASPNS): First Annual Report," *Old English Newsletter* 33.3 (Spring, 2000), 9-11.

Biggam, C.P., ed., *From Earth to Art: the Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England: Proceedings of the First ASPNS Symposium, University of Glasgow, 5-7 April 2000* (forthcoming).

Hough, Carole, "The Field-Name *Felterrode*," *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* 32 (1999-2000), 47-49 [concerning *feltere* "centaury"].

Rusche, Philip G., "The Laud Herbal Glossary and English-Celtic Contacts: A Reappraisal," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 42 (Winter 2001), 73-82.

Sauer, Hans, "The Old English Suffix *-el/ -il/ -ul/ -l* (> ModE *-le*, cf. 'beetle, girdle, thistle') as Attested in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary," *Innovation and Continuity in English Studies: A Critical Jubilee*, ed. Herbert Grabes, *Bamberger Beiträge zur englischen Sprachwissenschaft = University of Bamberg Studies in English Linguistics* 44 (Peter Lang, 2001), 289-313.

APPENDIX A

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Robert L. Schichler

with the assistance of Joslyn Shipley-Johnson

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.

[An Author Index follows.]

I. The Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Medieval Association, New Orleans, October 18-20, 2001:

Eileen A. Joy (Francis Marion Univ.)

**"Beowulf and the Curators,
Bound and Unbound"**

The notion that a historical library, such as the Alexandrian Library or Sir Robert Cotton's London library, could have once been "full" prior to its eventual dispersal or wholesale destruction, and that its curators mainly worked to collect, organize, and stand guard over its collections, belies the fact that, even in the most ancient of traditions, the material apparatus and content of manuscripts and books often underwent profound changes as a result of the various processes of their curatorship — processes that involved the creation of new bindings, support materials, such as descriptive tables of contents and catalogues and indexes, scholarly editions and translations, and projects of literary abridgement and compendia — and therefore, as the library has always been subject to the

vicissitudes of history, so have the books in the library always existed in a state, not of preserved stasis, but of perpetual translation. When the contemporary scholar works his way backward in order to piece together the textual elements that constituted the past library, whether it is the ancient Library at Alexandria or Cotton's library in Westminster, he will reach, finally, not the "original" library itself, but rather the material traces of a partial series of comings and goings of texts in and out of an architectural space called the library, which, although it might appear to be an orderly, well-regulated, and closed system, is really in a perpetual state of open entropy. Furthermore, any unique text we are fortunate to have recovered from the past, such as *Beowulf*, must be viewed, not as an original text purely unique to the time of its *écriture* — in this case, the Anglo-Saxon period — but as a palimpsest of the *scholia* of the *lyceum* known as the library; *Beowulf*, therefore, is an artifact, not only of the Anglo-Saxon age, but also of the early modern and modern library.

This paper looks specifically at the competitive cataloguing efforts of Thomas Smith (1638-1710) and Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), both of whom were involved in compiling inventories of the Cotton Library's manuscript collections from the late seventeenth through early eighteenth centuries. Building upon the French historian Roger Chartier's *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1994), the paper attempts to make connections between the intellectual history of early modern Continental bibliography outlined in that book and the intellectual history of English bibliography in the period when Smith and Wanley were compiling their catalogues. More specifically, the paper traces the productive convergence of the efforts of two bibliographers, both aiming for comprehensiveness within the framework of a specific place and genre — in Smith's case, the antique manuscripts contained in Cotton's library, and in Wanley's case, the antique manuscripts contained in all of England (and even, all of Europe) — yet both also limited by the very human impossibility of achieving total control and mastery over the archive of manuscripts in question; nevertheless, when taken together as a collation, the contents of Cotton's collection are more fully realized, and are therefore more fully *known*, and the invisible text (in this instance, *Beowulf*) is revealed to the gaze of the journeying scholar who then carries that text into the larger world. Ultimately, the failings of the bibliographer to contain a specific branch of knowledge, or a specific collection of texts, within the neat border and legible lines of his catalogue, are grounded, to a certain extent, in the perpetual failure of the library to properly preserve and contain its manuscripts and books. In both cases, desire exceeds

ability, and the bibliographer who works digressively in order to reconstruct the "true" catalogue of any library, or *bibliothèque*, can only know departures, and never returns.

II. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, New Orleans, December 27-30, 2001:

Session 9: "Some Speculation about Familiar Figures: Political Alfred, Subject Eve, Naked Juliana"

Kathleen Davis (Princeton Univ.)

"Land, Faith, and Salvation in King Alfred's Translation Politics"

This paper traces the interrelation of land, individual faith, and salvation in King Alfred's political land dealings and in his translation program. Focusing mainly on the preface and translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*, I demonstrate how Alfred's metaphorical treatment of faith and salvation in terms of land and permanent land ownership provide sanctified ground for the royal distribution of bocland and the bonds it privileges.

In his preface to the *Soliloquies*, Alfred develops the metaphor of selecting and gathering timbers from the forest of patristic texts as raw material for making tools and walls for a beautiful and secure dwelling — an intellectual structure that will provide spiritual security in this life and salvation in the afterlife. This structure is spatial and temporal, individual and communal. It is the leased dwelling space of the individual and community in this world, yet it is the space of identification — the assumed way of life that defines a Christian identity and therefore makes possible permanent self-possession, i.e., salvation. Ultimately, Alfred defines the goal of a Christian life as the achievement of bocland: each Christian works his leased land "until he shall deserve bocland and a perpetual inheritance through his lord's kindness." This metaphor, through which the individual soul's eternal salvation interchanges with a permanent property right, grounds property relations in the sacred, and distinguishes both property and salvation as arenas of special status and privilege exclusively accessible through books. Just as literary inscription alienates land from the common and confers upon an individual subject the right (and hence class privilege) privately to determine future property disposition, so also conversance with the wisdom of Christian books distinguishes the individual Christian's identity and ensures permanent possession of that identity through salvation. This literary privilege

simultaneously, however, reasserts the individualized subject's participation in the political community's destiny, as defined, for instance, in the salvific literary program described by Alfred in the Preface to *Pastoral Care*. Permanent ownership of both property and Christian soul come at the pleasure of one's lord, just as the literary program to save England merges Christian identity with the nation's land.

Helene Scheck (Univ. at Albany)

"Genesis B and the Myth of Female Subjectivity"

This paper reads *Genesis B* in terms of late Anglo-Saxon culture and considers the implications for its representation of Eve within that context. Because it focuses heavily on the question of the individual's place in the cosmological order, *Genesis B* is an important text in which to explore the construction and gendering of subjectivity during an age of reforms that proved restrictive to female autonomy. I argue that the poem effects a gendering of subjectivities where Adam is the rational, though fallible, male subject, and Eve, the irrational female cohort who succumbs to the myth of female subjectivity only to prove herself an abject, poisonous/ing body. The figure of Eve in *Genesis B* restricts the culturally intelligible female by making abject active female roles available to earlier Anglo-Saxon women, such as the counselor, soothsayer, and peaceweaver, and putting her in her "proper" place, attached to her male cohort as adjunct, and subject to God only through man. For the women among the poem's audience/readership and in late Anglo-Saxon society more generally, the abjection of Eve is devastating because it disables and immobilizes female autonomy on so many levels. She is a weak vassal who cannot be trusted; she has inferior intellectual abilities; she is unable to read as a man; she functions on the emotional, rather than rational, level; and her vision, the quality for which earlier Germanic women were once revered, is flawed. For all these reasons, she must be properly shielded, protected, subjected. And for all these reasons, she cannot be entrusted with the important position of peaceweaver. In fact, the poem suggests, no woman should. The denigration of Eve and her womanly role as peaceweaver, therefore, supports the restrictive policies towards women promoted during the Benedictine reforms in late Anglo-Saxon England. The queen is no longer regal consort and counselor of the king; she is not to be entrusted with state secrets, nor is she to be entrusted with weaving peace between nations. Instead of a cup of health, Eve, the poisonous/ing peaceweaver, offers death.

Peter Dendle (Penn State Univ., Mont Alto)

"How Naked is Juliana?"

The torture scenes in the Old English passion narratives of the virgin martyrs are highly charged scenes of male aggression and dominance, especially when the female saint is stripped naked and tortured with instruments. Such scenes are often read as symbolic rapes. I argue that we may not be meant to visualize complete nakedness in these texts, however. Many early medieval monks had limited opportunity to know much about female sexual anatomy, and the word "naked" means something more like "humbled," "wearing only rags," or "stripped of official regalia" in many instances. Such scenes may not be as overtly sexual as critics sometimes imply.

Session 168: "Old English Bibliography and the History of Scholarship: A Session in Honor of Carl T. Berkhout after Twenty-Five Years of OEN Bibliographies"

Helen Damico (Univ. of New Mexico)

"Reclaiming Anglo-Saxon Scholars"

The paper takes note of the significance of the work of Carl Berkhout on the occasion of his retirement and provides a selected overview of publications of the past twenty years or so in the ever-expanding field of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. The paper suggests that Berkhout and Milton McC. Gatch's *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: The First Three Centuries* (1982) set into motion what one might describe as a publishing industry given over to the preservation and advancement of Anglo-Saxon scholars and scholarship. The twenty years that followed not only produced insightful publications on the early scholars who had been omitted from the volume — Junius, Wheelock, Joscelyn, Wanley, Lambarde, and L'Isle to name a few — but in addition brought forth expanded and critical assessments of those scholars in the collection, which the editors felt had been "barely touched upon." Twenty years of scholarship since the Berkhout-Gatch collection has illustrated that in the space of three hundred years, Anglo-Saxon studies had developed from a field of antiquarian inquiry to a recognized academic discipline.

Session 628: "The Demonic, Monstrous, and Heroic in *Beowulf*: Exploring Gender"

Frank Battaglia (College of Staten Island, CUNY)

"Grendel's Arm and the Religion of Woden"

Booty sacrifices in Scandinavia between the second and sixth centuries C.E. are said by Charlotte Fabech to record a shift from fertility to martial religion. Burials within Denmark until about 400 C.E. show kinship organizations in which women held prominence. A 1991 analysis of *Beowulf* has seen the first two monster episodes as originally celebrating the sixth-century triumph on Zealand of a military aristocracy, honoring male gods and patriliney, over goddess-worshipping matrilineal tribes of long standing. Chadwick, Olrik, Chambers and others believed a version of *Beowulf* was sung on the Continent before the migration to Britain. The touting of the new martial religion, rather than Christianity, as an improvement on the ancient chthonic belief system, can be hypothesized in such an early poem. A purpose of this sort appears to be at work in the display [*alecgan*] of Grendel's arm. The display matches the circumstances attested by the sixth century (Strabo, Procopius, Jordanes) for a new rite sometimes associated with folk-names [Goths, Geats < Ger. **geut-*] that may be derived from the blood sacrifice of a hanged enemy, a ritual which gave rise to Gautatyr, Hangatyr, Hangagoð as ways of invoking the deity. The hanging of Grendel's arm fits the ritual of the war god Woden/Odin/Othin which developed in northern Europe. Thietmar described regular cult hanging of human sacrifices at the home of the Danish king at Leire, where we now know the largest Danish hall of the first millennium was located. The goriness of the mere in *Beowulf* before return to the hall reinforces the blood element which Folke Ström found essential in sacral hanging. During the return a song about Sigemund and Heremod is sung. In the only other early Germanic poem in which they appeared together, the Eddaic *Hyndluljóð*, they received their weapons from Othin. The viewing of Grendel's arm situates an edifying speech by Hrothgar to Heorot's noble women. To them is addressed the only reference to Beowulf's mother, which specifies that she bore him in a patrilineal kinship system — *æfter gumcynnum* (echoing line 260's commitment to male blood relationship) — and praises not her, but the God who was gracious in her childbearing. In line 2940 the Swedes will later threaten *getan* the Geats, to cut open and display them in an overmastering enactment of their own ritual. Adam of Bremen reported of the Swedes at Uppsala a ritual similar to that noted at Leire by Thietmar. Woden/Othin assimilated the name and presumably earlier functions of the god Tir, who is commemorated in place-names, iconography or runes in England and Denmark. Figures representing both Othin and Tir have been found at Gudme, newly

excavated site of the first Danish kingly hall. Four uses of *Tir* in the poem, if they are related to the deity still honored on Tuesdays, support the idea that Grendel's body parts were exhibited in dedication to the war god. The fleeing Grendel is said to be *Tirleas*. Hrothgar, expounding on Grendel's arm, is *Tirfæst*. Beowulf, rewarded by Hygelac, is called *Tireadig mon*, "Tir-blessed man." The name occurs as a simplex when Beowulf returns from his underwater fight. Entering the hall, he tells Hrothgar, *we þe þas sælac ... lustum brohton Tires to tacne* ("we brought you this sea-gift with joy as a sign of Tir"). When Beowulf set forth Grendel's arm the poet had stated: *þæt was tacen sweotol* ("That was a clear sign"). The spear was Othin's special weapon; those who died by it were his. He is called *geirs drottin*, "lord of spears," in *Sonatorrek*, and gave himself to himself with a spear in *Hávamál*. *Gardene* as a name for the Danes in the opening lines of the poem may signal that the Danes themselves were dedicated to Woden, and the poem may once have explained how this came to be.

Stacy S. Klein (Rutgers Univ.)

"Beowulf and the Gendering of Heroism"

The past several decades have witnessed a flurry of interest in Anglo-Saxon gender studies, as critics such as Jane Chance, Helen Damico, Allen Frantzen, Joyce Hill, Stephanie Hollis, Claire Lees, Gillian Overing, and Paul Szarmach have variously charted and explored the tenuous relationship between gendered representations and the social and material worlds in which these representations circulated. My paper aims to contribute to this recent scholarship by exploring the complex relationship between heroism and gender in *Beowulf*.

As many critics have argued, *Beowulf* repeatedly holds out a portrait of heroism that is underwritten by a logic of oppositions — revenge or mourn; win or die; maintain death-defying loyalty or creep into the woods, branded as coward. This binary vision of heroism is both reinforced and predicated on a similarly polarized vision of gender, as the poem repeatedly portrays masculinity and femininity as mutually exclusive categories, with heroism as the exclusive provenance of men. Throughout the poem, however, these binary portrayals of both heroism and gender are consistently undercut, and oppositional logic is shown to be overly simplistic as a model for explaining the complexities of either heroic action or gendered behavior. Just as the poem's many digressions and Beowulf himself ultimately show that heroism is a far more complex matter than simply choosing between two diametrically opposed options, so, too, the poem repeatedly sug-

gests that stark oppositions are insufficient for explaining the complexities of gender identity. As the poem progresses, the seemingly immobile and essential nature of gender is exposed as a fiction — as one more binary that, like heroism, the poem erects as a hard and fast division, only to dismantle. Women in *Beowulf* repeatedly fail to successfully enact roles traditionally allotted for them within Anglo-Saxon culture: the poem's many female peaceweavers are shown to be ineffective; and Wealhtheow's inaccurate prediction of how Hrothulf will treat her sons belies the long-held Germanic idea of women as possessed of special foresight. As the poem dramatizes women's inability to enact roles traditionally prescribed as feminine, we concomitantly see men successfully taking up these roles and, further, becoming heroes through their assumption. While the women in the poem are unable to weave peace through marriage, Beowulf becomes a hero by acting as peaceweaver between the Danes and Geats. Similarly, the poem ends by suggesting that Beowulf is ultimately lauded and enters the annals of Germanic legend by accessing feminine desires: he is remembered as "mannum mildust" and "liðost," traits which are feminized not because they were associated exclusively with women in Anglo-Saxon culture but because they are prescribed by Wealhtheow in her speech to Beowulf. And as women fail to enact their traditionally prescribed roles and men begin accessing femininity as a route to heroism, hard and fast categories of gender break down and a far less polarized portrait of gender emerges — a more fluid vision of gender as a series of roles that could, at least theoretically, be enacted by members of either sex. Significantly, though, gender fluidity in the poem is unidirectional: while men may peaceweave, mourn, or enact women's desires, women, such as Grendel's mother or Thryth, who attempt to reverse gender norms and behave in ways traditionally associated with masculine heroism are either killed or forced into socially-sanctioned feminine roles. Unlike the female Virtues in the *Psychomachia*, or the female protagonists of *Judith*, *Elene*, and numerous Ælfician lives — all of whom are depicted as aggressive warriors of Christ who access heroism through adopting masculine traits — *Beowulf* never permits women to access the masculine. As the poem prohibits women from accessing masculine routes to heroism and depicts Beowulf achieving heroism through peaceweaving and the enacting of a woman's desires, the text at once celebrates the masculine aggressivity so central to older models of Germanic heroism even as it suggests the deeply flawed rationale of grounding masculinity in this kind of heroism.

III. A Colloquium at the British Museum, "Shaping Understanding: Form and Order in the Anglo-Saxon World, 400-1100," co-organized by the British Museum and the Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, March 7-9, 2002:

Simon D. Keynes (Trinity College, Cambridge)

**"The 'Grand Combinations'
of the Anglo-Saxons"**

Perceptions of political development in Anglo-Saxon England have not always coincided with the views of the historian Thomas Carlyle, who dismissed the inhabitants of the land as "a gluttonous race of Jutes and Angles, capable of no grand combinations, lumbering about in potbellied equanimity." This paper aims to give some account of the ways in which historians of Anglo-Saxon England, from the twelfth century to the present day, have given shape to that world and reduced it to order.

Noël Adams (London)

**"Revival or Continuity?
Fifth-Century Elements in
the Sutton Hoo Garnet Cloisonné"**

The garnet cloisonné ornaments from Sutton Hoo Mound 1 display advanced techniques of garnet cutting, involving not just the shaping of plates, but also faceting and surface carving. As Rupert Bruce-Mitford recognized, these latter techniques have precedents in fifth-century garnet cutting. This leads to the question of whether the appearance of such techniques represents (1) a complete innovation, (2) the continuity of hereditary workshop traditions, or (3) a conscious revival of Late Antique styles. From a strictly technological viewpoint, it seems likely that such difficult garnet preparation could only be the result of inherited rather than acquired skills, but where and what would have been the models for observation? There are no satisfactory parallels in sixth-century material from Merovingian or Ostrogothic contexts. As the intervening material may simply be lost to archaeological record, the examination of contemporary parallels throws further light on the subject.

After a brief comparison and review of the Sutton Hoo fifth- and sixth-century material, the paper explores inlaid objects from Avaric and eastern Hunnic contexts. Aspects of these ornaments reveal that a parallel "revival" of fifth-century garnet technology and inlaying styles took place on the borders of the Byzantine and Sasanian empires in the early seventh century. Although we can only point to the similarities in pattern

between the two traditions, taken together, they tend to suggest that, while inherited workshop skills cannot be demonstrated or discounted, there was indeed a conscious *renovatio* of the Late Antique in the seventh century.

Angela Evans (British Museum)

**"Innovation and Decline:
Garnet Cloisonné in Early
Anglo-Saxon England"**

In 1939, the excavation of the early Anglo-Saxon ship burial beneath Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo produced an astonishing array of gold and garnet cloisonné jewelry. Finds from cemeteries, particularly in Kent and East Anglia, and more recently from metal detecting suggest that the Anglo-Saxons had a tradition of garnet inlaying that was both more innovative and more long-lived than their Continental neighbors. From the second half of the sixth century, master craftsmen in early Anglo-Saxon England produced metalwork that is distinguished from its Continental counterparts both by its free design and by the lavish use of gold inlaid with cloisonné garnet. This paper traces the evidence for those traditions from the simple use of single cells filled with garnet in the sixth century to a visible decline in the seventh century via an explosion of innovative metalwork in the early seventh century.

Tania Dickinson (Univ. of York)

**"Medium and Message in Early Anglo-Saxon
Animal Art: Some Observations
on Salin's Style I in England"**

Style I, originally defined in 1904 by Bernhard Salin, is the first distinctive and widely used animal art in post-Roman Europe. Its hallmark was an emphasis on body-parts rather than body-outline. More or less familiar, Late-Antique animal forms were transformed into quite fantastical creatures, which could be made yet more ambiguous and obscure by adding, abbreviating and even re-assembling the parts. Since Style I spread out from its origins in later fifth-century Scandinavia to parts of Europe and England, it has been studied mostly in relation to chronology and cultural connections. But in the past twenty years, attention has also been directed to deciphering it as an artistic language, i.e., learning "to read" its difficult formal construction and decoding its iconology. Most of this work, with the notable exception of David Leigh's, has been directed to Continental material, and most has also concentrated on the premier carrier of the style, the multi-paneled, relief-decorated, bow brooches, espe-

cially those with square headplates.

This paper seeks to widen perceptions of the role Style I played in sixth-century England. It begins with a sketch of the incidence of Style I on grave goods, based on a summary sample of sixteen recently excavated and reported Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. This highlights the numerical importance of saucer brooches as a major alternative to square-headed brooches for the receipt of Style I decoration. Moreover, since saucer brooches were introduced to southern England from northern Germany in the mid-fifth century, with a repertoire of geometric decoration, they provide an opportunity to examine what happens — in form and possibly meaning — to Style I when it is translated, secondarily, to a different artifact-type (in this case, with a single circular plane for relief ornament). In sum, it is argued that while saucer-brooch makers selectively adapted Style I to their own pre-existing design traditions, they also actively exploited and diversified its inherent design principles. In the process, their patrons seem to have absorbed, maintained, and manipulated the North Germanic mythic symbolism, which, arguably, lies at the heart of Style I, for their own social purposes.

John Hines (Cardiff Univ.)

**"The Predictable Wanderer:
Individuality and Conformity
in Anglo-Saxon England"**

The objective of this paper is to explore how far the Anglo-Saxon period can be regarded as a unit, from which a wide range of material records — texts, artwork, architecture, and the artifactual record — reflect the lives of the people who made up the population, in a consistent way despite the differences in the types of evidence. The discussion specifically addresses the question of individuality (as distinct from individualism), in light of (1) a common supposition that individuality is antagonistic to "order"; (2) historical generalizations that claim "the individual" only as a later invention, be that of the twelfth century, the Renaissance, the Enlightenment, or Modernism; (3) discussions of selfhood in Anglo-Saxon literary studies; and (4) discussions of agency in archaeological theory.

The discussion is structured by a comparison of burial evidence from the beginning of the period with the Exeter Book elegies from towards its end, arguing that a form of selfhood has a real and significant continuity between these. Age and sex identities are key components of this individual identity. The need to consult archaeological evidence from one end of the period and literary evidence from the other reflects historical and political developments within this time that themselves represent an attempt to impose greater

order on the population through the control of cultural media.

Michael Ryan (Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

"Some Irish Liturgical Spaces"

This paper is a preliminary statement of an exploration of early-medieval Irish ecclesiastical sites as places in which liturgy was celebrated. In most interpretations of church buildings and monastic lay-outs, liturgical considerations have been given very little consideration; recent work has tended to focus on monasteries as sites of incipient urban growth. A brief survey of the field monuments, some tentative interpretations and an indication of possible future lines of enquiry form the basis of the paper.

Susan Youngs (British Museum)

**"The Past in the Present:
Celtic Art in Insular Ornament"**

This paper examines what constitutes medieval "Celtic" ornament and its sources, using recent finds of decorative metalwork from Britain and Ireland in the period before and during its appearance in Insular manuscript art. An overview of the motifs subsequently adopted, and how they were deployed, concludes with a final look at their possible significance in ecclesiastical politics of the seventh to eighth centuries.

James Graham-Campbell (Univ. College, London)

**"Shaping and Reshaping: Aspects of
Late Anglo-Saxon and Viking Art"**

My paper is intended to update current views on the relationships between Anglo-Saxon and Viking art in the light of recent finds of ornamental metalwork in England and Denmark.

Alan Thacker (Univ. of London)

"Bede and the Ordering of Understanding"

Bede used to be seen as the schoolmaster of Jarrow, who — apart from his *magnum opus*, the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* — mostly produced "textbooks," excerpted from the far more creative Christian writings of Late Antiquity. As much recent work has shown, however, such a view scarcely does him justice. In his maturity Bede evolved a clear-cut and in many ways original program for the ordering and transmission of what he regarded as the central knowl-

edge of his day: the Scriptures, and the commentaries and tools needed to understand them and to implement their teaching. The outcome of this approach was an extensive collection of writings, the core of which comprised the most comprehensive corpus of biblical exegesis ever produced in the early medieval Latin West. Moreover, as he worked on this, Bede's own writings and intellectual approach developed and became more independent and personal.

This paper seeks to assess these developments. It begins with some consideration of Bede's personal status and contemporary reputation. It then considers the development of his program for the ordering of knowledge in his day. In so doing it takes account of the nature of his priorities and how they related to what had gone before, before moving on to examine the development of his scholarly approach in the fields of exegesis, history, and computus. It concludes with an assessment of how Bede used his principal authorities, such as Gregory the Great and Augustine.

Wesley M. Stevens (Univ. of Winnipeg)

"En Route with Bedan Cosmology"

Between towns one could become lost in the forest. Yet, one might also cross a sea or a continent, expecting that the intended goal would be reached. Was it reckless self-confidence, or just luck? Knowledge of heavens and earth was taught in the monastic schools in works of astronomy, computus, and geography. It was incorporated into biblical studies, lurked behind literary analogues and imagery, and applied within monthly calendars. Far from being lower and introductory stuff to be forgotten in the lost liberal arts, such knowledge could be used by educated travelers in early medieval Europe from the second to the eleventh centuries, including mappa mundi, the Zodiac, great circles, constellations, terrestrial klimata. With a bit of vellum and a good walking staff, Beda venerabilis will lead us.

Helen Gittos (The Queen's College, Oxford)

"Liturgy and Sacred Space in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper uses liturgical and architectural sources to examine the relationship between liturgy and the space within which it was performed. The links between liturgy and architecture are complex, especially for a period when one does not have detailed evidence for the rites of particular churches. While it is difficult to find precise answers to questions about the function of parts of a building, there is sufficient evidence to begin

to explore the role of spaces themselves. By approaching the problem from this perspective it is possible to identify some characteristics of "place" that play an important role in ritual. This was something that appears to have been self-consciously manipulated by the early medieval Church in general and by the Anglo-Saxons in particular.

Richard Bailey (Univ. of Newcastle)

"Anglo-Saxon Art: Some Orderings and their Meanings"

Through much of the third quarter of the twentieth century, approaches to Pre-Norman art were heavily dependent on two books by T. D. Kendrick: *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900* (1938) and *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (1949). In them we find an analysis of English Pre-Conquest art which sees it as an interplay of "insular barbaric" with "the more substantial dignities and the gentler graces of the classical tradition." Twenty-five years later we now understand more of the complex nature of Anglo-Saxon aesthetics, the transmission of forms and the impact of one medium upon another. Equally we are now more alert to the physical and the intellectual contexts of production — and the range of settings in which the Anglo-Saxons encountered the art we study. This paper shows how motifs and their ordering reflect these considerations, and explores some of the meanings expressed through that ordering.

Jane Hawkes (Univ. of York)

"The Church Triumphant: The Figural Columns of Early Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon England"

The much-weathered Anglo-Saxon column standing in the churchyard at Masham (Yorkshire) is one of a comparatively rare group of monuments thought to have been erected in the Anglo-Saxon landscape in the early decades of the ninth century, namely: the columns at Masham and Dewsbury in Yorkshire, and that at Reculver in Kent. All three have been dated by means of stylistic analysis of the animal and figural ornament, and the layout of the decoration. These monuments, unusual in an Anglo-Saxon context in both their form (that of the round monumental stone column) and their apparently heavy dependence on figural decoration, have elicited a steady trickle of academic interest over the last ninety years, but little attention has been paid to the iconographic concerns of their figural scenes. In part this is due to the largely fragmentary condition of the Reculver and Dewsbury stones, but that at Masham

is relatively complete.

In attempting to reach some understanding of the role these monuments might have played in early ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England, this paper presents an iconographic reading of the figural decoration — concentrating (in the interests of time) on the scenes preserved at Masham, in terms of both the sources apparently available to those responsible for its design and the possible theological significances expressed by them. Through this it is suggested that (at one level) those responsible for the production of the column were concerned to articulate, by means of Old Testament imagery, a canonical and orthodox definition of the Church and its sacraments. What remains of the fragments at Dewbury displays a similar interest, but here the theme is expressed through images of Christ's ministry.

Thus, while the figural scenes that have survived on all three monuments differ in their iconographic vocabulary, it is argued that their overall programs may nevertheless have shared a common concern. This possibility is further suggested by the apparent selection, at the "top" of the monuments, of a common iconographic scheme: Christ and his apostles, an early Christian scheme that enjoyed something of a "renaissance" in Carolingian Papal programs in Rome in the early years of the ninth century.

This potential reference, taken in conjunction with general considerations concerning the monument form, and the apparent imitation of Rome displayed in many of the Anglo-Saxon stone monuments of this period, together point to an attempt to articulate the authority and power of the Church in the land through the form and decoration of these monuments. It is suggested that this is accomplished in a manner that appropriates the public trappings of imperial Rome and articulates them, in highly visible form, in the light of current developments in the Carolingian world and the Rome of the Papal Church in the early ninth century.

Carol A. Farr (London)

**"The Sign at the Cross-Roads:
The Matthean *Nomen Sacrum* in
Gospelbooks before Alfred the Great"**

Most gospelbooks produced in Britain and Ireland before the late ninth century present decorated and enlarged Greek letters (*chi*, *rho*, *iota*, or *XPI*), an abbreviation of the genitive name *Christi*, at the end of the genealogy of Christ in the Gospel of Matthew (Matthew 1:18). *XPI* is one of the "holy names," *nomina sacra*, another being *IHS*, an abbreviation for *Iesus*. Art historians and paleographers usually refer to the decorated letters *XPI* in Matthew as the "*Chi rho*,"

although it is not the sign *XP* which figures in the story of Constantine and in late Roman art in the shape of a cross with the *rho* atop or intersecting it. Also, scholars usually speak of the *Chi rho* as the site of decoration in Insular gospelbooks. This paper, however, explores its semiosis, the way in which it functioned interpretatively to make vivid and understandable the significance of the genealogy and ensuing Nativity narrative in the contexts of the gospelbook itself, private reading, and liturgical performance. The *nomen sacrum*, in its position at the end of the descent of Christ, became a diagrammatic, multivalent shape which articulated the text's transition from verse-like genealogy to narrative. The group of Greek letters presented a divine sign which was also an image, in a shape that became a cross, the Incarnation, and the world. Moreover, it occupied a liminal space in several respects, between: two textual sections, the genealogy and a narrative, text which was sung in the monastic office and text which was read aloud at mass, and text and visual image.

This paper analyzes the ways in which decoration and script were used to distinguish the *Chi Rho* as a sign. It shows how motifs (animals, human heads, vine-scrolls, and non-figural motifs) used in individual manuscripts may relate to its semiosis and how surviving gospelbooks resemble each other or differ in their treatment of the *XPI*. The discussion and argument employ evidence of liturgical use seen in the manuscripts (lection notes and other markings), of early liturgical forms from other manuscripts, of exegesis of Matthew 1 and other relevant texts, as well as of the decoration of Anglo-Saxon and contemporary manuscripts. The manuscripts to be discussed include the Stockholm *Codex Aureus* (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS A.135), the Lindisfarne Gospels (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.iv), and the Barberini Gospels (Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. MS lat. 570).

Nancy Netzer (Boston College)

**"Framing the Book of Durrow
Inside/Outside the Anglo-Saxon World"**

The Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 57 A.4.5), a deluxe Gospel Book of 248 folios illustrated with six carpet pages, evangelist symbol pages, a four-symbols page, canon tables, and elaborate decorated initials introducing portions of the text, remains central to the larger scholarly controversy over the relative contributions of Ireland, Scotland (Iona), and England (Northumbria) to Insular art and culture of the seventh and eighth centuries. The Book of Durrow's precise date, its place of origin, and the origin of the models influencing much of its decoration are still

debated. This paper examines some of the narratives that have been constructed in the twentieth century, beginning with the most influential book of T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art to A.D. 900*, to frame the Book of Durrow both inside and outside the Anglo-Saxon world. It considers how the forms of the manuscript's text, script, layout and decoration fit, or do not fit, the ways in which scholars have shaped understanding of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts over the last century.

Joyce Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

"Anglo-Saxon Perspectives on Liturgical Order"

The conversion to Christianity not only gave early medieval societies the technology of writing; it also introduced new ways of reckoning time and time-sequences, and thus of ordering and recording sequential and cyclical activity: more than one method of pinpointing years; a new means of identifying months; a mode of identifying dates within months; formal time-divisions throughout the day; and a cyclical church year which dovetailed — often with some difficulty — annual rounds of celebration and commemoration based on the lunar and solar calendars.

In this presentation I examine Anglo-Saxon approaches to ordering material within the constraints of the liturgical calendar, with its conflicts between the lunar and solar cycles; the problem of identifying the Sundays in Ordinary Time (i.e., the long post-Pentecost season, continuing to Advent); and the ways in which modern scholars sometimes misinterpret the medieval rationale that is actually at work when what is before them in the manuscript is not correct in relation to the systems of liturgical ordering that they are bringing to bear.

The Anglo-Saxons were influenced, of course, by patristic traditions and subsequently by Carolingian models. Their changing practices can be taken as a case-study of how liturgical order and the means of designating points within that ordered framework were undergoing developments in the early medieval period. At the same time, the analysis is a means of identifying the traditions to which they had access and the influences to which they responded.

Mildred Budny (Research Group on Manuscript Evidence, Princeton)

"Balanced Asymmetry as a Hallmark of Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon Art"

Among modern observers in many disciplines, the practices of variation have long been recognized as occurring, and recurring, in most materials to survive

from the Insular world in the early medieval period. Such features appear in media ranging from scripts to texts in prose and verse, from textiles to sculptures both large- and small-scale, and from metalwork to manuscript illuminations. Often, however, the effect of variation seems haphazard or wayward to modern eyes, accustomed to a more standardized symmetry and uniformity characteristic of the post-medieval and largely mass-produced world, in which, for example, printed books contain more-or-less identical letters and spellings as they repeat throughout a given text. Apparently reflecting these habits, assessments of early medieval materials too frequently dismiss multiple varied letter-forms as willful, mistaken, or outright ignorant on the part of their scribes, and asymmetrical configurations as not constituting "patterns" at all.

Such interpretations impose an especial impediment to Anglo-Saxon art of the ninth century, when a hallmark of the style is a *carefully balanced asymmetry*. Over recent decades the detailed study of numerous works both individually and in context, by scholars working in several fields (some of whom present their results at this Colloquium), has advanced the recognition that the principle of variation, artfully controlled according to modes of perception and habits of thought no longer widespread, constitutes a central focus of Anglo-Saxon aesthetics and the sense of order.

Some works carry this approach to a high art, as notably with the Royal Bible of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. For example, its richly decorated series of arcades for the Eusebian canon tables produces a complex balance through elaborate and intricate means. Such variation governs the structures of the arcades, the alternation of colors and patterns within the set as a whole, and the configurations within individual patterns. The ensemble both enhances and embodies the import of the canon tables, which set out and seek to demonstrate the essential harmony of the four Gospels, despite the seeming discordance between some of their individual accounts. Given the guiding principles of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon aesthetics, particularly in the hands of an outstanding master, it can be no accident that one of the most superb and "iconographically sound" renditions of Eusebian canon arcades to survive from the early medieval world, both East and West, comes from Canterbury in the mid-ninth century.

To demonstrate these principles, my paper examines a series of matching, but carefully varied and asymmetrically balanced, sets which occur in several media dating from about the late eighth century to the early tenth. These sets include: canon arcades; monumental inscriptions; initial pages for multiple Books in a variety of texts both religious and secular; and decorative

devices mixing animate, foliate, and geometric elements in various settings. Notable cases, more and less magnificent, occur in the Royal Bible; the Vespasian Psalter Gloss in Old English, written by the master scribe of that Bible; the Book of Ceme, modeled upon that Bible or a close relative; the Maaseik embroideries; and many specimens of the "Trewiddle Style" of metalwork, which flourished widely in the ninth century.

The shared approaches which these materials exhibit to design and layout, despite their different functions and techniques of production, reveal that the prevalent practice of variation, at its best carefully balanced according to asymmetrical, but yet harmonious, patterns, forms a guiding principle of the art of their time. They also demonstrate a little-recognized continuity in the course of Anglo-Saxon art and cultural life through the ninth century — a century marked, and supposedly mostly marred, by the Viking incursions.

David Ganz (King's College, London)

**"Anglo-Saxon Reception of
Carolingian and Ottonian Books"**

This paper explores instances of Continental manuscripts and models in the book production of tenth- and eleventh-century England, and raises questions about the reception of Continental influence in canon law, liturgy, and learning on the basis of manuscript evidence.

Michael Wood (London)

**"King Athelstan's *Imperium* and
the (Re-)Ordering of Anglo-Saxon England"**

The tenth-century Anglo-Saxon Kings saw their job as "making the England Alfred dreamed," it has been said. But they also saw this (re-)ordering as a *renovatio*, in that it looked back to the seventh century to Theodore, as told by Bede. This lecture gives an overview of the creation of the empire in the late 920s and 930s. It looks at the practical construction of the wider order — military force, hostages, tribute, fostering, baptism — and makes reference also to arrangements within "England," including the restoration of endowments and sees. But order was more than a practical issue for the tenth-century people, and the paper also looks at the way this earthly order was seen to connect with the divine order. It makes special reference to the cult of saints, arguing that Abbo's famous story about St. Edmund took place during a "national" tour in which the King sought out evidence for the tales of the English saints. It also looks at the

patronage of manuscripts and at the King's "think tank" of scholars, with special reference to Israel of Trier. It argues that the translation of the Old English gospels was ordered in 930, to be done by a group of scholars at Canterbury under Archbishop Wulfhelm. Finally, the paper attempts to draw these themes together through two manuscripts which may have belonged to the King himself: British Library, Cotton Galba A.xviii and Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C 697.

Olivier Szerwiniack (Univ. de Picardie Jules Verne, Amiens)

**"Shaping an Historical Event:
The Anglo-Saxons' Arrival in Great Britain
according to Anglo-Saxon and
Britonic Historians"**

The question of origin has always been essential for every ethnic group and it was indeed the case for Anglo-Saxons and Britons. In this paper, I examine how all historians in the British Isles from the sixth century to the twelfth — Gildas, Bede, the author of the *Historia Brittonum* (Nennius?), the authors of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Henry of Huntingdon — dealt with this question and shaped their own versions of the Anglo-Saxons' arrival in Great Britain (*adventus Saxonum* in Latin texts). I show how each of these historians, by turns, variously followed the earlier versions or contradicted previous historians.

In surveying this process, I consider in particular how Bede, the first Anglo-Saxon historian, shaped a plausible picture of the Anglo-Saxons' arrival with very few documents at his disposal: a few sentences from Gildas' *De excidio Britonum* and Constantius' *Life of Saint Germanus* added to some oral traditions. The shaping of this event was, of course, a matter of debate between Anglo-Saxon and Britonic historians. For the former, the Anglo-Saxons were ancestors, while for the latter they were invaders. I demonstrate that, while there are certain differences between the accounts and approaches of every historian, it is possible nevertheless to conclude that, in general terms, the Anglo-Saxon and Britonic historians differed in important respects based upon their ethnic perspectives. The Anglo-Saxon historians insisted that Anglo-Saxons had been invited by the Britonic leader "Vortigern" and had defeated the Britons because of their strength and God's will to punish the Britons' wickedness. The picture is completely different among Britonic historians, who insisted that the Anglo-Saxons, driven from Germany by lack of food and by overcrowding, had asked Vortigern for hospitality and then took control over most of the island little by little by treachery.

Examining the various historiographical renderings of this important episode in the history exemplifies how little medieval British historians aimed at the investigation of historical truth. By shaping their histories, and defining the crucial question of "origin" from the point of view of their own people, they sought rather to legitimate or to question the political situation of their own time.

Richard Gameson (Univ. of Kent, Canterbury)

**"The Last *Chi-Rho* in the West:
From Insular to Anglo-Saxon
in the Boulogne 10 Gospels"**

A study of the little-known gospel book, Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 10 (and, in particular, of its Incarnation initial), provides a lens through which to examine the nature, affiliations, and significance of Anglo-Saxon book production and decoration in the first half of the tenth century.

Elizabeth Tyler (Univ. of York)

**"*Facta velut infecta*: History, Vergil
and the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*"**

Placed in the context of the complex dynastic and familial politics of the early 1040s, this paper sets out the significance of the role of Vergil in the preface and argument of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. In particular, it examines the Encomiast's appeal to Vergil in the light of the author's distinctive approach to the relationship between fiction and historiography and thereby provides a fresh perspective from which to assess the author's bold use of fiction to further the interests of Queen Emma.

Geoffrey Russom (Brown Univ.)

**"The 'Orchestration' of
Verse Patterns in Old English Meter"**

Some time ago, R. P. M. Lehmann noticed that Old English meter avoids sequential repetition of verse patterns, unlike *roscadh*, an Old Irish meter that is otherwise strikingly similar. In this paper, I offer an explanation for Lehmann's finding and for other findings derived from electronic scansions of *Beowulf*, the poems with Cynewulf signatures, and *The Battle of Maldon*. The basic principle for distribution of verse types within an Old English poem — what I call "orchestration" — appears to be principled deviation from metrical norms. Deviant or complex verses are introduced at regular intervals to provide metrical variety.

Regular employment of simpler verses at an appropriately high frequency maintains that sense of the norm without which deviation would be perceived as chaotic rather than interesting. Given the dynamic character of a deviation-and-return model, frequencies of verse patterns should be comparable in any sample of significant size, even perhaps in a fairly small sample. Exploring relative frequencies in samples of one hundred lines can sharpen our understanding of the poet's aesthetic, and may also provide encouragement for specialists who use metrical distributions to research a variety of important problems, such as problems of date or authorship.

Robert D. Stevick (Univ. of Washington)

**"Accumulated Geometry: Harmony of Form
in Anglo-Saxon Texts and Design"**

"Accumulated geometry" is a phrase I have calqued from "accumulated counterpoint," which served for J. S. Bach as the definition of *harmony* (C. Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, p. 171). This kind of harmony is much more than an agreeable combination of simultaneous sounds in music, having to do with the full form of an entire work, just as the harmony of form eventuating from accumulated geometry embraces whole texts and designs in Anglo-Saxon and contemporary Irish works. The achievement of harmonious forms again and again, in manuscript illumination, in vernacular verse texts, in stone sculpture, in fine metalwork will never be understood and appreciated for its intrinsic greatness until its geometrical basis is grasped — fully, operationally, intellectually. Why understanding of this achievement has been slow to develop is described first, as a preface to an attempt to show that accumulated geometry was a conceptual and tactile mode — a cosmic agency — by which form and order were given embodiment in some of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon artifacts most valued today.

Philip Rusche (Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas)

"Order and Design in Anglo-Saxon Glossaries"

The order of words in the surviving Anglo-Saxon Glossaries seems at first sight to be fairly straightforward. They are either alphabetical or arranged according to subject, or remain in the order of the specific literary text from which they were originally taken. Yet within these larger classifications, there are conflicts and problems that the compilers of the glossaries faced in their aim to make their glossaries useful to a varied audience. In this paper I examine some of these tensions in the glossaries, as the compilers struggled to

maintain an order and layout that is at once rational and at the same time practical and useful. For example, how does a compiler who is rearranging a glossary from textual order to alphabetical order maintain the usefulness of the original layout; what rationale lies behind the ordering of sources in a glossary compiled from multiple literary texts; what types of page layouts and scripts did the scribes experiment with to allow for the easiest distinction between lemma and gloss; and in adapting glossaries from originally pagan sources, how does an Anglo-Saxon compiler alter and rearrange the text of the glossary to reflect a Christian world-view? By examining such questions, I show the skill and care with which the compilers of Anglo-Saxon glossaries, an often-maligned group of scholars, arranged and ordered their compositions.

John Higgitt (Univ. of Edinburgh)

**"Emphasis and Visual Rhetoric
in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions"**

This paper is concerned with the visual devices that were used in some Anglo-Saxon inscriptions to enhance or amplify the meaning of the text. Anglo-Saxon inscriptions vary greatly in form and no one uniform pattern emerges. It is also almost certainly the case that the inscriptions that survive are not fully representative of the original range of inscription types, the more ambitious inscriptions from major churches having, for example, very largely disappeared. Furthermore, what does survive often does so in a fragmentary condition, making it difficult to judge the intended visual effect. In spite of these difficulties, enough remains to show that the designers of some, but certainly not all, Anglo-Saxon inscriptions made use of a range of visual devices, some very simple, others more sophisticated.

The aspect of the design that most clearly affects how an inscription is seen — and read — is its position (and scale) in relation to the monument or object on which it is set. Decisions about the layout of the text within the inscribed space may be related to the overall design. This aspect of the design also provides an opportunity for emphasizing elements within the text. This can be seen in some inscriptions where the positioning of key words (mainly personal names) seems to be the result of deliberate planning. The placing of the name of an important individual at the beginning of an inscription is an obvious means of drawing attention to it. The intention may be different when a name appears at the end, or, in one case, at the exact center of an inscription. Symmetrical pairings of names within an inscription are also unlikely to be accidental and may be significant. Normally, the positioning was perhaps

simply intended to emphasize the name of the patron, or of the person commemorated in a funerary inscription. In a few cases, the placing of names may perhaps be explained as an expression of religious humility, or as a way of marking spiritual or secular power. Some of these effects would only have been noticed by a fully literate reader. For the illiterate or the more modestly literate, finding and seeing the principal names may have had a particular importance, and the prominent and memorable placing of these names may therefore have had a particular importance for such viewers.

David Parsons (Univ. of Nottingham)

"Recasting the Anglo-Saxon Runes"

I argue that there is evidence for a seventh-century reform of the runic alphabet in England, and discuss its implications for early Anglo-Saxon literacy.

Anna Gannon (British Museum and Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge)

"... And Pretty Coins All in a Row"

The paper deals with the Anglo-Saxon early silver pennies of the first half of the eighth century, the so-called "sceattas." This is a really beautiful and unusual coinage, surviving in more than a hundred different designs, providing a large repository of iconography and offering important testimony to many motifs that are now lost.

The coins have been extensively studied from the numismatic point of view. Their find-places have been mapped, they have been weighed, their metal content analyzed, their relative chronology worked out, and they have been grouped by scholars in seemingly endless series, types, classes, and varieties. In coin cabinets, they indeed are "pretty coins all in a row."

It is my contention that, while this is excellent numismatic work, its "order" only considers the material as abstract and detached from the world in which it was used and appreciated. None of these classifications would make any sense to the Anglo-Saxons, so that ordering the coins in a different way, by considering the designs and their meaning, allows us to perceive different connections, and hopefully to grasp how their makers and users would have ordered them and understood them.

To exemplify my new approach to the coinage, I particularly concentrate on coins using the design of lions, and show how the iconography fits in the context of the time and the range of meanings it portrays.

Andy Orchard (Univ. of Toronto)

**"Enigma Variations:
Mutual Influence in the Anglo-Latin
and Old English Riddle Traditions"**

This paper seeks to explore the craft and artistry of generations of Anglo-Saxons who chose to compose verse-riddles either in Old English or in Latin. Particular attention is paid to the use of word- and sound-play, and to the use of repeated formulas and other patterns of expression. While it is often asserted that the Latin *enigma*-tradition, beginning with Symphosius and popularized by Aldhelm, had a deep influence on the surviving body of vernacular *Riddles*, this paper seeks to explore the reverse context and assesses the extent to which vernacular themes and techniques of composition may have influenced Anglo-Saxons writing in Latin.

Leslie E. Webster (British Museum)

**"Learned Games:
The Ludic Principle in the Visual Arts"**

The paper explores the particular ways in which certain of the Anglo-Saxon visual arts — especially metalwork and bone carving — examine and interpret the experience of the physical and spiritual worlds. This particular shaping of understanding operates in a way very similar to that in which the Anglo-Saxon poetic riddles offer a means of reading the experienced world through paradox, antithesis and transformational images.

This tradition has its roots back in the artistic repertoire and conventions of the late Roman period, but these were transformed both in form and content into a distinctively Germanic aesthetic. The emphasis on dualities, hybrids, oppositions and other strategic mystifications was an enduring tradition which continued to inform the art of the Christian period in significant ways — indeed, was probably one of the reasons why the multi-layered iconographies and narrative symbols of the Late Antique and Early Christian tradition were so quickly and inventively assimilated by Anglo-Saxons in the seventh and eighth centuries. A few selected examples of secular and religious metalwork and bone carving from the sixth to the tenth centuries briefly illustrate this serious game-playing — among them, of course, the Franks Casket and Braunschweig chrismaal, as well as less well-known pieces.

David Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, Oxford)

**"Letter and Number and Musical Note:
Literary Languages and Cosmic Order"**

I consider several cultural phenomena as attempts to represent in human compositions what artists, as sub-creators, imagined God to have done in Creation: the forming of Medieval Latin as a *Schriftsprache*, a machine for communicating across vast distances of space and time, three separate attempts to forge Old English as a literary language with the same architectonic features as Latin, the expansion of the common Germanic futhorc into the Old English futhorc, and a few fixed compositions in Anglo-Latin and Old English that relate particular men at a specific time to the eternal order of the cosmos.

Dáibhí Ó Cróinín (National Univ. of Ireland, Galway)

**"Irish Manuscripts and Anglo-Saxon Studies:
The CALAMUS Project"**

The CALAMUS Project is a new Irish-government-funded initiative to undertake a complete "Catalogue of Latin Manuscripts of Irish Origin on the Continent, A.D. 600-800." The aim of the project is to bring together for the first time a complete inventory of the contents and the related paleographical, codicological, and contextual data for all Latin manuscripts with Irish associations currently held in European libraries, whether written in Ireland or on the Continent. The ultimate purpose of the project (which will have a second phase, covering manuscripts from A.D. 850-1200) will be to apply the methodologies of E. A. Lowe and textual scholars to produce something for Irish materials along the lines of Helmut Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, MRTS 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001) and J. D. A. Ogilvy's *Books Known to the English 597-1066* (Cambridge, MA, 1967). The project will, of course, require an active dialogue with Anglo-Saxon scholars and should provide an opportunity to re-examine some of the points raised in recent discussion of the "Irish versus Anglo-Saxon" debate surrounding early Insular manuscripts, as in Marco Mostert's "Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or Insular?" in D. Edel, ed., *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages* (Dublin 1995), 92-115.

Patrick Wormald (Wolfson College, Oxford)

**"The Power of Command:
Pre-Conquest England
as a 'Developing' Society"**

Power is the staple of most modern historical discourse — whether within family, village, religious community, or kingdom itself. It falls naturally from our lips as a *datum*. Yet historians begin to look shifty when asked quite what they *mean* by power. The answer is obvious enough in one sense: an individual or regime's ability to get people to do what they want, but what their subjects may not always wish to do themselves. That being granted, however, *how do they manage this?* Wherein consists that capacity to exercise command, to exact obedience? Are we to be thrown back on the lamely modern notion of "consensus" against which Foucault warns us at such not uncharacteristic length? If not, wherein resides force? The answer can hardly be mere weaponry, because no army or police force before 1789 (or 1917) could use simply coercion against vastly more numerous subjects. Power is a fact, but *how* is it a fact?

I would suggest that the levers of power, as perceived historically, are broadly three. The first is the one we instantly recognize, institutions. People do things because the structures in which they are involuntarily (and sometimes even voluntarily) enrolled, expect it of them; apart from anything else, delinquents are unlikely to be looked upon with favor by fellow-members of the community on which the relevant burdens then fall disproportionately. The whingeing cities of the later Roman Empire (or English county communities) are cases in point. Second, there is patronage, mutual back-scratching. People obey because of what they get out of it from their lord and master. Disobedience means instant discountenance, or worse: Wiglaf has memorable words to this effect towards the end of *Beowulf*; and another king in that poem came to grief simply because he ran out of the wherewithal (or perhaps the will) to reward. Third, most elusively, there is charisma. Rulers are obeyed because they strike awe — not just fear, which we have covered already, but majesty: the sense that it is *they who must be obeyed*. (Saints, of course, have this quality too.)

Now it is obvious enough, indeed natural, that there will always be any amount of overlap between these categories. What was a later Roman emperor if not charismatic, commanding though he did the largest military force seen in history before Louis XIV at the earliest? Was it charisma or now near-invisible institutions that made Persia the first great empire? The Queen has charisma — or Princess Di did — yet the operations of modern English government are inconceivable

without their rooted institutional base. Hitler had charisma (we now gather); institutionally, his government may (unlike the *Wehrmacht*) have been a shambles, but his party was a mighty machine — and one, furthermore, that dealt out its accumulated goodies to its own members on a pretty thoroughgoing basis. Medieval saints, royal and otherwise, had nothing if not charisma. But they also had immense institutional power, which they too knew how to use to attract and keep followings. One cannot, in fact, break down power into my three neat constituents, however the balance between them might vary in any one instance.

Nevertheless, I argue here that our inimitable legacy from Ancient Civilization and its self-styled heirs has formed in our minds a polarity, whereby institutionalized government is essentially *modern, efficient*, in a word civilized, while the modes of patronage and charisma are *traditional, ultimately inefficient* (not to say corrupt), and so in the last resort barbaric. I suggest that the understanding of early English history even before 800, let alone post-900, has as a result been consistently misrepresented; or, in a phrase, that there was always a rigorous institutional structure in pre-Conquest England (or throughout western Europe for that matter), which was what made its very predatoriness possible, and on which charisma sat like a gloss. This, in short, is another of the Wormald (I should of course say Campbell-Wormald) studies in the degree to which we have hugely underestimated the governmental capacities of our most distant ancestors, Romanized or no.

It is a matter, I think, of angles — or perhaps I should say "voices." Start Old English history with the Laws, or with *Beowulf*, or with Bede, and you get three very different results: the proof being the vastly contrasting tones of those three very great books, Stubbs's *Constitutional History*, Chadwick's *Heroic Age*, or Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England*, chapters 1-8. My argument here is that the ascendancy of Old English Literature, especially in America (and of what has become its intellectual heir, highly sophisticated art-history), alongside the heavily Bedan perspective dictated in England by Stenton and his disciples, has eclipsed the so much less spectacularly documented structures of English government and society. Historians, indeed, have hardly known what to *do* with these monuments, especially after 900. As a result, the essential foundations of all else have been missed. Without Byrhtnoth's revenues, services, and sheer local prestige, there would have been no Maldon army. Without the resources so carefully accumulated by the bishop of Winchester and patron of Ely, there would not even have been a *Benedictional of Æthelwold*. Yet it is here, where wealth and power were garnered and concentrated, that historians have been looking least

hard, because they have either not known what to look for, or hardly dared believe what they found. In the process, they have missed the bedrock which underlies the most enduring political and social culture in human history. We have been looking at branches and flowers, when we could and should have been looking, like Stubbs, at roots.

So I am going to spend the rest of my time on roots. I argue that it is only by appreciating that societies like early England's have extremely robust and ancient structures that anything much else emerged from them at all. It follows that Old English governmental institutions were extremely formidable, and had almost certainly been so for many centuries. I am afraid that this (needless to say) means quite a lot of law. But then, if you'd done the work in the first place, you'd now be able to listen to me talking about something also less rebarbative, like the *Benedictional of Æthelwold*.

IV. The Seventy-Seventh Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, New York, April 4-6, 2002:

Session 42: "Lost Cities, Imagined Cities: Reconstructing the City in the Anglo-Saxon Literary Imagination"

Nicholas Howe (Ohio State Univ.)

"Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England"

Following Walter Benjamin's designation of Paris as the capital of the nineteenth century, this paper argues that Rome served as the capital of Anglo-Saxon England if that term is understood as designating not the center of a political state but rather as identifying the great city from which cultural influence is registered. In that regard, Rome served as the center of missionary activity for the Anglo-Saxon conversion as well as a continuing destination for pilgrims and travelers, such as Archbishop Sigeric in 990. More profoundly, Rome served as the capital of Anglo-Saxon England because it was the source of the geographical knowledge or narrative cartography by which the Anglo-Saxons found their place on the map. They knew that they were in the remote reaches of empire, on an island in the far north-west, because that was what Roman geographers told them. Over time, the Anglo-Saxons took that narrative geography and turned it to their own purposes so that they might close the geographical distance between England and Rome.

Robin Waugh (Wilfrid Laurier Univ.)

"Women in the Textual City: Performative Politics in Cynewulf's *Elene* and in the Old English *Genesis A*"

The Old English term *wic* does not merely indicate a traditional division between men's and women's spaces, but instead helps to create instances of performative politics, of female versus male political entities. Often, *wic* appears once women have set out on journeys of their own making and have become independent, even disobedient, like Hagar, Sara, Lot's daughters, and Lot's Wife in *Genesis A*. Lot's wife in particular stands out on the landscape as a kind of statement against God's cities, laws, speeches, and judgements, even though her image, and the new *wic* that the poem says that she forms when she is changed into salt, of course also help to demonstrate the power of God's cities, laws, speeches, and judgements. Furthermore, this individual and feminized use of *wic* extends to other poems — for example, *Elene*, where God takes up a *wic*, a dwelling-place, in the heroine's heart under circumstances which demonstrate a contrast between this private domain and the public spaces of the poem, for instance the "textual cities" of Rome and Jerusalem. Old English poetry thus seems to demonstrate that *wic* does not merely indicate a separation of public space and domestic space, with women associated more with the home, but instead allows readers to perceive brief moments of entirely feminine expression.

V. The Thirty-Seventh International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 2-5, 2002. 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:

Twentieth Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 33: "Gender, Place, and Poetry: Sessions in Honor of Helen Damico I"

George Hardin Brown (Stanford Univ.)

"The Wound in Christ's Side, Site of Devotion for Bede and Later Women Mystics"

In this paper I point out how Bede contributed to

the exegesis of the text, John 19:34 — “But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once blood and water came out” — how his exposition formed part of the tradition, and how later women mystics in their devotional writings used and extended the interpretation and its powerful imagery. Finally, I show how their portrayals differed from Bede’s in very important ways, psychologically and imagistically. Bede speaks of washing with the water from Christ’s side in the sacrament of Baptism, of drinking his blood in the sacrament of the Eucharist, of entering into Christ’s wound as into the ark or temple; and the *Dream of the Rood* is highly devotional expression of the Passion. However, after the powerful devotional developments in the twelfth century, as exemplified by figures such as St. Bernard and St. Francis, mystics become far more graphically and physically involved in the wound of Christ’s side and they take up a dwelling in his Sacred Heart. Angela of Foligno puts her lips to the real wound and drinks his blood, and, like the devotional pictures of the time, she is engulfed in the blood. The contemplatives have moved from exegetical rumination to baroque visionary realism.

Kellie S. Meyer (Univ. of York)

**“The Lady and the Vine:
Putting the Horsewoman on
the Hilton of Cadboll Stone into Context”**

The identity of the horsewoman portrayed on the Hilton of Cadboll cross-slab, located on the Tarbat peninsula in Ross-shire, Scotland, has engendered significant debate among scholars, much of it centered around the assertion that her prominent position on the stone is proof of the matrilineal descent of the Pictish kings and exemplifies the importance of women in Pictish society. Other scholars assert that the figure is meant to represent the Virgin Mary in the Flight into Egypt, or Epona, the horse goddess. These theories are discussed briefly in regard to the historical and art-historical evidence before moving on to a new analysis, wherein the portrayal of the lady is considered in conjunction with the vine-scroll ornament that borders the central panels of decoration on the Hilton of Cadboll monument.

Although vine-scroll ornament can be found throughout the Insular world in manuscripts, ivories, metalwork and stone sculpture, and the Hilton of Cadboll motif bears a close stylistic affinity to the early ninth-century vine-scrolls depicted on the sculpture of the Deiran kingdom, the portrayal of the inhabited vine-scroll on the Hilton of Cadboll monument is unique. Before discussing the atypical characteristics of this vine-scroll, a brief survey of the closest parallels is

presented in order to place the appearance of the Hilton of Cadboll vine-scroll within an artistic and historical context and to conjecture what an artistic relationship with the diocese of York might have entailed for the community at Hilton of Cadboll.

The unusual features of the Hilton of Cadboll inhabited vine-scroll are highlighted next in order to point out how such peculiarities affect the iconographic interpretation of the vine scroll and, in turn, the interpretation of the figural scene. In other words, the unique depiction of the vine-scroll points to a specific relationship between the ecclesiastic and secular branches of Christian practice and may point to a particular event within the history of the Pictish Church; it is into this context that the Hilton of Cadboll lady can be squarely placed and her importance to the Picts of the Tarbat peninsula revealed.

Session 95: “Gender, Place, and Poetry: Sessions in Honor of Helen Damico II”

Nicholas Howe (Ohio State Univ.)

“Placing Anglo-Saxon England”

The subtitle for this paper reads: “From Bede’s World to ‘Bede’s World’” to denote its subject. That is, the paper begins by examining some of Bede’s statements in the *Ecclesiastical History* about how he thought of place, especially in relation to his monastic life at Wearmouth-Jarrow, then examines his depiction of place in his *De Locis Sanctis* and concludes with a piece of travelogue about the modern recreation of an Anglo-Saxon village at Jarrow known as “Bede’s World.” The argument of the paper lies in its suggestion that just as the recreated village brings us face to face with the enormous cultural change from an Anglo-Saxon rural world to a post-industrial Tyneside landscape, so Bede’s *History* juxtaposes the unconverted world of Britain with the converted world of Anglo-Saxon England.

Session 156: “Gender, Place, and Poetry: Sessions in Honor of Helen Damico III”

Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent Univ.)

**“Revisiting *The Dream of the Rood*
at Nones, Good Friday”**

The Dream of the Rood contains significant echoes of the Veneration of the Cross ritual which developed its fullest form in mid-ninth-century Carolingian France

and formed the core of the Good Friday Nones service. A comparison of the full synaxis proper with the language and movement of the poem shows substantial parallels that have not yet been remarked upon, since our only knowledge of this ritual in Pre-Conquest England until now has been its *ordo*-like prescription in the *Regularis Concordia* which is nevertheless preserved in full only in manuscripts of the next century.

New evidence of two hitherto-unedited and unrelated synactic texts of this Good Friday ritual from mid-eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon England, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 422 and in two binding leaves from Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 120, shows that the Veneration of the Cross was in performative practice in at least the south of England at that time. A fruitful examination of *The Dream of the Rood* in light of the design of these two discrete texts may be able to push a demonstrable English use of the Veneration back to the date of the Vercelli Book, roughly contemporary with the *Regularis Concordia* synod of the 970s.

Éamonn Ó Carragáin (National Univ. of Ireland, Cork)

"Beowulf as a Boethian Poem"

The poet who redacted the version of *Beowulf* which has come down to us knew and valued Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. This is most clear in the Dragon Part of *Beowulf* (lines 2200-3182), which is structured as a vast image of the Wheel of Fortune, and based on the burial, and retrieval, of treasure (see *De Consolatione*, Book Five, prosa 1). This circular structure is clearly marked out in the sectional divisions of the *Beowulf* manuscript. The poet prepares for the Dragon Part by structuring a number of earlier episodes as circles: for example, the "Finnsburh Episode." Both *De Consolatione* and *Beowulf* are texts in which a Christian author looks at the shape of secular history implying, but without mentioning, Christ.

Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State Univ.)

"Klaeber 4"

Almost since the appearance of the first edition in 1922, Klaeber's *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg* has been the standard edition of the most important work of Old English literature. It has both introduced students to *Beowulf* and filled the role of the standard work of scholarly reference: although the last, 3rd edition, with supplements, was published in 1950, nearly all published studies of the poem continue to rely upon it. Now Klaeber's edition is under contract with Houghton Mifflin to be revised by R. D. Fulk,

Robert E. Bjork, and John D. Niles. The editors' primary concern in producing this new edition is to render it as useful and current again now as it was fifty years ago while preserving the things that have made the book so standard, not only as a textbook but as a basic work of reference, namely the sheer amount of information packed into it. Nor would the general character of Klaeber's editorial practices be altered, though naturally a half-century of scholarship includes textual criticism that points to the need for alterations in some specific passages. This paper outlines the major problems attendant upon revising Klaeber and invites suggestions from the scholarly community on what *Klaeber's Beowulf*, the 4th edition of *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, should look like, on what should be retained, what removed, and what altered in this central text in our field.

Session 207: "Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture"

Johanna Kramer (Cornell Univ.)

"A Latin Proverb in the Old English *Maxims I*"

The third part of the Old English *Maxims I* contains a passage on the creation of the world and the subsequent development of diversity in human thinking (ll. 164-168). Thus, as many different opinions exist as do different people: "swa monig[e] beop ofer eorþan swa beop modgeponcas" (l. 167). Poetry and music, however, bring harmonious unity and consolation in life (ll. 169-170). The Old English line on the diversity of human opinion parallels the Latin proverb "Quot homines, tot sententiae" both conceptually and syntactically. The common Latin phrasing was coined by Terence in his comedy *Phormio* (l. 454) and is its earliest known Latin expression. However, no parallels to the Old English line or explorations of its context and function have been offered so far.

The Latin proverb appears frequently in late antique and medieval texts, but its use by the early Christian apologist Ambobius and by the tenth-century Gunzo Grammaticus proves to be of particular interest here. Ambobius, in *Adversus Gentes*, inverts the meaning of the proverb to deny diversity of human thinking and to stress the common and united Christian faith experience. Gunzo, as part of an epistolary invective against the monks of St. Gall, who insulted his grammatical knowledge, contemplates the workings of music and ways of reaching harmony among dissonant voices, immediately before he decides to forgive his opponents for their attack on him, since differences in opinion are to be expected among many different men.

An exploration of the literary context of the Latin

proverb helps to illumine the Old English poem in various ways. For one, although the compiler of the *Maxims I* might not have known Terence's play, some Latin learning might yet have constituted part of his background. Moreover, it shows that the proverb's use in Anglo-Saxon literature is relatively unusual and, especially in connection to music and the creation of harmony, makes for an interesting and rather rare rhetorical move.

Berit Åström (Umeå Univ.)

**"The Changing Faces of
Anglo-Saxon Woman as Lover"**

The idea of Anglo-Saxon woman as wife and lover has undergone many changes since John Thrupp claimed, in 1862, that Anglo-Saxon women were routinely bought and sold, beaten and abused, and never addressed with respect or love, neither in literature nor in life. Today scholars focus on characters like the Frisian wife in *Maxims I*, or the Wife in *The Wife's Lament*, and suggest that the poems show images of, in the one case, a happy and sexually fulfilled marriage, in the other, sexual frustration caused by the absence of her spouse. Several factors have brought about this change in the interpretation of Anglo-Saxon women, but two of the strongest influences are those of feminist and postmodern theories. Yet, the image of the Anglo-Saxons as uninterested in love, matrimonial or otherwise, in literature as well as in life, exemplified by Thrupp, sometimes reappears in contemporary research. This image is demonstrated, for example, in the interpretations of the woman's role in the "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" episode in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The interpretation of the woman in question has gone from obscure reference, to prostitute, to rape victim. Very rarely is she seen simply as a wife or a lover. This paper charts the changing scholarly attitudes to the image of the sexual and sensual Anglo-Saxon woman and proposes a new way of reading Anglo-Saxon woman as lover.

Kees Dekker (Univ. of Groningen)

**"Sound, Light, and Language:
The Miracle of Pentecost
in Anglo-Saxon England"**

Few miracles have received so much attention in both Latin and vernacular Anglo-Saxon literature as that of Pentecost. At the heart of this event is the concept of language, particularly language in the form of the Word of God. It was clear to the Anglo-Saxons that language was closely associated with, and ulti-

mately originated from, God himself, and that the development of language in the world was the result of divine guidance and interference (A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel* II-I [1958], 470-83). The earliest language was often believed to be Hebrew, and this one language was divided into 72 — or sometimes even more — languages at the time of the Tower of Babel, as a punishment for men's pride and arrogance (H. Sauer, "Die 72 Völker...", *Anglia* 101, 29-47). The events at the Tower of Babel were often linked typologically to those at Pentecost, which was regarded as the miraculous reversal of the situation. God enabled the apostles to communicate with potential converts whose language had formerly been alien to them, with the ultimate aim to unify the world in one Church and faith.

The events surrounding the miracle of Pentecost were the subject of frequent discussion both in the patristic tradition and by Anglo-Saxon scholars. Alcuin and Bede have commented on the gifts of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles; and their comments, in turn, were part of the sources for vernacular Anglo-Saxon accounts, especially those of Ælfric, in whose homilies Pentecost features frequently as a highly important topic. However, neither in the Latin accounts nor in the vernacular ones are the descriptions of the miracle of Pentecost uniform. There are differences in the nature of the miracle — sometimes a "speaking miracle," at other times a "hearing miracle." Moreover, there are varying accounts of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, the abilities of the apostles, the number of people in the house, and the amount of fire seen on the occasion. Elaborations on the biblical story are particularly frequent. In this paper I discuss the various occurrences of the miracle of Pentecost in Anglo-Saxon literature with respect to their sources, and observe how the different forms of the story relate to its significance in the Anglo-Saxon cultural context.

Session 408: "Anglo-Saxon Prognostics"

László Sándor Chardonnens (Leiden Univ.)

**"Divination and Mathematics:
Reading the Function of Prognostics
from Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"**

Judging from the manuscript evidence, it is evident that Anglo-Saxon scribes took an interest in prognostics. Prognostics are texts which help foretell the future using a wide range of observations from the natural world, astronomical data, and dreams. In the paper, the prognostics are analyzed in terms of their status within the religious establishment, and what purpose they served to the people who read them.

Prognostics are a type of divination and are, therefore, vulnerable to attack from the Church. Alternatively, they are a monkish superstition belonging to bookish culture. These two positions have long been maintained by those who investigated the prognostics. From an inspection of the injunctions against divination in the writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan, it will appear that the prognostics did not necessarily go against the vested interests of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

A principal source for a study of the prognostics and their purpose are the manuscripts in which they have been attested. Removed from this manuscript context, prognostics are just divinatory texts. Studied in their context, however, it will appear that the prognostics fulfill various roles in accord with the type of context in which they feature. On the one hand, they clearly are a type of divination; on the other, they display a theoretical involvement with arithmetic. Prognostics in a computus, for instance, may have been regarded as arithmetical texts, whereas those in a medical manuscript may have been used on account of their usefulness in preventing illness or death. It is, therefore, informative to discover in what type of context prognostics are found. Another observation that can be made from the manuscripts is that the context dictates what kind of prognostic genres it can contain. Thus, Apuleian Spheres (a genre ordered by time) have mainly been transmitted in computi, whereas alphabetical dreambooks (a non-temporal genre) have not been attested in computi. These, and other observations, such as the language of the prognostics and the provenance of the manuscripts, will provide a rounded picture of the Anglo-Saxon prognostics.

Michael D. C. Drout (Wheaton College)

“Predicting or Controlling? Some Cultural Functions of *The Fortunes of Men* and Anglo-Saxon Prognostics”

There are parallels between the Exeter Book poem *The Fortunes of Men* and the prognostications collected in such sources as British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A.iii and the related Cotton MS Caligula A.xv. In this paper I argue that *predictions* the prognostics and poems make about the world can in fact have the power to change the world, to in effect make themselves come true. Predictions have this power because they create divisions and categories out of the otherwise infinite variety of the fates of men. That these predictions likely evolved from *post hoc* observation and generalization does not change the fact that they indicate both that the monastery was interacting with the wider world in the tenth and eleventh centuries (contra the dictates of Æthelwold and the first genera-

tion of the Benedictine Reform) and that knowledge which was not in Latin, but was textualized, was important to the monasteries at this time.

Both prognostics and catalogue poems generate an order of knowledge and power where monks possess special knowledge about God's plan in the universe. Prognostics also channel perceptions into certain predetermined tracks, and when we logically deduce that these well-worn tracks are not likely to lead towards outcomes unwanted by the monasteries, we will note that such minor things as lists of prognostics or catalogue poems can in fact have a great effect upon the lives of the people who rely on the monastery as a storehouse of wisdom. The monastery was revered for many reasons in Anglo-Saxon England, not the least of which was that it was a place to go to find answers to the truly perplexing questions of the time.

Roy M. Liuzza (Tulane Univ.)

“The Sphere of Life and Death: Medicine, Numbers, and the Visual Imagination”

The so-called “Sphere of Pythagoras” or “Sphere of Apuleius” is an iatromathematical device found in numerous manuscripts as early as the ninth century. It was used to determine the course of a disease by manipulating a series of numbers derived from the patient's name and the day of the lunar month on which he or she fell sick. As a text it falls into the broad and miscellaneous category known as “prognostics,” calendrical or numerical texts used to forecast events (weather, birth, the meaning of dreams, or lucky and unlucky days) whose origins and proliferation are a fascinating indication of the intersection of classical, Christian, and native Germanic cultures in early medieval England. Perhaps more interesting than the text itself, though it has a deep and complex textual history as a fragment of late-classical learning preserved and transformed in medieval manuscripts, is the fact that the text is invariably accompanied by a more or less elaborate diagram, though such a diagram is strictly speaking not necessary in order to use the prognostic device. These diagrams vary in style and degree of elaboration. My paper presents this text along with its diagrams, surveys its history and use, discusses its transmission and survival in medical and computistical manuscripts (arguing for the confluence of the two), and discusses the Sphere as an example of the developing visual culture of medieval manuscripts, a legacy of the elaboration of charts, illustrations, and diagrams in medical and scientific texts of the later Carolingian period.

Session 580: “Identity and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon England”

Sharon M. Rowley (Univ. of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras)

"The Fall of Britain and English Identity in the Old English Bede"

Although Henry Sweet argued that the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* could not be the work of King Alfred because it is "too literal" a translation, the Old English is actually quite different from the Latin. The anonymous translator edited the text substantially: he cut out most of Roman history, accounts of foreign saints, details about the Pelagian heresy, and the papal correspondence. These changes, as Whitelock points out, make the text shorter, more current, and more focused on the English. Many of the differences between the Old English and the Latin, I believe, also derive from the distinct historical perspectives of Bede and his translator. Because the changes effect Book I most radically, they reshape Bede's account of the fall of Britain, which in turn casts the development of the English people in a different light.

Writing from a secure position in the wealthy library at Wearmouth-Jarrow during the "golden age" of Northumbria, Bede relates the history the English as the history of a chosen people coming to a promised land. Drawing on Gildas, who understood the fall of Britain in Christian terms, Bede tells the story of the conquering Saxons as "a people predestined by God's providence to link Britain ... to the universal Roman Church" (Hanning, 70). To do so, he relates the story of the island as a "drama played out on an island stage by those who cross the sea," including the Britons, Picts, Scots, Romans, and then Saxons (Howe, 51). As Nicholas Howe points out, Bede develops this theme sometimes at the expense of historical accuracy. The Britons as a people draw very little sympathy from Bede, who depicts them as weak and cowardly. Because the "flower of their youth" had been depleted in unnecessary wars led by rash dictators, the Britons were unable to defend the island. With their lack of martial skill and refusal to convert the Saxons, the Britons provide a marked contrast to incoming chosen, who produce both *Bretwaldas* and missionaries. Although Ceolwulf's reign was having a rocky beginning, Bede describes the state of England in 731 as one of "peace and prosperity."

But this state was slipping away even as Bede was drawing his conclusions, and by the late ninth or very early tenth century the anonymous translator of the Old English version of the *HE* was working under very different historical conditions. He may have been in Lichfield, which was a pocket of relative security, but in the midst of (or the aftermath of) the massive Danish invasions no clear sense of English entitlement to the

island was really possible. King Alfred generated a sense of English nationality — but one also inflected with a timbre of nostalgia. In his "Preface" to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, Alfred articulates a sense of Englishness, and seeks to recover the learning that was lost in England in the interim. Whether the OEB was a part of Alfred's plan to translate "the books most necessary for all men to know," or the project of someone in earlier Anglia or Mercia, gone from it are many of Bede's unsympathetic comments about the Britons, their heresies, and many of the allusions to crossing the water. Gone too are the letters connecting Augustine of Canterbury and his successors to Rome. Consequently, in the OEB, the migration myth seems less focused, and the connections to the universal Roman Church less emphatic. Overall, the translator lessens the contrast between the English and the Britons while he edits out information about Rome and foreign saints to focus more closely on specifically English history.

This essay compares Bede's account of the fall of Britain with that of the OEB in the context of the historical changes that took place between 731 and the late ninth century. It explores the ways in which the anonymous translator's heavy editing of Book I of the Latin also transforms notions of English identity and the shape of English history. If the *HE* is the history of the English as a chosen people migrating over water to a promised land, how does the OEB reconfigure that history? And what does that reconfiguration tell us about a developing sense of English national identity in the late ninth and early tenth century?

Alice Sheppard (Pennsylvania State Univ.)

**"Complementing Bede:
The New History of the Alfred Annals"**

Though the *Historia ecclesiastica* begins an influential discourse of ethnicity and identity, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Old English translations of the *Historia ecclesiastica* and Orosius's *Libri septem historiae* suggest that Alfred's *Anglecynn* are not later reproductions of Bede's *gens Anglorum*.

The *Historia ecclesiastica* participates in the kind of Christian historiography that, in reckoning time on a divine scale, figures conquest and invasion as payment for sin and structures the rise and fall of various empires as necessary precursors for the coming of the kingdom of God. Thus the *Angli* of Bede's text are a people united by their conversion, a special kinship with Rome, and their place in the teleology of Christian history.

In contrast, the entries for Alfred's reign counter the historiographic conventions of the *Historia ecclesiastica*.

ca and in so doing disrupt the discourse of identity Bede begins.

Though the Alfred annals are preceded by an account of world history, there is no sense in the Alfred annals of a divine hand at work; the threat of conquest is strong, but there is no sense that the Danish invasions are a just punishment for the Anglo-Saxons' sins.

Rather, the annalist rewrites the Danish raids as tests of Alfred's lordship. This lordship is neither a precise reflection of contemporary practice nor a recapitulation of the heroic ethos. It is, rather, a code of royal and aristocratic behavior that the Alfred annalist asserts as the public culture of Alfred's realm and identity for his people.

Other Sessions

Session 7: "Beowulf I"

Sandra M. Salla (Arcadia Univ.)

"'Thrice Told Tales': Parallel Description, Audience, and *Beowulf's* Intertextuality"

The many parallel descriptions in *Beowulf* display the sensibilities of a performance audience in tension with a fictional dramatic one. These parallel descriptions result from the poet's efforts to satisfy the requirements of orality and textuality simultaneously, revealing *Beowulf's* position as an "intra-text," or a text which is caught between spoken and written events. On the one hand, the interplay of narrative events and embellished parallel descriptions present the structure of a three-night presentation; retellings begin each night's oral performance in order to pique the audience's memory of the previous nights' narrative and to (re)connect the performance to the audience's concerns. On the other hand, the poet shows awareness of a dramatic (textual) audience by adding details to the parallel descriptions which do not directly correlate to the concerns of the performance audience, but pertain to the sensibilities of fictional listeners, such as Hrothgar and Hygelac. Such attention to the fictional audience further suggests the poet's additional awareness of written convention, with its concern for crafted details. I argue that this split in the poet's attention responds to the poem's place in the transition between oral and written cultures. That position, moreover, raises problems for later readers of *Beowulf* who only encounter the text as text, and who imagine a singular audience in place of the poet's more complex, doubled one.

Liam Ethan Felsen (Univ. of Oregon)

"On Uhtan: Liminality, Sorrow, and Canonical Hours in *Beowulf*"

At no time of the day in Anglo-Saxon poetry, and in *Beowulf* in particular, do sorrow, misery, and anguish manifest more prominently than *on uhtan* — the canonical hour that stands between night and day, the period just before dawn when it is no longer dark but the sun has not yet risen — and the early morning period which immediately follows it. It is *on uhtan* that we first see the destruction of Grendel; Beowulf kills Grendel's mother so that none of the race of Cain can any longer boast about *uhtthlem*, the "din at dawn" that accompanies their evil killings; and the dragon is described as *uhtsceada* "dawn-ravager" and *uhtfloga* "dawn-flier" — a symbol of sorrow incarnate. Throughout the poem, virtually any time of either great sorrow or liminal change occurs either *on uhtan* or immediately following it, during the earliest part of the morning.

In this paper I trace the transition of the word *uhtan* from its use as a canonical hour to its appropriation into literature. I examine the ways that Anglo-Saxon poets, particularly in *Beowulf*, appropriate the term *uhtan* to denote a special moment of sorrow, a profound shift from joy to grief. I argue that the *Beowulf*-poet makes a further use of this time of day — usually reserved as a time of special misery — in moments of liminality, of flux between the worlds of night and day, life and death, past and present. Because of its use as a unifying theme throughout, the poem itself comes to stand *on uhtan*, at a liminal moment between the past and the future, between the pagan world of Germanic heroes and the new world of Christianity.

Earl R. Anderson (Cleveland State Univ.)

"The *Beowulf*-Poet: Protonominalist? Or Covert Platonist?"

In *Thinking About Beowulf* (1994), James Earl offers the intriguing proposition that the *Beowulf*-poet is a sort of nominalist writing a half-millennium earlier than William of Ockham; in other words, a protonominalist, in some respects a protomodern thinker, just like William of Baskerville in Umberto Eco's *The Name of the Rose*. Professor Earl argues his case on two general points about *Beowulf*: (1) the poem through its language occupies itself with real-world "things" rather than universals; (2) the poem is resistant to allegory.

I happen to agree with Earl on these two points, but I think of the poet as a covert Platonist rather than a

protonominalist. My approach to the problem differs from Earl's in two important respects. First, I argue not from general characteristics of the poem, but rather from close analysis of passages in *Beowulf*, with specific reference to those in which Grendel is presented metaphorically as a disease spirit, and Beowulf as a healing physician. I select these passages because we can gain guidance about how to interpret them from Michel Foucault's *Birth of the Clinic*. Foucault is something like a nominalist; his ontological treatment of disease is in the extensional-collective mode of thought, which does not admit of the metaphors used in *Beowulf*.

Second, I approach the problem not as a polarity between nominalism and essentialism, but, rather, on the basis of a quadrant constructed from two intersecting lines (a visual aid used to differentiate four ways of speaking about universals). The first line distinguishes between extensionalism (universals defined in terms of specimens or examples) and intensionalism (universals defined in terms of their attributes). The second line distinguishes between collective versus distributive modes of relating individual things to universals. According to this analysis, Platonism is an intensional-collective mode of thought; Aristotelian formalism is an intensional-distributive mode; nominalism, an extensional-collective mode; positivism, an extensional-distributive mode.

The two most distinctive features of intensional-collective (Platonic) thought are implied in the disease spirit/physician metaphor in *Beowulf* as follows:

(1) An ontology based upon the belief that a universal exists independently of its examples or specimens. This ontology underlies the metaphor of Grendel as a disease spirit, which implies that the disease exists separately from its symptoms. According to (extensional-collective) nominalism, in contrast, a disease consists of (and is just a conventional name for) the collection of its symptoms and has no existence apart from them.

(2) An epistemology according to which validity is based on the concept of an ideal, perfect knower, such as one finds in the allegory of the cave in Plato's *Republic*. This epistemology underlies the metaphor of Beowulf as a healing physician, an ideal knower who is able to give Hrothgar advice about how to combat the disease that afflicts Heorot. According to nominalism, in contrast, validity consists in what is known and agreed upon by a totality of knowers. The notion of an ideal, perfect knower is not possible in the extensional-collective mode of nominalism, but it typifies the intensional-collective mode of (Platonic) essentialism.

Session 9: "History of the English Language"

Mark Sundaram (Univ. of Toronto)

"Creating a Future: the Development of the Future Tense in Old English"

During the Anglo-Saxon period, Old English came into contact with both the Latin language and its literary culture. While Latin has three distinct morphological tenses — past, present, and future (as well as a number of aspects and periphrastic constructions) — Old English, at least in its earlier stages, had two natural tenses: past and present, or more accurately past and non-past. During the course of the Old English period, Old English began to develop a number of different constructions to express future time reference, such as the use of the modal verbs *willan* and *sculan* and the *beon* forms of the verb 'to be', and some of these constructions are the progenitors of the Modern English constructions often referred to as future tenses.

This paper investigates the development of the future tense as a grammatical category in the English language during the Old English period. I demonstrate the origins of the modern English futural constructions and how they developed from constructions already in use in the Old English period. I further investigate the underlying linguistic changes that occurred during the period in question, such as the proliferation of compound tense and aspectual forms and the syntactical development of modal verbs and other auxiliary verbs, in an effort to provide a complete picture of this aspect of language change in the history of the English language. I draw on a sizeable cross-section of Old English material to provide data, making some preliminary comments about later development in the Middle English period.

Kristin Cole (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"The Neutering of English: Old Norse Interference with Old English Syntax"

The leveling of the definite article in the Middle English period can be viewed as a result of the contact language situation in areas such as the Danelaw from the settlement of the Norse in the Old English period until the infusion of Norse loanwords into English in the twelfth century. When we look at the inflections used in the Gloss to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and the Gloss to the *Durham Ritual*, we see that already in the Old English period, we have a full set of historical inflections for case but in several instances unhistorical uses of gender. In the Middle English period, manuscripts such as the *Peterborough Chronicle* reveal the same evidence. We should expect the opposite to occur, since many words in OE and ON shared the same

gender, but the inflectional systems varied widely. I propose that the loss of inflection, and in particular the loss of grammatical gender, came as a result of Old Norse interference with English. Current linguistic theory, in particular government and binding theory, can clarify why such changes occurred. By redefining the Noun Phrase as a Determiner Phrase, thus recognizing that the Determiner assigns Case and Gender, and by comparing the definite articles in OE and ON, we can see how these determiners locate precisely where uncertainty would occur for a bilingual speaker. I have selected a number of phrases and sentences that show unhistorical gender being used for everyday words, words which by and large share the same grammatical gender in OE and ON. At the same time, however, these words are inflected for case and occur in sentences that use correct grammatical gender. The paper also considers the unhistorical use of neuter that predicts the shifts the English language has taken in its development.

D. Gary Miller (Univ. of Florida)

"The Origin and Diffusion of 3sg -s"

Verbal 3sg -s is generally attributed (in one way or another) to Norsification. Recent accounts fail to motivate both the generalization from 2sg to 2pl in the north and the restriction of -s to irregular monosyllabics in Early Modern English.

Keller (1925) dates the Nordic change of -s/z to -r in c10. (Actually, Icelandic MSS write *es* for later *er* 'is' [etc.] until ca.1200.) Thus, ON *em, ert, er* ('am, are, is') at the time of the settlements was *em, es, es*. Keller cites *barutz* 'he breaks/you break' on the Björketorp stone [600-800] as evidence of the identity of 2/3sg during the viking period. This 2/3sg identity is variably mirrored in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses [c10] and led ultimately to *is* through the entire singular (*is I*, etc.) in the focal area (Kolb 1965:139ff). Moreover, Holmqvist (1922) localized the influence of the 2sg form first to the 2pl, then to 3pl, and finally 3sg. The 3pl -s in Middle English occurred in the north and the NE Midlands (LALME, maps 652, 653; McIntosh 1983: 236, 243; Schendl 1996).

Stein (1986:640) cites the following percentages for -s in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses and the Durham Ritual: 2pl 66%, IMPVpl 54%, 3pl 42%, 1pl 42%, 3sg 31%, which supports Holmqvist's generalization from 2sg to 2pl (Rio de la Plata Spanish parallels in Moyna 1998). This contradicts Kroch, Taylor & Ringe (2000), who ascribe the imposition of less marked -s for marked -ʃ to imperfect learning of English by Nordic speakers. The comparative rarity of 3sg -s is problematic for any hypothesis that it was triggered by Nordic 3sg -s or the identity of 2/3sg. Stein (1986:648) claims that

the endings were confused due to language mixture, but that -s was advantageous phonotactically.

It is difficult not to imagine that the ultimate outcome of 3sg -s in standard English had something to do with native *is, was*, where -s was historically correct. After a period of generalization the restriction of -s to the 3sg was retained with *have* (3sg *hæfis* 'has' and *næfis* 'has not' are frequent in the Gospel glosses, and Gill in the 1620s cites *has* as "northern" for *hath*), then generalized to other monosyllabic bases, especially those ending in a dental, and then to polysyllabics that lost the post-stem vowel in the 3sg (Nevalainen & Raumolin-Brunberg 2000).

Generalization from *is/was* and *has* to other (irregular) monosyllabics of high frequency is confirmed by the distribution in Ogura & Wang (1996). That there was no direct link to Nordic is clear from the general absence in the early period of 3sg -s on verbs borrowed from or influenced by Old Norse.

Session 13: "Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Latin Poetry in Their Tenth-Century Contexts"

Stacy S. Klein (Rutgers Univ.)

"Old English Poetry, In and Out of Context"

This paper considers what it might mean to situate an Old English poem in its specific social and historical context, given that we are unable to confidently assign specific dates or locales to most of the poetic corpus. Using Cynewulf's *Elene* — a text whose moment of original composition has been a topic of considerable recent debate — as a test case, I begin by examining the poem's manuscript context, with particular attention to the two homilies flanking *Elene* in the Vercelli Book. Like Cynewulf's expansive account of Elene's journey to recover the Cross, both homilies depict journeys that function as powerful forces in individual and cultural salvation, but that would be difficult and unrealistic for most Anglo-Saxons actually to undertake during their own lifetimes. The thematization of unrealistic physical travel in each of the three texts encourages a narrative experience in which moving sequentially through these tales of travel is itself understood as constitutive of travel, and an experience which thus reinforces the familiar medieval idea of reading as an imaginative journey that is part of spiritual work. The desire to engage in imaginative travel through reading may have been particularly strong for readers of the Vercelli Book, given that it was circulating during a period that witnessed increasing restrictions on monastic travel.

The paper concludes by considering the potential problems of using the manuscript as a context for

Elene. Such problems are voiced by the poem itself, which cautions against believing that one can fully access the complex meanings that inhere in literary artifacts solely through recovering their most immediate material contexts, and reminds us that literature does not stand in a simple synecdochal relationship to its own cultural moment but engages with and seeks impact across far broader expanses of time.

Session 48: "Parallel Readings of Men and Women Saints"

Laurence Erussard (SUNY, New Paltz / Univ. de Murcia)

**"Holy Vessels and Athletes of Christ:
Gender Identity and Holiness
in Anglo-Saxon England"**

Anglo-Saxon iconography and texts by writers such as Aldhelm, Bede, Cynewulf, and Æthelwulf tend to attribute moral superiority to women because of their virginity. By means of a combination of cognitive linguistic analysis and cultural history, I show that the connotations attached to the wholeness of their physical condition convert women into ideal holy vessels of undefiled purity. This paper shows that, in Anglo-Saxon England, religious worth, morality, and bodily purity were understood according to a one-gender continuum that included both males and females, but in which women were the leaders to be emulated by men. I provide evidence of these findings by analyzing concrete examples, such as the story of Meretheof in *De Abbatibus*, and the metaphors used in *De Virginitate* — and by examining Anglo-Saxon and post-Anglo-Saxon iconographic representations of holy men and women. I show that these gender assumptions explain why sexually pure and saintly virgins, like Judith, act with the might of warriors without losing their femininity, while male saints frequently lose the traits of maleness which suggest phallic power and intent.

Session 52: "Anglo-Saxon Texts and Glosses"

Steven R. Robinson (Brandon Univ.)

"Roman Law in Anglo-Saxon England"

It is a commonplace that Anglo-Saxon society broke much more definitively with Roman institutions than did all the other barbarian successor states, and that Roman law had little subsequent influence in England until after the Norman Conquest. However, while the

Anglo-Saxon dooms are "un-Roman" indeed, the same cannot be said for other legal practices imported by the Roman Church as early as A.D. 600 (including the very idea of royal legislation). In fact, the evolution of Anglo-Saxon kingship can be understood partly as a direct result of the implementation of Roman legal ideas introduced by the Church as a means to increasing its own security in England. Working chiefly from studies by W. A. Chaney, R. P. Abels, and Walter Ullman, this paper compares the Roman and medieval legal rationales for state authority to aspects of the English conversion to Christianity, and then correlates this with fundamental innovations in Anglo-Saxon kingship (notably the power of legislation, and the granting of landbooks). It concludes that the pre-Conquest convergence of English social institutions to those on the other side of the Channel might best be explained by the juristic consequences of the presence of the Roman Church.

Cynthia Wittman Zollinger (Ohio State Univ.)

**"Wordplay and the Interpretation of Signs
in the Whitby *Life of Gregory the Great*"**

No doubt the most famous pun associated with Gregory the Great is his pairing of *Angli* with *angeli*, said to inspire the pope's mission to the English and preserved in both Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and in the Whitby *Life*. While this event occupies a peripheral place in Bede's discussion of Gregory, the Whitby author roots it within a series of verbal associations clustered around Gregory's efforts to convert the English. Linguistic wordplay constructs a bridge between Gregory and the Northumbrian king Edwin, with the result that later events in England's conversion history are inserted into the narrative of the pope's legendary life. Language in itself creates a bond, creating semantic links (between Ælli and Edwin, for example) where historical ones fail.

The author's use of puns and his/her efforts to unravel a meaning that lies hidden in words are intimately connected with the work's larger interest in the recognition and interpretation of signs. The Whitby *Life* engages in theory as well as practice as it examines the role that signs play for the faithful, explores their historical and theological function, and models their interpretation. As one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon lives that survives, this text seems intentionally to set out an introduction to the systems of representation and strategies of reading that govern the genre of hagiography. The puns of the Whitby *Life* illustrate and initiate the author's broader practice of decoding the spiritual meaning obscured in literal events. This paper draws on structuralist and historicist approaches to argue that

the Whitby author's attempt to explore and articulate the discourse of holy signs offers a model for reading and interpreting their function in Anglo-Saxon hagiography.

Joshua A. Westgard (Univ. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill)

**"Dissemination and Reception
of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis*"**

This paper focuses on the surviving manuscripts of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*HE*), particularly the Continental tradition. It has long been recognized that the *HE* survives in abundant manuscript copies from throughout the Middle Ages, but most scholarly attention nevertheless has been focused on a handful of early manuscripts. Interest in determining "what Bede wrote" has been so great, in fact, that the later manuscripts have been largely ignored. This paper represents one part of a larger effort (my doctoral dissertation) to remedy this situation. Specifically, it examines the evidence for the dissemination and reception of the *HE* in what for a lack of a better phrase can be referred to as the "German-speaking Continent."

As is the case with many of Bede's works, there is evidence for the presence of the *HE* on the Continent from a very early date. Anglo-Saxon missionaries to Germany in the eighth century probably brought copies with them, and early monastic foundations seem to have copied and shared the text with each other. It is in the twelfth century, however, that the *HE* became truly what we might call a "best seller." Among other aspects of the problem, I endeavor to elucidate in this paper just what it was about this text that was so attractive for German monks of the twelfth century, and what parts of it they found most interesting and important. In order to accomplish this goal, I focus throughout on the manuscript and library context of the *HE*, and on the individual manuscripts as "events" in the textual history of the *HE*.

Matthew Hussey (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

**"Glossing Isidore's *Synonyma*
in Anglo-Saxon England"**

The dissemination of the works of Isidore of Seville was surprisingly rapid and widespread. In particular, his texts concerned primarily with language — the *Etymologiae*, the *Differentiae*, and the *Synonyma* — were tremendously influential in the developing intellectual and literary culture of Anglo-Saxon England.

While the massive *Etymologiae* appears to have the most significant and profound influence on scholarship in early medieval England, it is the *Synonyma* that has left the most diverse range of responses in its extant manuscripts. The *Synonyma* is unique in its project, combining a consolatory dialogue with a kind of literary manual. In its content's sense and its literary style, this text influenced homilies, glossaries, penitential doctrine, and literary language.

The aim of my study is to examine the extant manuscripts of the *Synonyma* and uncover the material foundations of its impact in Anglo-Saxon culture. Specifically, a number of the *Synonyma*-manuscripts owned or produced in Anglo-Saxon learning centers are glossed in both Latin and Old English. Examination of these signs of use and study demonstrates the actual terms of the text's influence. After a brief survey of the seven Anglo-Saxon *Synonyma*'s, this study focuses on the shared corpus of glosses in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 448 and London, British Library, Harley MS 110, as well as vernacular glosses and vernacular translations in a few other manuscripts. The material in these manuscripts reveals their interactive reading, and in turn this evidence can be used to illuminate the lines of textual transmission, affiliations with Continental centers, the text's afterlife in Anglo-Latin and Old English. Particularly, this paper develops the possibility of the *Synonyma*'s influence in the aesthetics of scholarly work associated with Dunstan, Æthelwold, and the tenth-century Benedictine reforms. In so doing, a picture of Anglo-Saxon literary history and intellectual movements becomes clearer.

Session 78: "Law as Culture in the Middle Ages: Law, Outlaw, and Sanctuary"

Patrick Wormald (Oxford Univ.)

**"The Law of the English and
the English State before 1166"**

This paper addresses the conventionally accepted relationship between the origin of "Common Law" beloved of us all, and the rise of the so-called (English/Anglo-American) "State." It argues that the "Angevin Leap Forward" constituted very significant developments in the professions of law and government, but that the rise of "state" power began as early as the time of Alfred, and was indeed what made twelfth-century "professionalization" possible. The evidence is mainly drawn from the Van Caenegem collection of *English Lawsuits, William I - Richard I*.

Session 102: "Chronicles and Historical Writings II"**Andrew Rabin (Univ. of Chicago)****"On the Reckoning of History:
Bede's *Chronica maiora*
and the Rewriting of
the Historical Narrative"**

Found in more than two hundred manuscripts, Bede's *De temporum ratione* (ca. 725) appears to have been the most widely circulated of his scientific texts. However, despite its popularity among Bede's contemporaries, modern critical interest in the *DTR* and the *Chronica maiora*, the world-chronicle comprising the final third of the text, has been relatively slight. This disinterest stems from the impression that Bede's work, as a computus "textbook," subscribes to an objective, scientific *ethos* in which theoretical observations exist apart from moral or ideological imperatives. Such analyses, however, both divorce the *Chronica* from its cultural context and ignore Bede's use of Augustinian notions of *historia* to transform the world-chronicle as a medium for the communication of an Anglicized historical narrative.

The major sources for the *Chronica maiora*, Eusebius's *Chronicon* and Jerome's continuation, deploy a fundamentally Romano-centric historical model whereby human history converges with the eventual Christianization of the Roman Empire. This model construes Rome's conversion as the moral fulcrum of Christian history, thereby valorizing secular Roman history and the Empire's political apparatus as the "chosen" executors of Church policy and the embodied Christian state. However, while this identification of Rome with the Church may have empowered its original Roman Christian audience, Bede and his contemporaries in eighth-century Northumbria required a historical model accounting for their own position as relatively recent converts on the geo-political margins of the *familia christi*. Accordingly, the *Chronica maiora*'s historiographical method appears to have evolved, not from the Romano-centrism of Eusebius and Jerome, but rather from conceptions of *historia* found in the work of Saint Augustine. Devised in response to the fifth-century sacking of Rome, Augustine's theory of *historia* culminates in universal conversion rather than the Christianization of any single political entity, consequently divorcing the triumph of God's Church from the temporal institution of the Roman Empire. Redefining the measurement of time and the writing of history according to the vocabulary of *historia*, Bede utilizes the implied decentralization to localize his historical narrative, equating the significance of the English experience with the Roman. The *Chronica*, by

thus subverting the Romano-centric biases of previous chroniclers, provides the model by which subsequent historians construe the place of local culture in the Christian world. Ultimately, this paper argues that Bede's chronicle deploys Augustinian theories of language and history to textualize history in a collection form which decentralizes the traditional Romano-centric account of human history, thereby facilitating the identification of the English with Rome as the *telos* of an Anglicized historical narrative.

Session 108: "Aspects of Old English Verse"**Christopher Abram (Robinson College, Cambridge)****"Rhyme and the Presentation of Poetry
in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"**

In modern print culture, the textual layout of a poem has become part of a popular, if not particularly sophisticated, conception of what poetry is: the lines of a poem generally do not reach the edge of the page and their initial letter is usually capitalized. These visual signals instantly distinguish verse from prose. As is well known, the situation pertaining to Old English poetry is entirely different. In the surviving codices of Old English verse, the poems are copied in continuous blocks; the layout of the text does not indicate line-divisions (although, it might be argued, punctuation performs that function in certain texts). There is nothing, in fact, which provides a clear visual differentiation between Old English prose and poetry as they appear on the manuscript page.

Latin manuscripts written in Anglo-Saxon England, on the other hand, "regularly distinguished verse from prose through the use of a set of conventional visual clues," as Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe puts it. The purpose of this paper is to examine what happens to the presentation of an Old English poem when it makes a feature of a Latinate device, end-rhyme. The texts I mainly concentrate on are the Exeter Book *Riming Poem* and the poem on the death of Alfred (1036) from MSS C and D of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Are there any visual clues which set these poems apart from Old English poetry of the more conventional unadorned alliterating type? By comparison with end-rhymed Anglo-Latin poems I show that, while the scribes of these vernacular texts generally conformed to the vernacular mode of presentation, there are signs that their exemplars may well have been formatted in a manner more akin to Latin textual layouts.

Karen Bollermann (Arizona State Univ.)

**"Speech as Icon of Failure
in *The Battle of Maldon*"**

Although speech's importance to both the structure and meaning of the late tenth-century Old English poem *The Battle of Maldon* has been duly noted in the scholarly literature, none of the treatments of the poem explicitly recognize and explain its bipartite structure. I use the classification system of speech act theory to analyze the verbs of utterance in all speech contexts — narrative frame, direct discourse, and reported speech. This analysis reveals the poem's bipartite design and the poet's differential deployment of utterance verbs to encode the narrative lexically. The two-fold structure is the organizing principle around which the poet constructs two separate lexicons for utterance. I demonstrate that, taken together, these lexicons "speak" the narrative theme, forming an icon of Byrhtnoth's death and the troop's defeat that the poem relates. In a text dominated by utterance and participating in a tradition wherein utterance functions physically, the verbs of utterance act as signposts to the poem's thematics.

Christian Aggeler (Whitman College)

**"Between Men: Masculine Discourse and
the *Guthlac* Poems of the Exeter Book"**

Although they appear consecutively in the Old English poetic miscellany known as the Exeter Book, *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B* are strikingly different in terms of their respective style, tone, and treatment of the legend of the Anglo-Saxon hermit-saint (d. 714). As a result, the poems have generally been studied in isolation. This paper argues that the poems are both linked and distinguished through their presentation of language that is, within the literary system of Old English poetry, coded as masculine.

The poems contain an array of discourses that serve to construct the holy man in a variety of masculine roles. Through his words, he becomes a boaster, a righteous claimant, a confessor, a comforting lord, and a dispenser of wisdom. In general, the language of *Guthlac A* can be characterized as centrifugal, as it is designed to divide men — or, in this case, a man and the (male) demons he faces. In this poem, the saint literally establishes his place (*edel*) in the wilderness through his aggressive language. *Guthlac B*, by contrast, is dominated by the centripetal language characteristic of depictions of the lord-thane relationship, as the dying saint comforts and counsels his sorrowing attendant. This variety of masculine discourse is, however, undermined by the fact that *Guthlac*

resides not only in his hermitage, but also within a sphere of sanctity that ultimately separates his experience from that of his young follower. A variety of masculine discourses, then, function within the poems to construct a multifaceted portrait of the holy man.

Ronald J. Ganze (Univ. of Oregon)

**"From *Anhaga* to *Snottor on Mode*:
The Wanderer's Epiphany"**

A basic theological unity underlies the Old English poem *The Wanderer*, reconciling what recent critics have come to regard as *The Wanderer's* existentialist tone with what I have come to see as the *eardstapa's* Christian epiphany. The Christian subject postulated in many readings is often completely determined by Christian doctrine, unable to have the sorts of existentialist doubts being voiced by the *eardstapa*; conversely, any expression of doubt immediately precludes the speaker being Christian. Critics cite twentieth-century, atheistic versions of existentialism as proof of this assertion. Given the poem's cultural milieu, it seems wiser to turn to religious existentialists to find parallels for the sort of existentialist despair and the religious answer to that despair that we find in *The Wanderer*. Søren Kierkegaard provides a close parallel; *The Sickness Unto Death* offers up faith as an answer to the despair felt by those overwhelmed in worldliness, and in the *Concluding Unscientific Postscript to Philosophical Fragments*, Kierkegaard advocates an "inwardness, or a 'passionate' interest in transcendently grounded fulfillment" (Alastair Hannay, "Søren Aabye Kierkegaard," *The Oxford Companion to Philosophy*, ed. Ted Honderich [Oxford: Oxford UP, 1995]: 443). The *Wanderer* seems to be following this latter path when he sits *sundor æt rune* at the poem's end, and the process of conquering existential despair through faith is precisely what the poem attempts to chronicle. A more thorough examination of the poem in light of the existentialism of Kierkegaard indicates that while claims for the poem's existentialist leanings are warranted, critics have been choosing the wrong existentialist philosophers to inform their readings of the poem, and have wrongly assumed that the poem's existentialism is incompatible with its Christianity.

Session 109: "Old English"

Rafal Molencki (Univ. of Silesia)

**"On the Rise of the Pluperfect Tense
in Old English"**

Although the examples of sentences in the pluper-

fect tense are relatively infrequent in Old English texts, I believe that the Anglo-Saxon language did have a grammaticalized structure that expressed anteriority and, to a lesser extent counterfactuality.

The combination of the auxiliary *hæfde* and the past participle, both inflected and uninflected, was not uncommon in Old English. The interpretation of this structure has been the subject of numerous controversies among historical linguists. The presence of so many examples with inflected participles, however, shows that the structure had not been fully grammaticalized yet, as is best shown by Ælfric, who in his *Latin Grammar* preferred to use the form *ic stod gefyrn* rather than *ic hæfde (ge)standen* to render the Latin plusquamperfectum *steteram* (Zupitza 1880: 124). Similar developments can be observed in other early Germanic languages and also in late Latin/early Romance (cf. Lockwood 1968: 114-117, Traugott 1972: 92), which points to the fact that the phenomenon was areal. Brinton (1988: 99-102) draws our attention to the fact that "the development of the perfect in Germanic is primarily preliterary," so in the attested examples the process of *have* auxiliation was already well advanced. Thus, the (plu)perfect may have arisen still in common Germanic, though it is conspicuously absent in Wulfila's Gothic.

In all the Germanic languages, including Old and Middle English, intransitive verbs usually took the auxiliary *be*, though the process of replacing the auxiliary *beon* with *habban* for intransitive verbs already began in Old English, e.g., *ƿa Moyses hæfde gefaren ofer ƿa Readan Sæ, ƿa gegaderode he eall Israhela folc* (Ælfric *Exod* 15.1). Germanic linguists believe that the structure of the past participle with *be* is somewhat older than the structure with *have* (cf. Dieninghoff 1904, Zieglschmidt 1929). Originally they are different constructions, which later merged into one pluperfect paradigm. At some stage the structures that referred to the state resulting from the action or the process were reinterpreted as perfect forms that expressed the past change leading to the state in question. This was accompanied by the semantic attrition of verbs *habban/wesan* (and probably the loss of their phonetic substance).

These grammaticalization processes must have been fairly advanced in the preliterary epoch, as there are no significant differences between early and late Old English texts in this respect. Uninflected participles are quite common in the ninth-century texts, though the inflected ones are rare in late Old English, but this already was the period of reduced inflections anyway. The choice of auxiliary in Old English differs from that in cognate Germanic languages. In English *habban* is much more common with intransitives (otherwise known as mutatives, ergatives, unaccusatives), espe-

cially in their less prototypical uses (cf. Shannon 1988). Also certain prefixes attached to verbs favor the use of *habban*. Last but not least, the other auxiliary functions of *beon/wesan*, especially in the passive voice, must have contributed to the specialization of *habban* as a perfective auxiliary irrespective of the semantic and syntactic properties of main verbs.

What looks like the pluperfect tense form was occasionally used in past counterfactual protases, e.g., *ac gif hi God næfde on ecnesse getiochod to gehælanne, ƿonne ne gebridlode he hi no mid swa swiðlicre ƿreunga his lare* (CP 391.32). These first English instances of pluperfect in counterfactual contexts are not recorded either by the OED or Visser (1963-1973) or Mitchell (1985).

In the Old English corpus we find all the typical applications of modern pluperfect (i.e., temporal clauses, sequence of tenses in reported speech, other uses indicating anteriority), except for unrealized hopes, wishes. The nature of Old English texts, which mostly represent formal language and highly literary register, might be partially responsible for the relative paucity of pluperfect verb forms. One might surmise that they were more common in spoken, colloquial language. A significant factor for the rise of the construction must have been the tendency to have analytic structures, which in turn may have been due to inflection losses.

Session 126: "Villains of the Middle Ages"

Jasmine Kilburn (King's College, London)

"From 'Demonic' Ethiopians to Foul 'Maumes': The Shifting Face of the Evil 'Other'"

It is generally assumed that prejudice is the result of ignorance and can be combatted by greater knowledge. While this may be true of modern culture, it seems that the medieval period did not play by the same rules. My paper demonstrates, with the apocryphal acts of the apostles as base texts, that increasing knowledge of the east and its peoples during the medieval period actually led to an escalation of hostility.

In Old English texts "demonic" Ethiopians (Old English *silhearwan*, a noun that J. R. R. Tolkien demonstrated conclusively, referred only to Ethiopians) are focal characters. Indeed, "demonic" Ethiopians are such a powerful Christian symbol that they pop up even when there is no need for an Ethiopian character, for example in the conversion tales located in India. "Demonic" Ethiopians appear in the legends as demons or heathen gods and function as representatives of heathen and exotic "otherness." Despite the fact that Ethiopians were converted to Christianity in the early centuries of the religion, their blackness, it seems,

condemned them to be forever compared with black demons.

This situation contrasts with the Middle English texts of the apocryphal acts of the apostles, which replace the “demonic” Ethiopians with characters described as *bleomen*, the generic term for all black men. This anglicized version of the Old Norse noun *blá-maðr* also carried the meaning of Negro/devil. Even though the Old English term was eventually replaced by this new noun, the symbolic role of the “demonic” Ethiopian was never fully forgotten. There was, however, a new character whose “otherness” proved to be as marked as its Ethiopian predecessor’s, the *maumet*. *Maumet* was a Middle English noun derived from the Old French form of Mohammed, the name of the prophet of Allah; and it was the designation given to heathen gods and idols in the Middle English versions of the legends. I argue that the disappearance of the Ethiopian “demon” can be explained by the emergence of a newer, more tangible enemy — the Muslim.

The threat of Islam, which was more closely felt in England after the Norman Conquest and the subsequent era of the Crusades, meant that the Middle English translators no longer needed to stress the menace of the primarily symbolic, and largely fantastical, Ethiopian “demon.” Instead it was the Muslims whom they needed to demonize. I argue that, in the case of Islam, greater familiarity bred contempt rather than understanding, and as a consequence the symbol of the evil Ethiopian was rendered obsolete.

Session 134: “Pre- and Post-Norman Conquest Literary Cultures”

Mary Swan (Univ. of Leeds)

**“Changing Cultures?
Cotton Vespasian A.xxii”**

The re-use of pre-Conquest Old English texts after 1066 is the subject of a growing body of new research, which is showing the vitality of Old English literary culture long after its “official” end with the Norman Conquest. In this paper, I examine an important witness to this, in the form of London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A.xxii. The main contents of the manuscript were written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the place of its composition is not known for sure, although a fourteenth-century Rochester ex-libris inscription and the significant number of Rochester-related texts it contains make it likely that it was compiled for, and more probably at, Rochester Cathedral.

Most of the contents of Vespasian A.xxii are in Latin, but one quire contains four short Old English

texts, written down at the very end of the twelfth century. Two of these are altered and abbreviated versions of items from Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies*. The other two Old English texts in the manuscript are so far unsourced, but thematically and stylistically they read as if they are based on pre-Conquest Old English prose texts. These four Old English items in Vespasian A.xxii are extraordinary for being written so late, and their presence in a manuscript which otherwise contains only Latin raises important questions about the context of their copying and about the intended function and audience of Vespasian A.xxii. In my paper, I suggest that the Latin contents of the manuscript imply that it was compiled as a self-consciously historical collection, whose thematic focus is on the English, and in particular Anglo-Saxon, identity of Rochester in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In this context, the Old English texts work as primary materials: “authentic” examples of the pre-Conquest culture to which the surrounding Latin items so carefully refer.

Session 146: “Proverbs in Early English and Old Norse”

Susan E. Deskis (Northern Illinois Univ.)

**“Alliterative Proverbs in English
before and after the Norman Invasion”**

This paper illustrates the persistence of alliteration in proverbs created and recorded in both the OE and ME periods. Examples are provided of proverbs that continued to alliterate from one period to the next; of proverbs that alliterated in OE but not in ME; and of new alliterative proverbs appearing (with French vocabulary) during the ME period. In the last part of the paper, the roots of some ME proverbs are located in OE alliterative collocations.

Session 147: “Translation and Appropriation in Anglo-Saxon England”

Christine Thijs (Univ. of Leeds)

“Wærferth’s appropriation of Gregory’s *Dialogi*”

This paper explores and evaluates the degree to which original Roman elements underwent a linguistic and cultural appropriation in the earliest surviving literary Old English prose work, Wærferth’s translation of Gregory’s *Dialogi*.

Several scholars have dismissed the Old English *Dialogues* as a slavish reproduction. Wærferth’s translation technique is however much more complex and interesting than that. The general sense of faithful-

ness towards the original content is brought about by the translator's anxiety to be seen to respect the authority of his source, and especially that of its author, the Apostle of the English. Yet at the same time Wærferth was also noticeably sensitive to his targeted audience. This comprised in the first instance king Alfred, who was, although very pious, considerably less versed in Scriptural and hagiographic literature than Gregory's audience of fellow monks. In order to meet his Anglo-Saxon readers' and listeners' needs and expectations Wærferth subtly edits and rephrases many sentences. Where he deems it helpful, he also inserts brief explanatory notes, mainly with regard to biblical references. His narrative style is more visual and direct than Gregory's and it enhances the text's liveliness and appeal within its own cultural context.

When assessing the literary value of Wærferth's work, it is important to consider that vernacular prose at this time (ca. 885) was in its initial stage of development and was almost exclusively used as a tool for the translation of Latin texts. In 893 Alfred's prefatory letter to his Old English version of the *Cura Pastoralis*, the "manifesto" of his scheme of translations, makes clear that translations were only to be an emergency measure while the knowledge of Latin was "under repair." Vernacular versions were in the first years not meant to replace their Latin source texts, only to accompany them as a prop for the unlearned reader until Latin scholarship would be restored to the required level. Within these aims and restrictions the Old English *Dialogues* is an impressive and unique example of cultural appropriation through translation, precisely tailored to the needs and expectations of its audience at that time.

Stewart Brookes (King's College London)

**"The Good, the Bad, and the Unrepentant:
Ælfric's Adaptation of the Book of Kings
as Moral Exemplum"**

In this paper, I examine Ælfric's adaptation of the Book of Kings (ed. Skeat, *Lives of Saints*, Item XVIII) in order to address issues of genre and reception.

Ælfric's adaptation of the Book of Kings provides a vernacular version of the biblical account, focusing upon the careers of the prophets Elijah and Elisha, while outlining, in varying degrees of detail, the reigns of a selection of Old Testament kings. I begin by examining Ælfric's treatment of the prophet Elisha (lines 296-314). The passage on which I focus is comparatively brief, but contains a number of telling elements which generally signal the genre of saint's life. More particularly, they are those which mark the genre as handled by Ælfric. Arguably, by drawing upon familiar

associations of both structure and vocabulary, these elements would have awakened a particular set of expectations in Ælfric's audience. Ælfric's changes to the biblical narrative reflect his own preoccupations and reveal a subtle attempt to direct his audience's understanding of miracles and the miraculous.

I then turn my attention to Ælfric's selection of individual "kings" to include in his text, suggesting that each king is chosen to illustrate a particular aspect of good or bad behavior, and is handled accordingly. Ælfric's choice of material is, in large part, governed by the underlying moral theme which he crafts for the piece: those kings who remain faithful are rewarded, and those who behave in a wicked fashion are punished.

My critical focus examines Ælfric's choice of material within a context of raising questions about the way in which he adapted the biblical narrative. This approach offers insights into the lessons Ælfric wished to offer his audience, and the ways in which his understanding of that audience drives the shaping of his biblical adaptations.

Nicole Guenther Discenza (Univ. of South Florida)

**"The Paradox of Humility
in the Alfredian Translations"**

The warrior-king Alfred the Great embraced vernacular language and literature, yet some heroic values in Anglo-Saxon poetry conflicted with the teachings of the Christian Latin texts he translated and sponsored. Alfred responded with strategic syncretism, transforming both Anglo-Saxon mores and Christian morals. His treatment of humility offers a fascinating case study. Humility is a peculiarly Christian virtue, and the Old English word for it, *eadmodnes*, occurs principally in homilies, monastic rules, psalter glosses — and the Alfredian translations.

As a king featured in unprecedented amounts of contemporary writing, Alfred appears comfortable with fame; as a translator and patron who affixes his name to at least two of his own works and one by another translator, he seems actively to seek it. Yet Alfred's own translations invoke *eadmodnes* over a hundred times, and those he sponsored add over 50 occurrences — an apparent paradox.

This paper explores how Alfred redefines humility for himself and his vernacular audience as part of his work in establishing what Pierre Bourdieu calls "official language." For Alfred, *eadmodnes* does not suggest anonymity nor necessarily worldly deference; instead, the king uses it primarily to mean recognizing one's lowliness before God and responding to Him with obedience. Moreover, while Alfred addresses humility

frequently in his translations, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s portrait of Alfred displays no hint of this Christian virtue. The paper concludes by addressing how this study illuminates the different purposes and audiences of different Alfredian texts.

Session 148: "Ælfric and Old English Homilies"

Melinda J. Menzer (Furman Univ.)

"The Trinity and the Participle: Theology and Grammar in Ælfric's *Grammar*"

In the Middle Ages, scholars approached reality as a system of signs that, through proper exegesis, could lead us to an understanding of transcendent truths. The study of language was a key part of this kind of interpretation; for example, in bestiaries the word "leo" is often interpreted as "king," which then leads to a discussion of the lion as a sign of Christ. The understanding of Christ as the Word strengthens the bonds between the study of theology and the study of grammar, and some scholars, most notably Smaragdus, go so far as to find information about God and His relationship to creation in grammar itself. However, the tight connection between these two fields could, in the mind of Ælfric, writing his *Grammar* in late tenth-century England, lead to potential heresy. Throughout his *Grammar* — and throughout his corpus of homilies, saints' lives, and other texts — Ælfric is concerned with the danger of the heresies that can grow out of misinterpretation of language. In this paper, I focus on one seemingly obscure passage from the *Grammar*, in which Ælfric warns us not to misinterpret the significance of (of all things) the participle, one of the eight parts of speech: "Now the participle is of the verb and comes from the verb, yet is another part of speech and another thing, different from its ancestor, and because of that it has some quality that its ancestor doesn't have, just as if it were original although it always derives from another. There should not be any person so ridiculous that he interprets this as a likeness to any holy thing, because this [grammar] is a worldly art established by scholars for more intelligent speech, and it cannot and must not be likened to any holy things." Ælfric's concern is mysterious and even bizarre; why would anyone care so much about the participle? I argue, however, that Ælfric is concerned about a very serious matter, an argument about the relationship of the Holy Spirit to the rest of the Trinity. Ælfric's fears about the possible misapplication of grammar to God complicates our understanding of the relationship between *grammatica* and theology. In addition, his concerns about potential heresy reinforce our view of Ælfric as an interpreter of language who is preoccupied

with the dangers of interpretation, even as he guides his readers through an introductory grammar.

Nancy M. Thompson (California State Univ., Hayward)

"*Hit is gæræd in halgum bocum*: The Logic of Composite Old English Homilies"

This paper addresses cases where logical inconsistencies in composite Old English homilies have generated scholarly discussion: Blickling 13, with its multiple assumptions of the Virgin (Willard and Clayton); Ælfric's *Sermo de sacrificio*, which combines the antithetical works of Ratramnus and Paschasius Radbertus (Leinbaugh and Grundy); and homilies (e.g., Homily 3 in CCCC 41 or Napier 29) that incorporate conflicting views of judgment, a collective doom in the Last Days and the weighing of the individual soul as the point of death. These "errors" are usually ascribed to the homilist's bad Latin or mechanical method of translation; sometimes the homilist is credited with the pursuit of a particular theological agenda that caused him, against reason, to combine two contradictory texts.

Examples of such supposedly muddled thinking survive with enough frequency that they call for some broader explanation to account for them. The logical difficulties that trouble the modern critic clearly did not trouble the medieval homilist or copyist. The solution lies in what the Anglo-Saxons considered "gospel" — not the canon of scripture, as is sometimes assumed by modern scholars, but a whole body of texts that had special status because they were God's words, recorded in holy books by holy men. The homilies offer ample evidence for the authority ascribed to books — any books — in Anglo-Saxon religiosity. For instance, in translating, homilists departed from the Latin sources to add references to books. This fundamental regard for books carried over into uncritical acceptance of the contents. Inconsistencies, if noticed, presented interpretive challenges; they did not imply that one text might be more accurate than another. The model was St. Augustine on scriptural interpretation: contradictory passages, if properly understood, attested to one immutable truth, and if not understood, were nevertheless accepted as a divine mystery.

Session 159: "Caring and Curing"

Maren Clegg Hyer (Woodbury Univ.)

"Caring and Curing in the Anglo-Saxon Charms"

Anglo-Saxon medical charms have traditionally been viewed primarily as mystical, magical texts, evidence of the superstitions of a people rather than efficacious

medicine. However, over the last few decades, scholars such as M. L. Cameron, physician and Anglo-Saxonist, have begun to argue that the charms and related medical “recipes” may have worked more than we think. Cameron’s work has focused largely on demonstrating how the natural herbs utilized by Anglo-Saxon healers included natural antibiotics in ingenious combinations. But he has also suggested that the psychological impact of Anglo-Saxon medical charms may have also led to greater success in healing than would otherwise be supposed. This paper argues for the validity of such a suggestion by examining how the visual imagery employed by Anglo-Saxon healers with their patients might have fulfilled a patient’s need for emotional care as part of a physiological cure. It also offers some comparison between the visual imagery utilized by Anglo-Saxon healers and the strikingly similar visual imagery used with some degree of success in more recent years, all evidence that “caring” is a necessary ingredient in the process of “curing.”

Session 169: “The Exeter Book Riddles”

William F. Klein (Kenyon College)

“The Exeter Book Riddles: ‘Authorship’ and ‘Collectorship’ Revisited”

The fundamental questions implied by these terms are “Why would a person make the Riddles?” and (in the form my students would use) “Why would someone suffer them?” I use “collectorship” rather than “readership” in order to finesse, in the title at least, the issue of orality/textuality.

My paper has two parts. It has now been twenty years since Craig Williamson attempted a comprehensive answer to these questions in his painstakingly careful edition and particularly in his introduction to his volume of exuberant and thoughtful translations. In the first part I review the “poetic” Williamson develops in his introduction and embodies in his translations. What can we think of this statement in light of the current developments in theory, and in the age of “Heaney-wulf.”

In the second part I review the current state of the critical issues as represented by John M. Foley’s work toward an aesthetic appropriate for this kind of oral/textual object, particularly *Immanent Art* (1991), Carol Braun Pasternack’s *The Textuality of Old English Poetry* (1995), and John D. Niles’ monograph “Exeter Book Riddle 74 and the Play of the Text” (*ASE* 1999).

Given the nature of the genre of the riddle, is it a scandal or a mysterious sign that so many of the riddles are “uncertain” of solution and of meaning? If we could

clarify our understanding of the riddles as poems, what would they suggest about the nature of the Exeter Book? Why would someone make them? Why would someone collect them?

Session 209: “Identity and Authority I: Frontiers and Identities in Anglo-Saxon England”

Nicola J. Robertson (Univ. of Leeds)

“Ethnic Identity and the Construction of Sanctity in the Tenth-Century *Passio Sancti Eadmundi*”

Edmund the saint-king of East Anglia was killed in battle against an invading Danish army *ca.* 869. Though we cannot be sure of the precise dates, it is evident that his death was considered martyrdom and he was venerated as a saint within a reasonably short period of time. The *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* is the earliest piece of hagiography associated with the cult and was written between *ca.* 985 and 988 by Abbo of Fleury.

The text does not follow the standard hagiographical form for the description of a saint’s *vita*, in that it skips over his childhood briefly to describe the Danish invasion and the reaction of Edmund as king to the heathen’s demands for his surrender. The text raises many issues associated with kingship and in particular the expression of Abbo’s own view of ideal Christian kingship. The debate over the place of composition of the work, and subsequently the ethnic identity of the ideal Christian kingship, has been well documented by Marco Mostert and Antonia Gransden. It is not the intention of this paper to go into any great detail over this debate; rather to focus on the construction of the identity of the Danes as minions of the devil and of Edmund as the Christ-like king who sacrifices his life to save his people. The paper examines what influence these identities may have had in the promotion of the cult in East Anglia, taking into the consideration that the work was dedicated to Archbishop Dunstan and the monks of Ramsey abbey where Abbo spent several years as a teacher. If the work was composed at Ramsey during this period, what influence did the geographical location of the abbey, within the Danelaw, play on the construction of the ethnic identities of the Danes as invading heathens and Edmund as the ideal Christian king? What are the issues concerning sanctity and the promotion of saints’ cults in areas where once clearly defined frontiers of cultural identity are starting to merge, and what role did the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* play in the reconciliation between the English and Danish peoples at this time? These are questions that are approached in this paper, though it may be that no firm conclusions can be reached.

Scott Hendrix (Univ. of Tennessee, Knoxville)

**"Archbishop Wulfstan
and the Political Crisis of 1016"**

In 1016 the Dane Cnut made himself king of England through force of arms. In so doing, he made himself master of one of the most centralized states in Western Europe. He also inherited Archbishop Wulfstan of York (1002-1023) as his chief councilor. Wulfstan served his new king faithfully for the remaining years of his life. This raises an important question. How did this man, who described disloyalty as "the greatest of all treachery in the world," reconcile his service to a usurper with his distaste for disloyalty? As an ancillary question, how did Wulfstan view the events of 1016 and how may his reactions be analyzed through his writing?

In order to answer these questions, I have analyzed the writings of Wulfstan directly. The key primary sources to this study are the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, written by Wulfstan in 1016, as well as a close comparative reading of three law codes compiled by Wulfstan: V Æthelred, VIII Æthelred, and Cnut's 1018 code. To properly place these works in their historical context, a number of other contemporary sources have been used. This analysis of primary sources is informed by the work of historians such as Susan Ridyard, Sir Frank Stenton, and Ann Williams.

Wulfstan saw in Cnut the opportunity to gain the ally of a vigorous young Christian monarch who represented the potential for just stewardship of Kingdom and Church. Just stewardship had been sadly lacking under Æthelred. He failed to protect the Kingdom, and subjected the land and the Church to heavy and possibly illegal taxes. Thus, Wulfstan became increasingly dissatisfied with his rule. Cnut offered peace, security, honest government, and vigorous support for Wulfstan's reform of the laws and the lives of the English. This is why Cnut gained the Archbishop of York's support.

Session 210: "The Personal 'I': Direct Discourse in Medieval Literature"

Mary Faraci (Florida Atlantic Univ.)

**"Agency, Time, and Place in Early West Saxon:
The Personal 'I' in King Alfred's Letter"**

This paper follows the creative acts of naming and renaming the personal "I" in King Alfred's letter, the preface to the English translation of the Latin *Pastoral Care* of Gregory the Great. Rereading the personal "I" statements, I propose that Alfred can be seen creating

and recreating a voice as a king and a soldier in a world where time is not on his side.

Finding the wonders hidden in the personal "I," Alfred invents a text which has been established in English literary history as a "testament to the author's greatness." Enjoying the performative aspects of writing in the personal "I" as a king and a soldier, Alfred makes time and creates a place for the bishops to begin to translate essential books into English. Among the distinctions in the personal "I" statements are those that serve to narrate events in history and those that serve to write acts into history. Although Alfred writes about how he remembers events in the past, "*gemunde ic*," he does not declare himself an historian. Although Alfred writes that he translated the *Pastoral Care*, "*ic hie on Englisc avende*," he does not declare himself a translator. Alfred does declare himself the guardian and giver of the valuable book and bookmark in the words, "*ic bebiode on Godes naman*" and "*ic wolde*." Writing in and for history, Alfred creates a personal "I" that lives in literary history as the voice of a king and a soldier eager to keep up with the cares of the kingdom. In each new personal "I" statement, Alfred renews his trust in the bishops to respect the wonders of languages in the process of translation.

Session 229: "An Inventory of Script Categories and Spelling in Eleventh-Century English"

Susan Thompson (Univ. of Manchester)

"The Script Categories"

The aim of the palaeographers involved in this project is to identify key diagnostic letters used during the eleventh century, enabling us to describe precisely a sample of handwriting and so find other work by the same scribe or from the same scriptorium.

The usual categorization of eleventh-century vernacular script as "round" is clearly inadequate for this purpose, so a framework of scripts has been devised assigning a numerical code to each class of script; examples of these will be illustrated on our website, and it is intended that it will be possible to describe any piece of writing in code by comparing diagnostic features with these forms. It is not possible to examine each letter of the alphabet with every possible combination of letters before and after it, so we are concentrating on a, æ, c, d, e, h, i, s, x, þ, and ð. We are also examining the abbreviation for *per* and the Tironian nota, ligatures of e and æ with other letters, ascenders and descenders, and approach and finishing strokes. Examples have been drawn from the vernacular charters, and the vernacular portions of Latin diplomas,

produced between ca. 980 and 1066, to yield a corpus of dated scripts. To demonstrate our method of working, and show some of the problems that occur, I have analysed Sawyer 1399, a lease from Worcester dated between 1033 and 1038.

Session 236: "Women Medievalists in the Academy I"

Mary Dockray-Miller (Lesley Univ.)

"Mary Bateson: Scholar and Suffragette"

The forthcoming *Women Medievalists in the Academy* allows women working in the academy today a chance to be aware of our foremothers, and to learn from their examples, their successes and mistakes. Historian Mary Bateson (1865-1906), scholar and suffragette, lived one hundred years ago, on the cusp of the opportunity for academic professionalization for women. An enormously successful academic, Bateson produced more than fifteen scholarly editions and a number of important journal articles on subjects as disparate as monasticism and municipal law; at the same time she wrote enormous amounts of popular history for a more general audience. She was also active in the moderate wing of the suffragette movement, even speaking in a deputation to the prime minister in 1906 to urge a parliamentary vote on the enfranchisement of women. This paper chronicles Bateson's life, with brief detours along the way into the history of women's higher education in England and the currents of the first wave of English feminism. Bateson's life illustrates an inspiring blend of serious scholarship and devoted political activism. Her achievements can remind twenty-first century "women medievalists in the academy" of the necessity to get out of the library and into the action for an important political cause.

Session 268: "The Poems of Cynewulf"

T. Ross Leasure (Cornell Univ.)

"Yfeles Andwis: The Devil and Cynewulf"

In three of the four poems in the corpus confidently ascribed to Cynewulf (and in *Christ III* as well), the Devil plays an important role. A subaltern demon plays Juliana's adversary, and Satan himself appears before Elene; in *Christ II*, the well-armed foe of mankind opposes the Savior. Yet he receives no mention in the introduction to Robert Bjork's *Basic Readings*, even in the section on *Juliana*. That the preponderance of the

Cynewulfian corpus (as limited as it is) includes the Devil as a significant figure suggests that the poet himself may have been something of an *yfeles andwis*, who found the adversary and the spiritual danger he presented of chief concern. To what extent do these poems present a consistent characterization of the Devil? Are there patterns or an over-arching strategy to the way Cynewulf deploys language in the Devil's characterization or speech? To what extent might a study of the Devil contribute to our knowledge of Cynewulf the poet and his relation to his sources? Were *Juliana*, *Elene*, and (at least) *Christ II* meant to "speak" to each other as pieces of a cycle? An analysis of the Devil's place in Cynewulf's works (and especially in *Juliana*) suggests their affinity with two other important works in the Anglo-Saxon corpus: *Guthlac A* and *Andreas*, both of which also feature devils. The relationship between these poems (established philologically and theologically) allows the question of Cynewulf's potential authorship of these saints' lives (currently considered unlikely or uncertain) to resurface.

Manish Sharma (Wolfson College, Cambridge)

"Regressive Movement in the Old English *Elene*"

The central theme of *Elene* is conversion — through the cross and, by extension, through Christ. By means of a series of encounters with the central icon of Christianity, first Constantine and Elene, then Judas, then all the Jews accede to the spiritual truth that the cross signifies. What is of particular interest to this paper is the manner with which the attainment of spiritual truth is represented in the poem by means of metaphorical movement. Thus, R. Stepsis and R. Rand, for instance, argue that the theme of the poem is "a simple yet fundamental one concerning the power of the cross, and through the cross, of Christ, to effect the reconciliation of the two realms of darkness and light and the *movement*, through the revelation of the cross, from one condition to the other" ("Contrast and Conversion in Cynewulf's *Elene*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 70, p. 274). The figurative movements from ignorance to knowledge and darkness to light parallel the literal movement from confinement to release by means of which Judas is liberated from incarceration and the cross is discovered. While Stepsis and Rand express what has become a typical view of *Elene*'s fundamental structure, it may be that critics have been premature in ascribing a single, unidirectional movement to the poem; the metaphorical vectors of *Elene* are in fact bidirectional, creating an undercurrent of movement back within confinement, darkness, and secrecy

that culminates in the problematic image of the reburial of the cross — an image which, as I attempt to show, cannot be wholly accounted for by recourse to typology. The existence of this “regressive” movement may have some significant implications for the antagonistic relationship in the text between Christian and Judaic knowledge and for the relation of *Elene* to its putative Latin antecedents.

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

**“Constantine’s, Judas’s,
and Cynewulf’s Discoveries
of the Cross in *Elene*”**

The development of criticism on *Elene* has moved from cool acknowledgment of artistic translation to complex identification of thematic and structural coherence. In focusing on coherence and unity, however, criticism has tended to overlook the subtle distinctions between Constantine, Judas, and Cynewulf which underlie their similarities. Thus, we have come to see the poem as expressing parallel discoveries of the Cross between the three without exploring the inner workings of their modes of discovery. Addressing this issue reveals that their discoveries of the Cross implicate their relationships to texts and textual understanding.

This approach obviously requires first studying the place of Constantine’s vision of the Cross in the poem, which was first interpolated into the earliest Greek manuscripts of the story of St. Helena’s discovery of the Cross in the fifth century. After examining how that introduction to the Invention functions in the later Latin manuscripts, I turn to Cynewulf’s development of the Cross as *sigores tacen*, the connotations of the word *tacen*, and how the word is deployed in the poem to construct the meaning of the Cross in three key positions. First, the phrase *sigores tacen* is used of the Cross as a sign of victory over an earthly enemy in Constantine’s vision, then as a sign of victory over death in Constantine’s education, and finally as a sign of victory over spiritual darkness in Judas’s conversion.

Cynewulf presents the Cross as a unique *tacen* which leads Constantine to the Christian knowledge he already has from books. This sets up two poles of the mode by which the Cross’s meaning is ascertained. Cynewulf’s epilogue, then, presents the negotiation between these two poles which every person must make.

Session 281: “Cultural Change: Elite Ambition and Imperial Imitation before 1000 C.E.”

Catherine E. Karkov (Miami Univ.)

**“The Portrait of Æthelstan, *Anglorum basyleos
et curagulus totius Brytannie*”**

The portrait of King Æthelstan (924/5-39) presenting Cuthbert with a copy of Bede’s *Lives of Cuthbert* in verse and prose (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, fol. 1v) of 934-37 is the earliest surviving manuscript portrait of an Anglo-Saxon king. As has been pointed out many times, its models lie in Carolingian art, particularly in the image of kingship created by and for Louis the Pious and Charles the Bald (and beyond that to the Byzantine and Roman models that influenced Carolingian art). Because of both its artistic sources and the fact that the date of its production coincides with the period in which Æthelstan began using new and grandiose titles on his coins and in his charters, the portrait has been considered a prime example of Æthelstan’s “imperial style.” Yet, the portrait is not as “thoroughly Carolingian” in either its style or its iconography as has previously been claimed (M. Wood, “The Making of King Æthelstan’s Empire: An English Charlemagne,” in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins [Oxford, 1983], pp. 250-72, at 268); rather it alters the imagery of its “imperial sources” to suit both the nature and contents of the manuscript in which it appears, and the specifically English concerns of that manuscript’s texts. It is in fact far more reliant on the image of Anglo-Saxon kingship developed by Alfred and his children than has been acknowledged previously. This paper focuses on the CCC portrait but also considers the evidence of coins, charters, and patterns of patronage in order to demonstrate that while Æthelstan did have imperial ambitions, his use of imperial imitation was far more creative than is generally thought to have been the case.

Session 343: “Thinking Medieval: Cognitive Science and Medieval Studies”

Eileen A. Joy (Francis Marion Univ.)

“The Time of *Beowulf* Is Infinite in Every Direction”

This presentation begins with a juxtaposition of photographic images of the displacement of both persons and places caused by recent ethnic and political conflicts (in Kosovo, Chechnya, and Sierra Leone) with the passage from *Beowulf* (lines 2900-3027) in which Wiglaf’s herald delivers to Beowulf’s tribe a history lesson and prognostication that outlines a past and future cycle of perpetual war and exile. The juxtaposition of images and text are then considered as a type

of history which functions, as Walter Benjamin has written, as “the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous, empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now,” through which it is possible to experience “a cessation of happening.” In this scenario, historical understanding constitutes, according to Benjamin, “an afterlife of what is understood, whose pulses can still be felt in the present,” and the photographic images, with respect to *Beowulf*, are “dialectics at a standstill.” But once this idea of history is briefly considered, the audience is also asked to consider Dominick LaCapra’s caution that the danger inherent in an approach that views the past as “pure, positive presence” is that the past is always “beset with its own disruptions, lacunae, conflicts, irreparable losses, belated recognitions, and challenges to identity,” and certain modern reconstructions of past memory can run the risk of becoming mystified.

But if one wants to understand the past *as it was* (to give the dead their due, as it were), as well as overcome that past in order to connect certain of its events to the present in a way that leads to a more active ethical life, both an empathetic ability to empty oneself out and become “open” to Benjamin’s cessations of happenings (admittedly, a mystical experience) as well as critical judgement and distancing are required, and maybe that art (specifically, art that takes history as its point of departure, or even, arrival) provides the most ideal social space within which to construct such an experience. A literary text like *Beowulf*, especially, that speaks of traumatic and cultural history so far removed from us that we feel emotionally disconnected from it, and whose composition history is fraught with unresolvable aporia, would seem to provide an ideal site through which to interrogate the proper relationship between memory, history, and art, to investigate just how far and to what extent the dead have a claim upon the memory of contemporary culture, and whether or not we, in the present, have an obligation to “work through” (à la Freud) claims of past suffering, displacement, and erasure. These questions are pertinent, not only to the historian, but also to the literary scholar who is searching for ways to bring *Beowulf* from the margin to the center of cultural studies discourse.

Session 345: “Anglo-Saxon Studies: A Session in Honor of Carl T. Berkhout”

J. R. Hall (Univ. of Mississippi)

**“Thorkelin’s Intervention
in Transcript A of *Beowulf*:
Some Debatable Cases”**

Transcripts A and B are the most important docu-

ments we have to supplement the damaged *Beowulf* manuscript. Of the two transcripts, A is more valuable than B because the A copyist gives a more nearly objective account of what could be read in the manuscript in the late eighteenth century, whereas transcript B was executed by Thorkelin, who copied the text with an edition of the poem in mind. One of the difficulties in interpreting transcript A is identifying who was responsible for the corrections. Some of them were certainly made by Thorkelin and need not have been based on the *Beowulf* manuscript. Others were certainly made by the A copyist himself, and there is good reason to believe they are based on the manuscript. Still other corrections are debatable: they may have been made by A or by Thorkelin imitating A’s hand. In an article recently published in *Anglo-Saxon England* (1999), Johan Gerritsen cites a dozen corrections “that are not evidently the amanuensis’s [A’s] and which on balance have a good chance of being Thorkelin’s.” Most of the corrections cited by Gerritsen have earlier been ascribed to the A copyist, and most of them are for readings for which the corresponding text in the *Beowulf* manuscript does not survive. If Gerritsen is correct, we may no longer be as confident as we once were that the corrections accurately reflect the manuscript. In my paper, based directly on study of transcript A, I attempt to reach conclusions on these disputed readings.

Session 373: “Goscelin’s Lives of Female Saints”

Kay Slocum (Capital Univ.)

**“Goscelin of Canterbury and
the Translation Ceremony for Saints
Ethelburga, Hildelitha, and Wulfhilda”**

The works of Goscelin of Canterbury include *Vitae* of three of the earliest and most revered abbesses of Barking—Saints Ethelburga, Hildelitha, and Wulfhilda. In addition to the “Lives,” he wrote two versions of the Translation of these saints; these accounts are divided into twelve lections, with one narrative being a condensation of the other. The lections contain much fascinating information about the three abbesses, and deal, as well, with the problems of a fourth abbess, Alviva, in effecting the Translation. According to the “Ordinale and Customary” from the abbey, the Translation of the abbesses was apparently celebrated twice during the year, on March 7 and September 23. The ceremony on March 7 contains an incipit which refers to the lections of Goscelin, indicating that his work was used as part of the liturgy.

This paper analyzes the lections of Goscelin as hagiographical evidence and, in addition, discusses the liturgy for the Translation of the Barking abbesses,

speculating as to how the work of Goscelin was incorporated.

Session 387: "Bodies and Embodiment in the Early Middle Ages"

Marianne Malo Chenard (Univ. of Notre Dame)

**"Sanctity and the Discourse of Purity
in Aldhelm's *De virginitate*"**

In the late seventh-century treatise *De virginitate*, Aldhelm adapts patristic teachings on the three degrees of chastity — traditionally virginity, widowhood, and marriage — to an early Anglo-Saxon audience for whom customary practices of divorce were at variance with the teachings of Roman Christianity. Indeed, Aldhelm maintains orthodoxy to the spirit of patristic teachings on purity while he praises the divorced women among his dedicatees at Barking monastery. Admitting that he does not have solid scriptural support for this maneuver, Aldhelm appropriates the conventional language of purity and manipulates it to achieve his end. By addressing the prose work to "virginibus Christi," Aldhelm reveals *virginitas* to be a performative state in which hymeneal intactness, the state's necessary cause in a woman, is nevertheless not its sufficient cause. Using *intactus* and *integritas* to refer to male and female exemplars alike, the author reinforces the notion that *virginitas* goes beyond the mere verifiability of a physical sign. Furthermore, in the *Prosa* the author replaces *viduitas* with *castitas*: a general blanket term that patristic authors use with regard to any degree of purity. *Castitas*, like *virginitas*, is a performative state — it can include not only divorced women, but also Aldhelm's virgin martyrs. Aldhelm does not even use the term *castitas* to signify the second degree of purity in the *Carmen*: instead, he expands the notion of this state to include the scorning of anything worldly. Through his holy female exemplars, Aldhelm, tacitly drawing upon Ambrose's *De virginibus* and Augustine's *De sancta virginitate*, incorporates readiness for martyrdom as a factor further obfuscating any distinctions between states and thus sets the stage for the upward moral movement of the divorced toward the realm of the virgin.

Session 397: "Insular Time"

J. D. Thayer (Univ. of Oregon)

**"Mama and her Mere:
Insular Time in *Beowulf*"**

This paper explores the uncomfortable relationship

between the Grendel-kin, with emphasis on Grendel's mother and the mere itself, and concepts of human, regulated time. The paper attempts to address the temporal inconsistencies in the narrative with respect to these characters and offers an argument about the reason(s) for those inconsistencies. The thrust of the argument is that the Grendel-kin and the mere represent a pocket of insular time that has stubbornly resisted the rules of God's creation, and that it is the duty of the hero to bring the monstrous landscape into accord with the rest of the human world. In performing his heroic deeds in the mere, the hero is forced out of human time and into the primordial landscape which accounts for his "marvellous" descent into the mere where time passes in "ages" or "eons," not hours and days; a reading of the mere as a space of insular time supports Robinson's general reading of the episode, that the hero is not imbued with superhuman qualities, while maintaining Klaeber's consistent reading of *hwil dæges* as meaning "the better part of the day"; *hwil dæges* refers more to how long the retainers wait above the water than to how long Beowulf holds his breath. What is but a few moments in the mere is a better part of the day to those who wait.

Sachi Shimomura (Virginia Commonwealth Univ.)

**"Grendel's Glove in the Fifth Dimension:
Metaphysical and Digestive Spaces of *Beowulf*"**

The space-time continuum of *Beowulf* encompasses creation and destruction, remembered and narrated pasts nested within each other in uneasy harmony, as well as spatial insides and outsides that range from the domain of the human world to the digestive processes of Grendel himself. These paradoxes of space and time on the macrocosmic levels extend to the microcosmos of Grendel's bag, or glove, as it seemingly reifies Grendel's uncertain and monstrous physical expanse. Indeed, within this glove lie curled worlds seemingly larger than it could physically contain. The glove-as-bag and its incongruencies make clearer sense in the context of Celtic and Norse analogues, including some that have not been much discussed in conjunction with *Beowulf*. The major Celtic analogue, a reverse figure of the "bag of plenty" or cornucopia, occurs in the first branch of the *Mabinogi* and the story of "Lludd and Llefelys." In both, the bag demonstrates a magical capacity to swallow up all the food from a feast. Its appetite parallels Grendel's own; its endless, dimension-defying voracity enables narrative redundancies that bend time back upon itself. Expansive verbiage in the form of unwary promises, foolishly generous boons — words that can always, by folkloristic tradition, expand to encompass too much meaning

— echoes the physical role of the bag. Yet such words span time as well, whether as boasts or as poetry, encompassing a desired future or a remembered past. Like Grendel's glove, they suggest the metaphysics of an Anglo-Saxon view of space, time, and verbiage that seems curiously analogous to theories of modern physics, and whose expanse underlies the temporal flexibility of Anglo-Saxon poetry.

Session 398: "The Making of Monsters in the Middle Ages"

Thomas A. Bredehoft (Univ. of Northern Colorado)

**"Solving the Monstrous
in the Exeter Book Riddles"**

This paper addresses the ways in which the mode of representation we see in Anglo-Saxon (and other medieval) "marvel literature" often parallels the mode of representation we see in many of the Old English riddles. That is, both sorts of text rely upon the accumulation of physical descriptive details that appear to be in contradiction with one another. The riddling dynamic, in which a combination of disparate descriptors is "solved" by the resolution of the seeming contradictions, offers us an intriguing glimpse into Anglo-Saxon perceptions of monstrosity that can (potentially at least) be of real use in thinking about the non-riddling depictions of monstrosity in texts like *The Wonders of the East*. In particular, I look at two of the most familiar of the Old English riddles: the "One-Eyed Garlic Seller" riddle (number 86) and the "Book Moth" riddle (number 47). In the end, I suggest that many of the riddles of the Exeter Book invoke the monstrous only to dismiss it when a solution to the riddles is found, and they do so in order to train readers in the task of literary (rather than literal) reading. Literary reading, such a formulation suggests, is itself about the synthesis of seemingly paradoxical elements within a work, and the Exeter Book riddles serve as a training ground for this particular mode of interpretation.

Session 414: "Tol ond cræft: Anglo-Saxon Tools and Technology"

Katrin Thier (Oxford English Dictionary)

"Building a Boat in Anglo-Saxon England"

The paper reassesses our knowledge of shipbuilding in Anglo-Saxon England, focusing on the assembly of the ship's hull. As the archaeological evidence from England is limited, linguistic considerations are used to find additional information. The discussion proceeds in

the order in which a ship was built: keel, stem-posts, planking and framing. Problems to be discussed include the following: (1) flat keels called *botm* as a feature of English ships (as opposed to Nordic) and the origin of the modern word *keel*; (2) raking stem-posts in the archaeological record and the indications of upright, possibly Viking-style stem-posts in poetry; (3) some comments on the near absence of figureheads; (4) the semantic field of planks and the deck, especially focusing on the terms *bord* and *þel*; (5) a note on the absence of words for complex framing; (6) a postscript on the use of sewing and binding techniques in shipbuilding as referred to in *Beowulf*.

Special emphasis is laid on the differences and parallels with Scandinavian shipbuilding of the period. A short note on the origins of Anglo-Saxon shipbuilding concludes the paper.

Session 423: "Anglo-Saxon Poetry"

Emily V. Thornbury (Trinity College, Cambridge)

**"The Anti-Muse:
Tracing Inspiration in Anglo-Saxon Verse"**

In both the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions, much of the most important poetry was considered to be divinely inspired. With the Christianization of the Roman Empire, many poets used this point of contact to proclaim their difference from the old belief system, even as they carried on its literary traditions. Among Christian-Latin hexameter poets especially, a passage declaring that the inspiration of the Holy Spirit had been chosen over that of the Muses, and the model of the psalmists and prophets over that of Homer and Virgil, became a familiar theme that helped in the "baptism" of a poetic style deeply associated with paganism.

In this paper I demonstrate that the "rejection of the Muses" topos was adopted by Anglo-Latin poets as well, despite the differences between Classical and Germanic religious and poetic traditions. Indeed, an examination of surviving references to Old English poetic composition reveals that poetic compositions seems — at least by the conversion era — to have been considered more a craft than a vocation, the product of learning and skill rather than the inspiration of the gods. In this light, Anglo-Latin uses of the "rejection of the Muses" theme, which begin with Aldhelm and are subsequently heavily influenced by him, are seen to be more a display of skill in a foreign tradition than a genuine religious response.

An analysis of the Cædmon episode in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, however, shows that Bede was highly conscious that the divinely inspired psalmist was not

as easily made analogous to the scop as he was to “divine Homer.” While older accounts of the beginnings of Christian literature on pagan models — including not only Aldhelm, but also Augustine, Jerome, and Boethius — had emphasized the subject’s firm devotion to pagan letters and the divine intercession which redirected him to a truer course, Bede instead highlighted Cædmon’s total ignorance, and the *ability* granted him by the angel. He thus reshaped an ancient topos into a form more relevant to Anglo-Saxon models of poetry — and no doubt all the more miraculous to his audience.

Phyllis Portnoy (Univ. of Manitoba)

**“Old Testament Signs of the Cross:
Intersections of Anglo-Saxon Art and Literature”**

The cross appears in early Christian art as both figure and ground: as an image in painting and portable art, where it accompanies the representation of Old as well as New Testament miracles, and as a free-standing monument on which these same subjects are sculpted. This paper examines the development and inter-relationship of Insular and Continental artistic usage of this multivalent signifier and suggests some interesting connections with Anglo-Saxon literature. The imagery on the monumental stone crosses reflects the dual convergence of Germanic, Celtic, and Byzantine design, and of Old and New Testament figures and events. The program and configuration of this imagery provide a yet-to-be-noted analogue for the Junius codex, and also perhaps for the *Dream of the Rood*. In the codex, we find a similar collocation of figures from salvation history and similar depictions of these figures, particularly of Noah’s Ark and of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace; the *Dream* demonstrates a similar use of Anglo-Saxon jewel imagery. While liturgical practice is arguably the predominating context for the genesis of both of these literary works, the stone crosses — ubiquitous landmarks from the seventh to the ninth centuries and themselves likely liturgical in function — are a pictorial resource which was as readily available for poetic imitation. Indeed, the problematic arrangement and often digressive treatment of several passages in the Junius poems can perhaps also be traced to these signs of the cross in Anglo-Saxon England.

Karin E. Olsen (Univ. of Groningen)

**“Him þæs grim lean becom:
Conflict imagery in *Genesis A*”**

Physical and spiritual conflict figure prominently in the Old English *Genesis A*. The old strife between God

and the Devil appears in various forms in the poem, always concluding with God’s punishment of the wrongdoers. He expels Adam and Eve from Paradise and exposes them to hardship; Cain is forced to leave the fellowship of his parents and live his life in a barren land. And yet these exiled figures, as much as the builders of the Tower of Babel, find relief, as they are allowed to re-establish themselves in new communities. The most wicked, on the other hand, are beyond divine favor and must endure the torments of darkness, fire and water. Lucifer and his band are flung out of Heaven and then confined to dark and smoky Hell; *swearte streamas* (1326a) drown the sinful race of giants; and the *sweart lig* (2543b) burn the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah. In the last two instances, fire and water, once released from God’s control, have turned into instruments of destruction, their darkness pointing to the horrors both of chaos and Hell.

In my paper, I examine the imagery used throughout *Genesis A* to portray the conflict between good and evil in terms of order and chaos, light and darkness, the inside and outside. The terror of fire and water does not emanate from the poet’s use of extensive martial imagery, as it does in *Exodus* and *Andreas*, but from their association with darkness and chaos. Still, unlike the authors of *Exodus* and *Andreas*, the *Genesis A* poet never leaves any doubt that chaos is controlled by God’s creative principle which ensures prosperity, safety and order, a point exemplified in the portrayal of Noah’s ark as a fortress against the all-engulfing gloomy waves.

Michael J. Wilson (Kent State Univ.)

**“The Destruction of Sodom:
A Major Envelope Pattern in *Genesis A*”**

Genesis A has generally been one of the less studied Old English poems. Although much work has recently been done to illuminate its artistry, *Genesis A* is still commonly regarded as a pedestrian “versification” that slavishly follows the Bible without artistic shaping of its own (George Krapp, in *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, still the standard edition, calls *Genesis A* “a versification of the first book of the Old Testament” which “follows the Old Testament narrative without deliberate reorganization or reconstruction of the material”; Paul Remley’s comment [in *Old English Biblical Verse*, 1996] that “the poem concludes abruptly at *GenA* 2936 ... suggesting that the copy we possess may be far from complete” shows the persistence of this view).

One early advocate of the poem was Adeline Bartlett, whose *Larger Rhetorical Patterns in Old English Poetry* (1935) made extensive use of *Genesis A*.

The principal technique identified by Bartlett is the envelope pattern, "any logically unified group of verses bound together by the repetition at the end of words or ideas ... which are employed at the beginning." While Bartlett opened a large field for exploration, only two subsequent critics have — in limited contexts — treated the envelope pattern in *Genesis A*: Constance Hieatt, in "Divisions: Theme and Structure of *Genesis A*" (1980); and Colette Stévanovitch, in "Envelope Patterns in *Genesis A & B*" (1996). Many envelopes in the poem have never been noted, let alone discussed, in print.

Only a cursory reading would confirm the idea that the poem is a reflexive paraphrase. Despite close adherence to the biblical narrative, the poet repeatedly departs from the seriatim style of his source, molding every episode into a coherent unit. The poet utilizes every opportunity to emphasize thematic concerns with repetition at the start and end (and often in the midst) of one envelope pattern after another.

One extraordinarily dramatic envelope — unobserved until now — narrates the destruction of Sodom. My paper details the many significant correspondences and patterns that help to shape the narrative, strengthening its thematic focus and its rhetorical effectiveness. The main envelope involves the awful violence with which Sodom is destroyed and the blameworthiness of the city's people.

The magnitude of the *Genesis*-poet's achievement has consistently been underrated. His treatment of the destruction of Sodom is one example demonstrating the thoughtful artistry with which he reshapes the biblical narrative.

Session 436: "Beowulf II"

Alexandra H. Olsen (Univ. Of Denver)

"The Nowell Codex, Editorial Practice, and the Cruces of *Beowulf*"

As the introduction to the Wrenn-Bolton edition of *Beowulf* says, "even the most basic questions about *Beowulf* are still, after more than a century and a half of study, ... without an answer that carries widespread and confident assent" (87). This is especially the case with those passages which have puzzled generations of readers and are considered cruces, some textual and some interpretative. Anglo-Saxonists too often forget that *Beowulf* is a poem and that even if we understood Old English perfectly we would still have to struggle to understand the nuanced language. In order to remind Anglo-Saxonists that *Beowulf* is a poem, I survey the types of cruces in it and suggest that we should look not at edited texts and at translations but at the manu-

script itself and struggle with the cruces and our own limited understanding.

Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Translating the Past: History as Metaphor in *Beowulf*"

In a previous essay, I argued that the *Beowulf*-poet has used a number of fictional elements, such as the thief and the Geatish woman, in the final third of the poem to develop one of his major themes, the danger to a people of having too restricted a pool of candidates from which to select a new king. In this essay, I would like to extend the argument by showing that he has also selected and shaped his historical material in this part for the same purpose. While some uncertainty will, of course, always remain when trying to distinguish between the poem's fictional and historical elements, certain incidents, such as Hygelac's failed raid in Frisia, confirmed as it is in independent Frankish sources, are clearly historical. A review of some of the poem's analogues indicates that others are likely to be so as well. By analyzing how the poet uses this material, I argue that he chose to graft *Beowulf*'s story onto Geatish history because he recognized its potential as metaphor. I conclude by contrasting this history with the history of the Danes to claim that the poet investigates an issue, succession, that would have had continued relevance in his own day.

Heather Hoyt (Arizona State Univ.)

"Meeting 'Wealhtheow,' Consort/Queen/Wife?"

After reading *Beowulf* in Old English and developing my own translation, I was struck both by the power and the frustration in determining how to convey this Anglo-Saxon classic to a modern audience. Many contemporary readers of *Beowulf* are introduced to the poem through Modern English translations, and these translations have a direct impact on how the readers perceive what is presented as "Anglo-Saxon." The translator has the power to manipulate not only words, but also cultural perceptions, which are embedded in the wording. A translator's intentions and strategy, often set forth in the introduction, determine which words are chosen and how *Beowulf* is "rewritten" for a modern audience. My analysis of six contemporary translations (1983-2001) of the same passage illustrates the tensions among poetry, history, and anachronistic metaphors, emphasizing each translator's challenging task of transforming the Old English text into a Modern English equivalent.

Using the translation theory of Bassnett and Lefevere as a framework for reading multiple translations of *Wealhtheow's* introduction in the poem, I examine the similarities and differences among representations of the same passage. When *Wealhtheow* is introduced, so are a number of gendered images, which may or may not translate from Anglo-Saxon into modern parallels. Translators of modern languages manipulate words in attempts to achieve grammatical sense as well as cultural sense. The translator of Old English faces the added challenge of conveying socio-historical context through contemporary language, which may not have the equivalent words to represent that context.

The differences among the six translations are striking and serve as a reminder that translations of *Beowulf* are subject to each translator's personal interpretation. Readers of these translations, in turn, are subjected to the translator's power and put their trust in the translator's knowledge of the original. Whether a translator attempts to be true to the original or not, Modern English versions of *Beowulf* rely on a layering of Anglo-Saxon and contemporary words and images. The modern reader does not read *Beowulf* the Anglo-Saxon poem, but *Beowulf* the Modern English interpretation of the Anglo-Saxon poem.

Session 462: "The Sign of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England I"

Mark Blackburn (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge)

**"Crosses and Conversion:
The Iconography of the York
Viking Coinage ca. 900"**

The coinage of the Scandinavian kingdom of York offers some remarkable insights into the politics, culture, organization, and economy of this short-lived state. The re-establishment of a mint in York ca. 895 after a thirty-year interval was a notable event, and the coins produced there during the first decade of operation, in the names of Kings Sigefrith and Cnut, are innovative in a number of respects, not least their designs and inscriptions. This is a large and well-organized coinage with some 40 different combinations of design. Cross motifs dominate, and the size and prominence of these leave the viewer in little doubt as to their importance to the designer.

Their variety embraces the Greek cross, Cross-crosslet, Patriarchal cross, Christogram, Cross-on-steps, Small crosses or groups of four pellets in the field and Lozenge-shaped (i.e., cruciform) 'O's. Most of these designs do not appear to have been copied from other coin issues, but draw upon the stock of Christian iconography that was probably current in Northumbria

at the time. The designs are complemented by the inscriptions. Some quote phrases from the liturgy — DNS DS REX, DNS DS O REX, MIRABILIA FECIT — a practice not otherwise found on English coinage of the Anglo-Saxon period, although on the Carolingian coinage of Eudes (888-97) there are liturgical phrases which may have provided the inspiration for the York inscriptions. The most exceptional form of inscription, found in several types, is the arrangement of letters such that they have to be read in the order top-bottom-left-right — i.e., in a sequence that makes a sign of the cross. This occurs on no other coinage in any country or period, but it is paralleled on the Ruthwell Cross and in early medieval Italian art.

The dominance of the Christian theme in design and legends, and the energy and innovation with which it is presented, suggests that this was a deliberate and important feature of the coinage. But who was responsible and what was the intention behind it? This is an overtly royal coinage, and its economic significance was such that the Scandinavian kings would not readily have alienated their right to control the mint. Yet it is reasonable to suppose that the archbishop both influenced the general policy and advised specifically on the designs. Indeed, the very survival of his office through the Scandinavian conquest and Archbishop Wulfhere's documented associations with the York kings shows that the Church had a role in the Viking strategy. That is not to say that the coinage shows that the Scandinavians of York had been thoroughly converted by the late ninth century, but it does suggest that they recognized the political advantage of embracing one of the principal tenets of Western states in order that they might be accepted by their Anglo-Saxon, British, and Carolingian neighbors.

Anna Gannon (British Museum & Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge)

**"A Chip off the Rood:
The Cross on the Early
Anglo-Saxon Coinage"**

The paper examines the crosses found on the early Anglo-Saxon coins, from the inception of the coinage in the early seventh century, to the time of Offa (the end of the eighth century). A development is noted between the earliest coin production, the gold issues — when the coins conformed to the well-established Merovingian prototype of bust and cross — and the later Silver Series (ca. 710-750), a time of great inventive freedom, with over a hundred different designs. From the earliest phases of production, Anglo-Saxon designs are outstanding for their great elegance and workmanship. A correspondence between fine metalwork,

manuscript illumination and coin design is evident, with patterns recalling favorite techniques such as cloisonné work or favoring the repetition of cross patterns as seen on illuminated carpet pages, which are believed to be devotional.

A remarkable change is observed in the Secondary phase, the Silver Series. The production has fewer crosses among its designs for reverses; however, these are very complex patterns formed by interlace and count on our visual awareness in recognizing more than one cross in the design. One can in fact focus on subsidiary crosses made up by extra large pellets, representing the Five Wounds of Christ, or by “rosettes” under the arms of the main crosses. It is argued that these “rosettes” are actually conventional representations of bunches of grapes, so that it is suggested that the iconography of the coins presents a sophisticated double image of Salvation through the cross and the Eucharist alluded to by the bunches of grapes. This concept is also apparent in the vine-scroll of the Lowther cross.

The iconography of many of the coins of the Silver Series can be easily paralleled amongst the surviving sculptural heritage of Anglo-Saxon England, and in particular amongst the high crosses, not only in the interlace, as already mentioned, but in the many birds and animals finding food and refuge amongst the coils of vine-scrolls, as well as with human figures. In some cases one can even observe a precise correspondence between the two sides of a coin and the imagery of the high crosses. It is suggested that the coins functioned as “chips off the Rood,” miniature reproductions of well-known and liked motifs, possibly chosen on account of their auspicious connotations (as in the case of the bird-in-vine motif), and redemptive significance. Rather like relics, their diminutive size and reduced iconography did not impair the apotropaic power of the whole cross, and although coins are not themselves shaped like crosses, the fact that they so obviously carry such imagery testifies to the centrality of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England.

A change of mood, as far as the coinage is concerned, is detected in the dramatic change apparent in the new coinage of King Offa ((757-96): here one can find many crosses, but these are now mere patterns and variations on standardized designs rather than witnesses to a great age of faith.

Session 464: “Torture, Toller, and Textual Editing”

Alison Gulley (Lees-McRae College)

“The Un-Spectacle of Torture in Ælfric’s Virgin Martyr Lives”

Ælfric’s late tenth-century *Lives of Saints* includes

the formulaic lives of five Roman virgin martyrs: Agatha, Agnes, Cecilia, Eugenia, and Lucy. In these stories, the young women are held up as examples of saintliness because they sacrifice their lives for their faith in God and, in three of the stories, in order to retain the symbol of that faith, their virginity. In the bare narrative, the heroine is given the choice among marriage, being hauled off to the brothel to be corrupted, or torture and death. A fourth possibility allows her to remain chaste only if her virginity is dedicated to the pagan gods. At the plot level, the primary stated goal of the narrative is to force the virgin to renounce her chaste state. This of course symbolizes an attempt to coerce a renunciation of Christian faith, highlighted by the fourth alternative. Not surprisingly, the young women persevere in their faith, and the coercion grows ever uglier as they are beaten, burned, boiled, and/or beheaded.

Using Michel Foucault’s theories about the role of spectacle in the public torture and execution of criminals in his *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, I examine the torture and martyrdom scenes in light of the conflict between the Roman state and the metaphorical City of God. Foucault argues that public torture serves two political functions: (1) to cause fear in the spectators and thus prevent further subversive behavior harmful to the state and (2) to exemplify and reinforce the political power of the state. In the lives of the virgin martyrs, the torturers — representatives of the “impious” Roman empire — are hindered in these attempts by the intervention of God or God’s intercessor who stays the hand of the executioner, turns the instrument of torture on the torturer himself, or confounds the torture in some other way. The most effective method of intervention, however, is that God protects the virgins from feeling pain even as they are submitted to the treatment outlined above. The result is that in these stories, spectacle, far from solidifying and advancing human political power, instead draws attention to the omnipotence of God set against the relative powerlessness of humanity.

Heide Estes (Monmouth Univ.)

“Editing for Print and Digital Media: Some Problems and Possibilities”

Different mediums for an edition — print versus hypertext — present different opportunities for presenting a text along with information about manuscript context, editorial decisions, sources and analogues, translation, glossary, and other notes.

A paper edition has the advantage of being simultaneous and linear: all of the information about a text can be presented, via symbols and footnotes, on a single

page (and multiple pages can be spread out on a desk or across the floor or the wall); and reading is a straight-forward process of starting at the beginning and moving to the end.

On the other hand, a hypertext edition can provide a variety of formats — facsimile, diplomatic transcription, clean edition — to attempt to address the needs of multiple audiences and readers, including literary scholars, paleographers, historians, and students. However, multiply embedded links can be difficult to navigate; the availability of choices can make it difficult to find a clear sequence in which to read material.

Hypertext also presents archival problems. While we can still read thousand-year-old vellum manuscripts and 500-year-old printed editions, ten-year-old digital media are all but inaccessible. (Who still has a machine that can read 5 1/4-inch floppy disks?)

Despite these potential drawbacks, CD-ROM or web editions have the potential to solve some of the problems associated with the costs besetting book production these days, especially in the small runs common in our field. Hypertext is a new medium whose potential is still largely unexplored and whose applications for our field need to be investigated and developed.

Session 471: “Anglo-Saxon Vocabulary: Hard Words and Hapax Legomena as Poetic Devices”

M. Jane Toswell (Univ. of Western Ontario)

“The Paris Psalter: Work of a Tadpole Poet or a Laureled Ox?”

The Paris Psalter is generally recognized as having a remarkably small percentage of poetic words, and its rate of occurrence of *hapax legomena* is low by comparison to other Old English poems. The percentage of prose words is higher than in the more “poetic” of Old English poetic texts, but perhaps not unduly so. The creator of this poetic interpretation of the Roman Psalter was nonetheless successful at producing what is readily identifiable as poetry — even when it is, astoundingly, used as an interlinear gloss in the Eadwine Psalter. This paper explores the poet’s use of *hapax legomena*, Latin borrowings and loan-translations, and the wrenched usages that are often perceived as a hallmark of this text. It attempts to assess both the poet’s purpose in the creation of these difficult words and awkward syntactic and metrical usages, and the poet’s success at this part of the task.

Session 473: “Alfredian Texts and Contexts”

Karmen Lenz (Univ. of New Mexico)

“Images of Divine Presence in the Mind in the Cotton Otho A.vi *Meters* of Boethius”

In his adaptation of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy* in Cotton MS Otho A.vi, Alfred consolidates the Latin prosimetrum pattern into a single Anglo-Saxon prose form and adds alternating original verses. Complementing the didactic prose lessons, the *Meters* follow the arguments of each prose lesson with meditations that engage the reader’s imagination, at times through images of landscape illustrating the spiritual environment of the mind. Imagery in the *Meters* describing the pleasant place suffused in light within the mind represents its union with the divine. Through incremental repetitions, poetic formulas emphasize wisdom in the mind, as shown in *Meters* 7 and 21, 22, 23, and 24. The *Meters* teach contemplation as an investigation into memory and the divine principles of judgment, or virtues, which it holds. These meditations reinforce ninth-century medieval ideas that form Alfred’s unique world-view that underscores his adaptation of the *Consolation*. The *Meters* are a fundamental text in Alfred’s educational program with a specific focus on cultivating love for the divine through introspection. Alfred’s prosimetrum work serves a unique instructional purpose in his educational program because it teaches moral practice in combination with contemplation by alternating didactic lessons in the prose with meditative passages in the poetry.

John Edward Damon (Univ. of Nebraska, Kearney)

“The Word *Had* and the Alfredian Context of *Guthlac A*”

Guthlac A represents a prime example of the group of Old English poems of uncertain origin extant only in a tenth-century manuscript. Its location in the Exeter Book, attached to another poem concerning St. Guthlac of Croyland and immediately following the composite *Christ*, has encouraged a variety of attempts to situate it temporally. Although scholars originally considered it a work of the early Anglo-Saxon period, P. W. Conner has recently argued that the work is a product of the Benedictine Revival, with close affiliations to important Latin texts central to that movement, such as the Benedictine Rule and the works of Smaragdus. An analysis of the many uses of the word *had* in the poem suggests instead an affiliation with texts of the late ninth and early tenth centuries, the Age of Alfred. Past studies, including Conner’s, have acknowledged the importance of the word *had* to the poem’s interpreta-

tion, but no systematic attempt has been made to correlate its use in *Guthlac A* with its use in other vernacular texts. By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, the word had come to mean primarily, if not exclusively, the religious orders or the order of monks; *had* did not acquire that specialized meaning, however, until late in the century. During the Alfredian period it often was employed to describe the secular orders such as *ceorl*, *thegn*, and *ealdorman*. One of the half-lines in *Guthlac A*, *hadas under heofonum*, reflects a formula employed by the poet of *Christ III*, and the word appears prominently in vernacular literary and legal texts associated with Alfred and his immediate descendants. This paper presents a brief summary of the word's Alfredian significance and a reading of the poem as an Alfredian literary text.

Christina M. Heckman (Loyola Univ., Chicago)

**"King Alfred, the 'Middle-Man,'
and the Old English *Boethius*"**

In the Old English translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, the Wheel of Fortune disappears, replaced by King Alfred's wheel of creation. Unlike Boethius's Wheel, which raises men to glory or plunges them into despair according to the whims of Fortune, Alfred's wheel represents the universe as an orderly and interdependent system with God at the center, the best men nearest to God, and the worst men at the rim. Alfred's rewriting of the metaphor of the wheel signals a fundamental transformation in Boethius's text, as his asceticism yields to Alfred's privileging of worldly pursuits in the quest for wisdom.

Alfred's preface to the Old English *Boethius* asks that his reader "pray for him [Alfred], and not reproach him [Alfred] if he [the reader] understands it more correctly than he [Alfred] could; because each must speak what he speaks, and do that which he does, according to the degree of his understanding and his leisure." The king's reference to "leisure" in this passage not only emphasizes the indebtedness of scholars to men of action, like Alfred, but also assumes the suitability of Alfred's pursuit of wisdom, despite his involvement in *weoruldbisgung*, or worldly affairs. His statement, though self-effacing, represents his translation as an appropriation that is nevertheless appropriate, an eminently suitable activity for a king. Alfred's re-establishment of English learning within his own court was bold and unprecedented, arguably an intrusion into the traditional province of the clergy and religious. And yet, Alfred pursued his revival of learning with the unabashed conviction that such an action was fitting and even essential for the preservation of English learning.

Alfred's wheel of creation demonstrates his fundamental belief in the necessity of combining wisdom and *weoruldbisgung*. Arranged along the spokes of the wheel, which radiate from their divine center, men are inextricably joined to God and one another. The best and the worst men are connected by the "middle-men," those who look "with one eye to heaven, and with another to earth." As such, the middle-men connect the best and the worst men together, preserving the best from callous indifference to the plight of the worst, and bringing the worst closer to God.

By using the metaphor of the wheel in such a fashion, Alfred bestows supreme importance upon the middle-men. Though they are not closest to God, the middle-men can perceive, and achieve, more than either the best men or the worst. They have the greatest vision, and therefore the greatest influence of any men, providing the vital link between heaven and earth. Furthermore, the middle-man who wields political power, like Alfred, can "crush evil and promote good," as long as he also pursues wisdom.

Alfred re-creates Boethius's *Consolation* for the good of his realm, indirectly arguing for the worldly wisdom that he encouraged in his kingdom. Through his acts of translation and appropriation, Alfred himself becomes the middle-man, the spoke which holds together the wheel of creation, wisely attending to all its parts, the worst as well as the best.

Session 498: "Concerns and Contexts of Early English Homilies II"

Richard F. Johnson (William Rainey Harper College)

"Ælfric and the Blickling Homilist Reconsidered"

Over a hundred years ago, Max Forster first pointed out the similarities between Blickling homily XVI ("Dedication of St. Michael's Church") and Ælfric's homily for 29 September ("Dedication of the Church of St. Michael the Archangel"), both of which are Old English versions of the hagiographic foundation-myth of the Archangel's grotto-sanctuary on the summit of Monte Gargano, Italy (BHL 5948). More recently, Patrick Zettel has drawn attention to a mid-eleventh-century English legendary, known as the Cotton-Corpus Legendary after its two principal manuscripts, as a collection of hagiographic texts very similar to the one which Ælfric may have used as the source for the non-English saints' legends in the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*. An Anglo-Latin text of Michael's legendary appearance on Monte Gargano occurs among the Cotton-Corpus texts. The interrelations of these three Michael texts form the subject of the present paper.

Although a cursory analysis of the three texts indicates that they do not correspond exactly to one another, the striking narrative and verbal similarities of the texts suggest that they deserve to be more closely studied in relation to one another. Based on a close examination of the structural and verbal agreement between the two Old English homilies and their relation to the Cotton-Corpus account, this paper argues that the three texts are more closely related than previously thought. Furthermore, this paper concludes that the texts are at most one remove from each other and that they were most likely copied from an immediate common exemplar now lost.

Session 502: "Pre-Reformation Bible Translations and Translators in Northern Europe"

Mary K. Ramsey (Georgia State Univ.)

**"Ælfrician Anxiety and Poetic Production:
Aspects of Old Testament Translation"**

Anglo-Saxon England's fascination with Old Testament texts is well-documented, especially Genesis and Exodus, which were closely translated into Old English prose and loosely adapted in Old English verse. This paper examines the relationship between the translations that were meant to be used as scripture, those included and interpreted in homiletic literature, and those translated into Old English poetry. I not only discuss the translators' free adaptations of their source texts, but also examine the materials they chose to translate "word be worde," accounting for the decisions that determined the translators' practices. Such a scheme necessarily goes beyond the simple narrative level. My goal is to show how micro changes in language use (vocabulary, syntax, grammar) facilitate the production of a text uniquely suited to the translator's purposes while retaining the integrity of the original.

Session 506: "Carolingian Issues: Translational Methodology"

John H. Brinegar (Virginia Commonwealth Univ.)

**"The Old English *Boethius*
as Translation and Commentary"**

Alfred's Old English version of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* contains much material not found in the Latin text. Scholars formerly assumed that Alfred took this material from a commentary on the *Consolation*, but the work of Joseph Wittig has raised serious doubts about that assumption. This paper argues that, rather than using a separate commentary, Alfred draws

on several patristic works to produce a translation which is itself a kind of Christianizing commentary on the original. By including material from the works of Ambrose, Gregory, and Bede, as well as others, Alfred converts Boethius's Neoplatonic idea of the highest good to a more orthodox view of the Christian God. He also uses these additions to expand his readers' knowledge reflecting the wonders of divine wisdom, especially as demonstrated by the workings of the heavens. In his translation of Book V, Alfred's focus on divine wisdom leads him to abandon the Boethian conflict between free will and predestination, substituting instead an admonishment to use free will to obey God.

Alfred's reshaping of the *Consolation* is pervasive and purposeful. He preserves Boethius's aim of comforting those who suffer, but uses religious doctrine rather than philosophy to do so; in this way, he produces a version of the *Consolation of Philosophy* that guides a reader's interpretation even as it presents the material to be interpreted. In the later portions of that version, especially his translation of Book V, Alfred goes beyond merely guiding interpretation and actually revises the content of his source, moving from translation and commentary to actual authorship.

Session 514: "The Sign of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England II"

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

**"In Hoc Signo:
The Cross on Secular Objects
and the Process of Conversion"**

The cross appears widely on secular objects across the early Christian cultural landscape; where the new faith spreads, crosses proliferate. Anglo-Saxon England is no exception to this practice. The general understanding of such crosses is that they served not only as identifiers of the person owning or displaying the object as Christian, but as protective devices, invoking divine power to the aid of the wearer against both earthly and supernatural assailants. In some cases the placement of these crosses on objects worn in particular locations on the body or associated with the consumption of food or drink coincides with textual evidence concerning the gestural act of signing the cross on the body and over food and drink in the course of daily life. This paper investigates relationships of location and probable function between the inscription of the cross on objects of primarily secular function, predominantly but not exclusively from Anglo-Saxon England, and practices concerning the gestural application of the sign of the cross.

Helen Gittos (The Queen's College, Oxford)

**"Hallowing the Rood:
Consecrating Crosses in Anglo-Saxon England"**

Crosses, like other ecclesiastical objects and the churches themselves, were intended to be dedicated by a ritual ceremony. This paper examines the liturgical rites for their dedication in Anglo-Saxon England in their historical context. These rites contain valuable information about how crosses were perceived and understood as well as about the processes by which they were dedicated.

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

**"Design or Divine: Cruciform Shapes
in Early Anglo-Saxon Art"**

Very often Anglo-Saxon grave-goods from what are believed to be pagan interments are decorated with cruciform (or similar) devices: design or divine? With some examples from metalwork, but chiefly focusing on a small number of glass vessels from Kent, this paper suggests that some of the more precise crosses in early Anglo-Saxon art may manifest nothing more than a taste for balanced design, whereas some of the clumsy and irregular devices on the bases of glass vessels may ultimately derive from the much earlier practice of decorating the base of a glass vessel with the *Chi-Rho*.

Session 516: "Editing the Unique Old English Manuscript"

Jonathan S. Myerov (West Virginia Univ.)

"Editing the Textuality of *the Wanderer*"

Current thinking on editing Old English texts reflects increased scholarly interest in manuscript contexts and manuscript format and layout. Yet, as we develop a more sophisticated picture of scribal textuality — the codes and conventions of works in manuscript form, including features such as spacing, capitalization, and punctuation — more attention needs to be paid to the textuality of the edited work. Although edited texts of Old English works, and particularly those works surviving in unique manuscripts, may appear as "tidied" versions of corrupt or fallible originals, they differ from their originals in significant ways. Without a more clear picture of the textual changes and transformations that obtain from manuscript to edited text, we risk conflating the objects of study with the tools used to execute such study.

In this presentation, I am interested in the textuality of *The Wanderer* as a work that, on the one hand, survives in the unique Exeter Book manuscript, and that, on the other hand, appears differently in various editions. First, I consider the textuality of the manuscript text against the edited texts of the ASPR, Roy F. Leslie, T. P. Dunning and A. J. Bliss, and Bernard J. Muir. Then, I compare the four edited texts to differentiate their renderings of both the text and textuality of *The Wanderer*. These analyses suggest that an edited text not only interprets the textuality of its object of study but also renders that textuality schematically. In other words, the "tidying" that produces an edited text from a unique manuscript both adds textual elements to the work and replaces others, but it cannot fully or unambiguously present the textuality of a work, such as *The Wanderer*.

James Cahill (Brown Univ.)

**"A Metrical Approach
to Problems of Versionality"**

Some of the most compelling recent work in medieval studies has taken up issues of textual materiality and scribal composition within manuscript matrices, resulting in major renovations of such basic concepts as authorship and textual identity as these apply to literature in a scribal culture. However, Old English scholars, with the notable exception of Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, have contributed little to this work, hampered as they are by the fact that most Old English poetic texts are uniquely attested. Drawing on the few multiply attested poems in the Old English canon, O'Brien O'Keeffe has argued for a pluralist conception of the text and against the ideology of original, authoritative version. This paper explores if and how this view could influence our editorial attitudes toward unique poems. More specifically, it investigates the utility of a metrical approach wherein the linguistic tokens of a poem are seen not as inherently unique utterances traceable to supervening authorial consciousness but rather as particular choices made within a larger network of predictable metrical/formulaic possibilities. In other words, I want to see if we can understand the set of extant Old English poems less as discrete texts and more as related constituents of a compositional matrix governed by a (relatively) stable compositional system. Along these lines the versional characteristics of multiple manuscript traditions are approximated in terms of different realizations of a finite set of poetic alternatives.

Session 523: "Wulf and Eadwacer: Solutions and Investigations"

Sarah L. Higley (Univ. of Rochester)

**"Wolves, Werewolves, Wargs, and Wolfheads:
The Pregnant Bitch in *Wulf and Eadwacer*"**

This presentation is taken from a longer essay on the Germanic werewolf that I have contributed to T. A. Shippey's volume under speculation on the *Unhuman Breeds of Grimm's Mythologie*. It starts out with mention of W. J. Sedgefield's not entirely unserious article in 1931 which proposes that *Wulf and Eadwacer* is about a female dog dreaming of her lupine lover. Such a reading, he concludes, helps fit the poem more squarely into the context of the Riddles, especially the "Saga hwæt ic hatte" type. In 1985, Peter Orton wrote that *Wulf and Eadwacer* was about a family of wolves, basing his "animal" interpretation on three crucial words: *wulf*, *bog*, and *hwelp*. Several other scholars have noted the fecundity of animal-imagery in this poem, notably Anne Klinck in 1987 and Marijane Osborn in 2001 wherein she suggests that the hapax *dogode* could be related to the Anglo-Saxon word *docge*, "dog," and its capacity to "track." I contribute to this line of thought by re-examining the problematic use of *bogum* in *Wulf and Eadwacer*, which can only really mean the forelegs or shoulders of an animal, as many have pointed out. To avoid a bestial connotation, scholars have interpreted "bough" and *mec bogum bilegde* as "he o'erlaid me with boughs" ("gave me shelter"? "married me"?), or they have seen the erotic reference, as Orton does, as a strictly canine one. On the contrary, I think the poem intends to suggest a sexual union between woman and wolf, or woman and wolf-like man. My focus is on the poem's controversial context within the tradition of the *warg*, *vargr*, and *wulfesheafod* of early and late Germanic tradition. *Wearg* and *werig* are the Old English equivalents, and refer to criminals or supernatural monsters. Unlike Mary Gerstein ("Germanic Warg: The Outlaw as Werwolf"), who sees the monster "who goes for the throat and is punished by the noose" as a man-wolf, I find that the "werewolf" derives from quite separate traditions, and the restoration of the concept "wolf" in Norse *vargr*, as some scholars have suggested, to be a late one in Scandinavian writings. However, the warg and the werewolf come to share similar traits, mostly in their association with the worst qualities of the Grey Leg — graverobbers, oathbreakers, murderers, forest-haunters, child-snatchers, and outcasts. The wolf has ambiguous status in Germanic legend and literature as admired fighter and despised traitor: Wulfstan's "werewolf" is Satan; *se awyrgde wulf* in *Genesis A* is "devil." The conflation of these terms in some Germanic place names emphasizes that "warg" and "wolf" are not entirely distinct, and I propose to return the "Wulf" of *Wulf and*

Eadwacer to a tradition of outlawry but with the proviso that the poem describes a weirder and more sinister situation than has been previously noted. To be sure, there is a poignancy and anguish in this text that captures our imagination, but the misery of this woman is that she seems to be on the point of turning into a beast, as has her lover, dogging him in his wanderings, and bearing a beastly child. If wolves, wargs, and outlaws are being conflated in literature and law, albeit late, this early poem powerfully employs that metaphor.

Session 526: "Rereading *Judith*: Language, Gender, and the Body in the Old English Tradition"

Margaret Hostetler (Univ. of Wisconsin, Oshkosh)

**"Judith as Deictic Center:
Ælfric's Construction of Female
Interpretive Communities"**

Ælfric's adaptation of the biblical book of Judith concludes with forty-one lines of Christian exegesis on the figure of Judith. The last twenty-one lines of this conclusion are addressed to a group of female religious. This paper investigates how Ælfric manipulates the deictic field, or context-dependent elements, of these last lines in order to make his readers aware of their own acts of textual interpretation. Employing insights from text-linguistics and deictic shift theory, this analysis describes how readers sequentially process and construct coherence out of Ælfric's concluding remarks. In these final twenty-one lines Ælfric makes three abrupt deictic shifts; that is, he switches from one topic, theme, or frame of reference to another with no warning to his readers, leaving them to reorient themselves and to make sense of the new content and of the shifts themselves. After decisively ending his translation of the biblical book with nineteen lines of typological exegesis, a final prayer, and an "Amen," Ælfric abruptly shifts back to the story, appending an additional five-line narrative about Judith to his text. This paper argues that this mini-narrative about Judith becomes the center of Ælfric's didactic agenda for his female readers. As Ælfric directly addresses his readers to "take example from this Judith" ("nimað eow bysne be þyssere Iudith"), he also strategically directs their attention to their own practices of interpretation and to the real consequences of incorrect reading. As readers go on to process the rest of this passage, they are guided by Ælfric's deictic and didactic maneuvering to participate in the discourses of authorized interpretation as a way to assert their communal Christian identity.

Session 545: "Aelred of Rievaulx as Historiographer"**Marsha L. Dutton (Ohio Univ.)**

**"When a Green Tree
Is Restored to its Old Root':
Aelred's Transmission of
Anglo-Saxon Culture into Norman England"**

The passionate story of friendship turned to hate between Henry II and Thomas Becket, Chancellor and then Archbishop of Canterbury, persists as exemplification of twelfth-century England's conflict over the rights of Crown and Church. Another twelfth-century relationship between the monarchy and the Church, that between Henry and the Cistercian abbot Aelred of Rievaulx, is less celebrated because its outcome was less disastrous, but its consequences have been equally long-lasting. In the treatises about Anglo-Saxon history that Aelred wrote to advise the young French heir to the English throne, Aelred portrays a peaceful and mutually supportive relationship between the Church and the monarchy of Anglo-Saxon England, urging Henry to imitate his Anglo-Saxon predecessors in their support for the Church. Remarkably, the relationship between the abbot and the king appears to have followed Aelred's recommendations.

Taking as his model Saint Dunstan, ninth-century guide to Anglo-Saxon kings, Aelred urged the young king to imitate his English ancestors in morality and faith in order to experience their success in both peace and war. Henry sufficiently valued Aelred's advice that in 1161 he effectively brought about the election of the Church's papal candidate. The new pope, Alexander III, at once expressed his gratitude by canonizing Edward the Confessor (+1066), the last of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs. Aelred's *Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor*, written for the translation of the Confessor's relics in 1163, in turn created for Henry and his heirs the Angevin myth of political legitimacy, identifying Henry as the fulfillment of Edward's deathbed vision of the green tree returned to its root and bearing fruit, the restoration of Anglo-Saxon kings to the throne of England. By establishing the young Angevin king within the line of Anglo-Saxon monarchs, Aelred gave Henry his English ancestry while establishing the memory of Anglo-Saxon history in England in perpetuity.

Katherine M. Yohe (Catholic Univ. of America)

**"Aelred's Recrafting of
the *Life of Edward the Confessor*"**

Aelred of Rievaulx's *Life of Edward the Confessor*

was written at the request of Laurence, abbot of Westminster, a relative of Aelred, for the translation of Edward's body to a new shrine in 1163. Aelred's text is based on the *vita* written sometime before 1138 by Osbert of Clare, prior of Westminster, as part of Osbert's efforts to attain Edward's canonization. Aelred notes that he had access to additional texts. These may have included the anonymous *Vita* written about the time of Edward's death and certainly included William of Malmesbury's *History of the Kings of England*. When medieval historian Frank Barlow wrote his book on Edward the Confessor, he chose not to analyze Aelred's text because he did not consider Aelred's *Vita* to contain any new, accurate information about Edward. While this may be true, Aelred's work does reveal much about his own theology and spirituality.

The presentation analyzes the additions and deletions Aelred made to the earlier accounts, including the way he recrafted sections already found in the earlier texts. It discusses how Aelred's concern for friendships and human relationships, and also his strongly incarnational theology, are revealed by the choices he makes in creating his *Vita Edwardi*.

Session 554: "The Body in Old English: Metaphor and Metaphysics"**Yvette Kisor (Univ. of California, Davis)**

**"The Body in *Beowulf*:
Body Motifs as Components of Structure"**

Readers of *Beowulf* are often struck by the strong sense of physicality in the poem. Its world is concrete, peopled by human beings and monsters with real flesh-and-blood presence and filled with objects of solid materiality. The body is present in an intensely physical way, particularly in scenes of battle and conflict. Heads and hands figure especially prominently in the poem, and take on significance beyond their bodily function. They become dismembered from the body with alarming frequency in this poem, and become focal points of signification and suspense. Because they often function as the emotional "high point" of a scene, these motifs of the body work, particularly in the more action-based, suspenseful Danish portion of the poem, as structural anchors around which the poem is built. It is no accident, for instance, that the cluster of references to Grendel's decapitated head (lines 1590-1780) comes at the culmination of the first movement of the poem as both monsters are finally defeated and the true celebration in the hall begins.

This paper examines the way in which the threads of association spun by these motifs of the body interweave throughout the narrative as one and then

another comes to the fore, exploring how the web of thematic correspondences they form serves to tie episodes together and control the emotional momentum of the poem. These motifs of the body act to structure the poem and drive the energy and pacing of the narrative, frequently building to the highly symbolic visual moments — Grendel's arm mounted above Heorot, Æschere's head on the edge of the cliff — that capture the imagination and remain in the memory of the poem's audience.

Patricia Dailey (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies)

**"Questions of Dwelling in Anglo-Saxon Poetry:
Remains and Remaining in *Beowulf's* Body"**

This paper examines the question of "dwelling" and "remaining" in *Beowulf* through an analysis of the various modalities of embodiment. After an analysis of the various ways in which the body resists Christian determinations, I look at how the space of the body (as *lichama*) is related to "likeness" (to the presentation of self) and how it is related to the historicity of inheritance and belonging. My argument is that the body (as *lichama*) transmits belonging in a similar fashion to the narrative itself, as it passes down a sense of kinship and history. The narrative becomes a host body which likewise preserves guardianship and belonging, yet does so in a way which is neither completely of the subject nor of the time of its life.

Session 586: "Britons and Anglo-Saxons"

Cynthia A. Bormann (Truman State Univ.)

**"Re-Examining the Evidence
of the Anglo-Saxon Migration"**

The reasons given for the advent of the Saxons in Britain in the mid-fifth century point to a solid belief, taken from accounts written between one hundred and five hundred years later, that the Saxon invaders were pirates and mercenaries who turned on the Romano-British who employed them. A close examination of the sources, both textual and archaeological, is called for to determine the veracity of these claims, their possible or probable role in the Saxon occupation of Britain, and the reasons that the Saxons and other migrating groups such as the Angles, Jutes, and Frisians had for establishing settlements with families rather than a center of operations for raiding parties on an island that was a long and perilous journey across the North Sea from their Continental homeland and which was already well-populated, and then to further gain influence over these

people by transforming the existing Roman way of life into Germanic institutions. But is this an accurate depiction of the events of the late fourth through late sixth centuries, or are our readings of respected texts such as Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and of Gildas, two texts which provide the foundation of the written record of the era, superimposing piratical behavior onto a situation that was actually quite different? Who settled in Britain, and what could their motivation have been? It is my belief that the migration of the Germanic tribes, such as the Saxons, should be attributed to the shifting political boundaries of the time period, the nature of northern Germanic political structures, and geological and technological changes, all of which combined to form a window of opportunity for the extension of Germanic power.

Sharon Goetz (Univ. of California, Berkeley)

**"*Brenhinedd y Saesson* and
the Inheritance of Galfreidian Time"**

Following the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* during the late 1130s, historiographical narratives organized by reign began to gain in popularity. Though other types of accounts continued to be written and rewritten, the *Historia* presented a nearly unbroken sequence of kings across more than a thousand years without admitting more than a few absolute dates. This regnal model found favor in the centuries that followed both for its flexible approach to dating via relative time and for its valorization of lineage and continuity. *Brenhinedd y Saesson*, a Welsh text whose manuscripts date to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, contrives to question this model's utility as well as enable its continued vitality. At first glance, the face that the text presents is an annalistic one and an abrupt change from the continuous narrative — a Welsh translation of the *Historia* — that precedes it in both extant manuscripts. *Brenhinedd y Saesson* manages, however, to fold in kings of Wessex and England alongside its loosely annalistic record of Welsh and Manx princes, thereby creating a division of style and temporal reckoning along ethnic lines. Despite setting out to build upon and update Geoffrey's *Historia*, I argue, the Welsh text thwarts its predecessor by yielding to Britain's conquerors a Galfreidian continuity linked to the last British king, which presents a reversal of allegiance at odds with other contemporary Welsh annals. *Brenhinedd y Saesson's* seeming confusion of political loyalties from Cadwalader's death through William I's reign points to a rare interest in minimizing the demarcation of eras otherwise punctuated by English, Danish, and Norman *translationes imperii*.

Thomas F. Brunton (SUNY, Buffalo)

**"The Formation of Cumbria:
Political Relations and Ethnicity"**

In the Early Medieval period, the region of Britain now known as Cumbria transformed from the frontier of Roman Britain to a kingdom that was a major player in the North of Britain. By the tenth century, texts, place-names, and archaeological evidence indicate that Cumbria was occupied by Celtic-speaking Britons, Norse-Irish, and Anglo-Saxons. The turbulent times had forged some or all of these people into a self-identified ethnic group known as Cumbrians.

Following the work of Sian Jones and others, ethnicity is seen as a politically constituted phenomenon, not a given or primordial fact. Migration and exchange are just two of many interacting mechanisms related to the ethnogenesis of a given people. This paper reviews the historic and archaeological evidence for the region and focuses on the archaeology of the Low Birker site in Eskdale as an example of how these processes may interact.

VI. An Interdisciplinary Conference, "The Place of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England," Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, University of Manchester, July 5-7, 2002:

Carol A. Farr (London)

**"Full-Page Crosses: the Lindisfarne Gospels
and the Stockholm Codex Aureus"**

This paper shows the shared features as well as distinctiveness of uses of the cross in the two most lavish examples of manuscript art surviving from Northumbria and Southumbria. I hope to show (1) how the ambiguities and multiple associations of the shape of the cross were exploited in Northumbrian and Southumbrian gospel book art, (2) how the differing positions of the cross images and designs in relation to text have a determining role for the forms they take, and (3) how these forms may be related to the developing ecclesiastic cultures of Anglo-Saxon England within western Christianity of the eighth century, in particular to examine recent redating of the Lindisfarne Gospels to 710-20 by Michelle Brown. The paper's argument analytically compares and contrasts the designs and iconographic details of pages bearing large-scale cross images from both books, namely the cross-carpet pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the pages of *carmina figurata* of the Codex Aureus. By the time of the conference, art historians will have become aware of the

publication of new facsimiles of the two famous gospel books, *The Lindisfarne Gospels* edited by Michelle Brown and *The Stockholm Codex Aureus* edited by Richard Gameson. My paper may help to engage the scholarly community across the disciplines with these important new resources and open a door onto fresh looks at two well-known and spectacular objects from Anglo-Saxon England.

Karen Jolly (Univ. of Hawai'i, Manoa)

**"Tapping the Power of the Cross:
Who and for Whom?"**

My previous studies of the cross in Anglo-Saxon remedies demonstrate that the cross as an object or gesture was a powerful weapon taken from the liturgical and synactic arsenal of the Church and applied to pragmatic and physical concerns. One major unanswered question regarding these rituals is "who?" Who designed them, performed them, and for whom? In addition to examining the manuscript contexts and sources for these remedies, I explore the dynamic relationships between ecclesiastical, monastic, and lay cultures in the creation and performance of remedies using the cross as a spiritual tool for physical concerns. Anglo-Saxon England is unique in the production of these remedies in at least two ways: the high use of the vernacular interacting in unusual ways with Latin, and in the influence of Celtic traditions on the development of local Christian practices in the British Isles.

Inge Milfull (Catholic Univ. of Eichstätt)

"Hymns to the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England"

Hymns to the Holy Cross (in Latin) appear in several contexts in Anglo-Saxon England. They could be read as religious poems and as such could presumably be used also for private devotion. Hymnals, including hymns to the Cross, were also used as school books. However, hymns are predominantly liturgical texts. They were chanted during processions, had their place in the monastic Office and are also found in the supplementary Office of the Holy Cross that began to develop in late Anglo-Saxon England.

One of the most prominent hymns to the Holy Cross is *Vexilla regis prodeunt*, originally written by the poet Venantius Fortunatus for a procession in honor of a relic of the Cross in Poitiers in Gaul in the sixth century. The collected works of this poet were read by the Anglo-Saxons but the hymn figures independently in the liturgy. In the so-called New Hymnal of Late Anglo-Saxon England, it is regularly assigned to Passion Week. In Exeter, at least, it was also sung at the Feasts

of the Exaltation and Invention of the Cross. For liturgical purposes the hymn is often divided into two halves (*divisiones*) to be sung at different liturgical Hours. *Vexilla regis prodeunt* is one of the few hymns which have been transmitted in Anglo-Saxon alphabetical notation, in the famous Winchester Troper manuscript. The paper therefore discusses the reception of Latin hymns to the Cross among the Anglo-Saxons by focusing on this particular hymn.

Éamonn Ó Carragáin (National Univ. of Ireland)

**"The Ruthwell Cross:
Transcending Conventions"**

The Ruthwell Cross is in many respects unique. It forces any scholar who studies it to rethink the conventional assumptions of literary study and of art history. These assumptions include:

(a) The role(s) of inscriptions. This was an issue in Ruthwell studies since 1599-1601, when Reginald Bainbrigg wrote the first theory of the directions in which the Ruthwell runes were set out. His theory, though partially mistaken, was intelligent. A major source of error in Ruthwell Scholarship has been the tendency to study inscriptions in isolation from the panels to which they provide *tituli*.

(b) The structure of the monument. Conventional art history speaks of "primary" and "secondary" sides, and says that the runic poem has been relegated to the "secondary" sides; but an eighth-century audience would not have thought in such terms. Christ was wounded in his right side; the side is a central part of the body. The vine-scrolls and their verse *tituli* are at the heart of the cross.

(c) When studying this unique monument, we must use artistic analogues with care. Ruthwell "refers" to pillars, obelisks, triumphal columns: but transforms all such concepts into something unique. It also "refers" to the eschatological apses in Roman churches, but produces its own highly original variation on these.

VII. The International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, July 8-11, 2002:

Session 101: "Early Anglo-Saxon Exile"

Trefor Jones (Univ. of East Anglia)

**"The Symbiosis of Political and Religious Exile
in the Early Kingdom of East Anglia"**

This paper takes as its central theme for discussion the two exile periods of King Sigebert ("Sapiens") of

the East Angles during the early seventh century. An assessment is made of the circumstances and implications of his period of exile and conversion to Christianity in Frankia, together with his invitation to St. Felix of Burgundy into East Anglia. Further assessment and discussion are undertaken regarding the episode of his purportedly voluntary exile as a monk within his own kingdom, at a time when both the dynasty and the Church were apparently fragile.

The argument of this paper is that Sigebert's temporary, and shared, rule in East Anglia coincided with a period of transition from a proto-kingdom/imperium to that of a territorially based Christian kingship. This transition was complicated by both dynastic weakness and the exercise of foreign influences manifested in the rule of Sigebert. Further argument is made that both the presence of St. Felix and the Irish missionary Fursa in East Anglia (both of them voluntary exiles) added to such influences, at an inopportune time, and that both Sigebert's temporary exercise of rule and his monastic retirement were symptomatic of the same.

Finally, the point is also argued that Sigebert's forcible return from monastic exile, as a non-combatant leader in battle, owed more to an indigenous and older concept of kingship, and that the apparent non-culting of Sigebert after his death was due to a combination of the unwelcome nature of his kingship, dynastic failure, and a resentment of foreign influences.

Session 212: "Textual Exile II: The Canonical and the Rejected in Anglo-Saxon Literary Studies"

Stacy S. Klein (Rutgers Univ.)

**"Centralizing Feminism
in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture"**

The goal of this paper is to offer a reassessment of feminism as a theoretical approach within Anglo-Saxon literary studies. Questions to be considered include: how has feminist Anglo-Saxon studies changed over the past several decades, and what shape might it take as we enter a period that has been characterized as a "post-feminist age" in which feminist theory's only clear task may be to respond to previous critiques? What might feminist modes of inquiry have to offer to Anglo-Saxonists who do not take either women or gender as their primary objects of critical investigation? How might Anglo-Saxonists productively engage with the profound shifts that have occurred in contemporary understandings of sexual and gender difference?

To provide a focus for these broad questions, I take *Beowulf* as my primary object of analysis. Situated between two profoundly different models of the construction of the heroic subject — the subject as

brought into being through physical domination of others, and the subject as formed through domination of the self and subjection to God-as-other — the poem uses sexual difference as a means to explore competing models of identity formation. In so doing, *Beowulf* complicates recent feminist claims that sexual difference is both a question that marks modernity and a site for interrogating the relationship between the biological and the cultural, suggesting that sexual difference is instead a marker of historical locatedness or cultural transition and a site for interrogating the relationship between essentially-distinct forces that have been acknowledged as having significant formative power within a given culture.

Session 302: "Meaning and Design in Insular Art III"

Paul Mullarkey (National Museum of Ireland, Dublin)

"Construction and Design of Irish Book Shrines"

There are eight known book shrines from Ireland which range in date from the early ninth century to 1536 A.D. Five of the shrines have late medieval additions and modifications. A book shrine takes the form of a rectangular box, consisting of a wooden or metal core to which decorative components are attached by nails. The assembly is secured together by tubular binding strips along the sides and corners. At least three book shrines were sealed with no access to the contents. Due to nineteenth-century repairs and alterations, vital constructional evidence has been either lost or concealed. The reasons for commissioning book shrines were tied in with the aspirations and status of the ecclesiastical community and local dynastic politics. The fourteenth-century refurbishments appear to be associated with the Gaelic Revival and the effects of the Black Death.

Carol Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"A woman walks into a meadhall": Literary Tradition and Northern (Dis)Continuities"

In early medieval western Europe, the literary image of elite women in the role of cupbearer is widespread. In some cases, as in *Maxims* and *Beowulf*, the woman is the hall lord's wife and serves first her husband and then others. In a variation on the theme, in Paul the Deacon's *History of the Lombards*, the *Historia Brittonum*, and *Völsungasaga*, the cupbearer offers drink to her eventual spouse. In both cases women announce their presence in the predominantly male environment of the meadhall, and set the stage for their own words and for succeeding actions through the act

of offering drink. Given the widespread incidence of these two closely related types, their origins and early transmission may perhaps have been rooted in related oral-formulaic traditions. But did real women perform such rituals in much the same way from Bernicia to Birka and Benevento? Not only early folklorists but also more recent comparatists would amalgamate the surviving scattered and fragmentary evidence into a single ritual tradition extending across centuries. Aside from issues of ethnic identity that such argument invites, the reading of the "lady with the meadcup" as an identifiable, consistent, and in some cases specifically "Germanic" practice may also be challenged on anthropological, archaeological, and art historical grounds. The comparative work of anthropologist Donald Horton has shown that in its broadest form the pattern of alcoholic beverages produced or served by women and consumed by men is found globally in unrelated traditional cultures. On the other hand, archaeology suggests that the role of drink and its vessels varied among the so-called Germanic cultures: in Anglo-Saxon England, in grave finds where the gender of the deceased is known, evidence of drinking horns with metal fittings comes entirely from male graves, whereas in western Norway, horn fittings are found in both men's and women's graves. Art history offers further evidence of variation. In Scandinavia the motif of the woman offering a drinking horn is found in the narratives on the Gotland stones and on amulets, whereas in England this motif is integrated into Christian iconography, both on the Gosforth Cross as read by Richard Bailey, and on a tenth-century shaft fragment from Breedon-on-the-Hill. The range of content and contexts of this compositional type also suggests a spectrum of beliefs, customs, and associations rather than a monolithic social practice extending across centuries.

Session 501: "Anglo-Saxon Hagiographical Studies"

Catherine Franc (Univ. of Manchester)

"Reception of the Apocryphal *Acta Pauli et Theclae* in Anglo-Saxon England"

The definition of apocrypha within the Anglo-Saxon Church remains a problem for modern scholars, as the early medieval conception of canonicity seems to have been less clearly defined than one would wish. Apocryphal texts were widely read and used in the liturgy, but were at the same time known to be uncanonical, mainly because they were condemned by the so-called *Decretum Gelasium*, and were even occasionally denounced as dangerous by Anglo-Saxon religious authorities, such as Ælfric. The aim of this paper is to examine the

case of the *Acta Pauli et Theclae*. This apocryphal text was known in Anglo-Saxon England in the form of Latin *passiones* from the seventh century onwards. Saint Thecla's case is interesting in that the saint was known and revered on a quasi-permanent basis all through the Anglo-Saxon period, but authors such as Aldhelm tried to distance themselves from the texts which described her life as Paul's companion. The resulting dual status of this virgin martyr raises the question of how the apocrypha were perceived by the Anglo-Saxons. Moreover, the case of St. Thecla also sheds light on the transmission, knowledge, and use of apocryphal texts passed down as hagiographical documents.

Session 601: "Old English Poetry"

Jun Terasawa (Univ. of Tokyo)

"Old English *Exodus* 118a: The Use of Wolf Imagery"

In the Old English *Exodus*, verse 118a reads *har hæð* in the MS. In order to improve the metrically defective half-line of two syllables, several emendations have been suggested. Among them *har hæðbroga* has been favored and followed by most recent editors since it "makes an excellent parallel in sense to *westengryre*" (Lucas 1994, p. 95). In this paper I question this reconstruction and suggest, with reference to the use of wolf imagery in *Exodus*, that Rieger's *har hæðstapa* would better fit the context, although, except perhaps for Bright and Tolkien, this reading seems to have been rather neglected.

Session 1001: "New Voices on the Cross in Anglo-Saxon England"

Michael F. Reed (Univ. of Victoria)

"The Pagan Origins of the Anglo-Saxon High Cross"

The advent of Anglo-Saxon monumental Christian sculpture (i.e., high crosses) is associated with the Augustinian Mission of ca. 596. Though plans for church design were supplied by the mission, the erection of monumental stone crosses was not a Mediterranean tradition. With reference to form, orientation, and medium, analysis suggests that the Saxon high cross can be considered the "culmination" of Insular philosophical and sculptural traditions which esteemed monumental stone axes and, possibly, cruciform shapes. Although many scholars have minimized the influence of Insular sculptural practices of the pre- and post-Roman period on Anglo-Saxon monumental

stonework, I propose that the Anglo-Saxons' practice of erecting vertical stone monuments was inextricably linked to their exposure to Britain's extant stoneworking legacy (from Neolithic to Early Christian) and to their interaction with Britain's Celtic population; furthermore, I propose that the Anglo-Saxon high cross — specifically, its general form and orientation — reflects latent pagan Germanic philosophies and religious traditions. In this sense, the high cross can be characterized as a syncretic symbol, designed to assuage the anxiety/suspicion associated with the imposition of a new, monotheistic religious system. Thus, it is the argument of this paper that the chief elements in the design of the high cross, the raised base and the vertical pillar, originate not in Christian traditions but in pagan, indigenous cultural systems. Furthermore, in light of evidence which strongly suggests that the Anglo-Saxons sculpted stone prior to St. Augustine's mission in the late sixth century, the influence of Latin stoneworkers and stoneworking traditions on the advent of Anglo-Saxon Christian sculpture should be reconsidered. I conclude that the paramount importance which has been accorded to Gallic and Italian stoneworkers vis-à-vis the naissance of English sculpture is unwarranted.

Session 1101: "Anglo-Saxon Identities"

Susanne Kries (Univ. of Potsdam)

"Shifting Identities in Eleventh-Century England: Anglo-Danish versus Norman Ascendancy"

The presentation explores how Anglo-Saxon England negotiated its identities in the eleventh century. Different texts are considered to compare the strategies employed in dealing with the two successive conquests, first by Danes and then by Normans. Whereas Anglo-Saxon sources have presented the Danes as "the Other" in Alfredian and post-Alfredian times, Anglo-Saxon England is finally established as Anglo-Danish in character before its final extinction in the Norman Conquest. The paper suggests that the Norman Conquest is presented as the more rigorous of the two conquests but also as the one that proved more difficult to inscribe into English history.

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Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture is a collaborative project that aims to produce a reference work providing a convenient summary of current scholarship on the knowledge and use of literary sources in Anglo-Saxon England. This first volume focuses on Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and *Acta Sanctorum* while introducing the project as a whole, its aims, and its methods. Readers will find information on manuscript evidence, medieval library catalogs, Anglo-Latin and Old English versions, citations, quotations, and direct references to authors and works under appropriate subject headings. Discussions of source relationships, accompanied by relevant bibliography, weigh and consider differing interpretations and possibilities for future research. The extensive entry on *Acta Sanctorum* may serve in effect as an introduction to hagiography in Anglo-Saxon England. An international team of editors and contributors has written entries for this project, which received substantial funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities in its initial phases.

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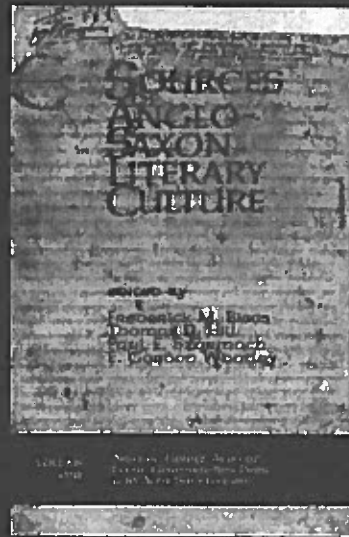
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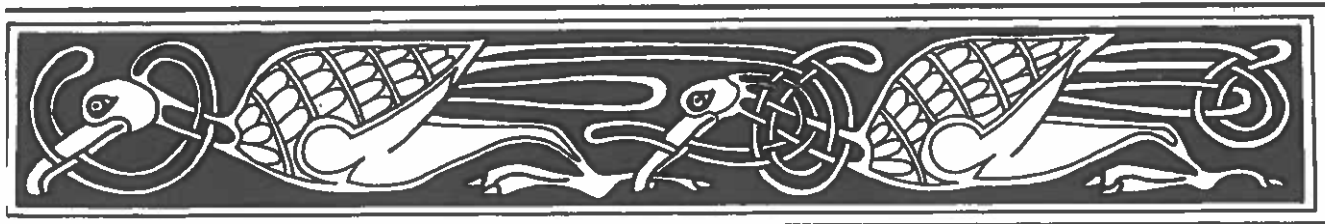
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Contributors: Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker, Timothy Graham, Stuart Lee, Kathryn A. Lowe, Angelika Lutz, Danielle Cuniff Plumer, Phillip Pulsiano.

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