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How to Reach *OEN*

NEWS

I

Thanks to ISAS

The International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, the organization that represents the range of professional Anglo-Saxon scholars, distributes part of its income every year to support initiatives that broadly benefit Anglo-Saxon studies. Past recipients have included the Dictionary of Old English and Bede's World. The Advisory Board and Officers of ISAS decided that half of this distribution in 2002-03 should help fund the *Old English Newsletter*. The *OEN* would like to express thanks to our colleagues for their mindfulness and support and gratefully acknowledges the donation of $1140 in 2002-03. For further details on ISAS, see the society's website at http://www.isas.us. The outgoing editor would also like to express thanks to the Richard Rawlinson Center of the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University for supporting a half-time graduate assistant and subvening publication costs in the last years in support of the *OEN*.

II

Dictionary of Old English
A-F on CD-ROM

The Dictionary of Old English has released a CD-ROM containing a revised version of the previously published fascicles A-E and the first publication of fascicle F. The new fascicle includes some 3016 headwords. The material is presented in three formats: HTML, SGML, and XML. The disk, which makes use of Internet Explorer for its display, includes a search engine for the HTML version. A user can search the Dictionary by headword and also by any of the ten fields that make up a Dictionary entry. There is also a system of hot links for cross-references and definitions, while other links provide full bibliographic references for cited texts.

The *Dictionary of Old English: A-F* on CD-ROM is available at a cost of $75 for individuals or $200 to institutions for a site license from the following:

Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies
Department of Publications
59 Queen's Park Crescent East
Toronto
Ontario
Canada M5S 2C4
phone: 416-926-7144
fax: 416-926-7258
http://www.pims.ca

III
MLA 2003

The Old English Division of the Modern Language Association has organized three sessions and a cash bar at the next meeting of the MLA, 27-30 December 2003, to be held at the Manchester Grand Hyatt and Marriott Hotels, San Diego. A fourth session of interest has been organized by the Discussion Group on Old Norse Language and Literature. For further information about the conference, visit the MLA's website at http://www.mla.org.

Anglo-Saxon Cultural Reflections: Ghosts, Fire, Sex

Saturday, 27 December, 7:00-8:15 p.m., Cunningham A, Manchester Grand Hyatt.

Presiding: Antonette diPaolo Healey, University of Toronto

1. "Ghost Words and Ghost Meanings in Old English Literature," Philip G. Rusche, University of Nevada, Las Vegas.
2. "The Candle Relic of Anglo-Saxon Exeter: Early Medieval Ideas of the Physicality of Fire," Nancy P. Stork, San Jose State University.
3. "Sexuality and the Late Laws of Anglo-Saxon England," Carol Braun Pasternack, University of California, Santa Barbara.

Toil and Trouble: Anxiety in Anglo-Saxon England

Sunday, 28 December, 1:45-3:00 p.m., Del Mar B, Manchester Grand Hyatt.

Presiding: Allen J. Frantzen, Loyola University, Chicago

1. "Grief in Anglo-Saxon England: Weeping Men and the 'Wif-Hades Man' in the Lives of Female Confessors," Robin J. Norris, Southeastern Louisiana University.
2. "'Swa Begnornodon Geata Leode': *Beowulf* as Traumatic Memory," John P. Walter, Saint Louis University.
3. "'Eala! Hit Is Micel Gedeorf': Work and Problems of Identity in the *Colloquy* and 'Gifts of Men,'" Marie Nelson, University of Florida.

Heroic Masculinity

Monday, 29 December, 1:45-3:00 p.m., Gregory A, Manchester Grand Hyatt.

Presiding: Lisa M. C. Weston, California State University, Fresno

1. "Hrothgar's Masculine Tears: Gravitas," John M. Hill, United States Naval Academy.
2. "'Only a Dream': Searching for Heroic Masculinity in Cynewulf's *Elene*," Christina M. Heckman, Oberlin College.
3. "Devils and Other Strangers: The Antihero in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," Carl F. Larrivee, Wayne State University.

The Monstrous in Old Norse and Old English Literature

Monday, 29 December 7:15-8:30 p.m., Torrance, San Diego Marriott.

Presiding: Joyce T. Lionarons, Ursinus College

1. "The Greediest of Ghosts: Fire-Breathing Dragons in Old English and Old Norse," Paul L. Acker, Saint Louis University.
2. "Grendel as Analogue to the Old Norse *Jötnar*," Randi C. Eldevik, Oklahoma State University.
3. "The 'Up-So-Doun' Witch in Context: Ritual Inversion in *Vatnsdala Saga* and *The Durham Proverbs* (No. 11)," Thomas D. Hill, Cornell University.

Cash Bar

A cash bar arranged by the Division on Old English Language and Literature is scheduled for Sunday, 28 December, 5:15-6:30 p.m., Elizabeth Ballroom H, Manchester Grand Hyatt Hotel.

IV
ISAS at Kalamazoo

Following a successful initiative last year, the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists will sponsor sessions at the International Congress on Medieval Studies for the second time at Kalamazoo, May 6-9, 2004. The following two sessions have been organized by the Advisory Board of ISAS:

Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture

Presiding: David F. Johnson, Florida State University

1. "Putting MS Junius 11 on the Shelf," Janet Shrunk Ericksen, University of Minnesota, Morris.
2. "'The Most Exalted Language': Hebrew Alphabets in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," Damian Fleming, University of Toronto.
3. "Testimony and Authority in the 'Fonthill Letter,'" Andrew Rabin, University of Chicago.

New Voices in Anglo-Saxon Studies

Presiding: Elaine M. Treharne, University of Leicester

1. "Miracles and Sanctity: Generic Boundaries in Old English Hagiography," Claire Watson, University of Leicester.
2. "'Better to Reign in Hell than Serve in Heaven': Satan's Realm as Inverted Hierarchy," Carolin Esser, University of York.
3. "The Aesthetic of Mentality in Old English Poetry," Britt Mize, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.
4. "Contextualizing Fear: The Multiple Meanings of 'Egesa' in Anglo-Saxon Literature," Arthur Bahr, University of California at Berkeley.

V
ISAS Round Table at Leeds

ISAS will be organizing a Round Table on Neo-Disciplinarity in Anglo-Saxon Studies at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds in 2004. Members of ISAS and non-members alike are invited to participate in this Round Table to discuss the Society's role in promoting interdisciplinarity in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies in general, and more specifically the interaction among its various sub-fields. This Round Table follows on the first held at the IMC at Leeds in 2002, which focused on the future of ISAS and invited discussion of a number of proposals for new directions the Society might take. The Round Table is organized by David F. Johnson (Florida State University) and moderated by Elaine M. Treharne (University of Leicester); participants include Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State University), Jane Hawkes (University of York), John Hines (University of Cardiff), Catherine E. Karkov (Miami University, Ohio), and Jo Story (University of Leicester).

VI
Journal News:
Medieval Sermon Studies

Maney Publishing has taken over publication and distribution of the new-look *Medieval Sermon Studies*, the journal of the Medieval Sermon Studies Society. This refereed journal features articles on sermon studies and related areas, reviews, sermon transcriptions, and information about work in progress, of potential interest to many Anglo-Saxonists. For individual subscriptions, contact: Mary Swan, Centre for Medieval Sermon Studies, University of Leeds, Leeds LS2 9JT, UK, e-mail: m.t.swan@leeds.ac.uk or Anne Thayer, Lancaster Theological Seminary, 555 West James Street, Lancaster, PA 17603, USA, e-mail: athayer@lancasterseminary.edu. For further information, contact:

Maney Publishing North America
tel: 866-297-5154
fax: 617-354-6854
e-mail: maney@maneyusa.com
www.maney.co.uk

VII
Brief Notices on Publications

A Critical Companion to "Beowulf" by Andy Orchard has recently been published by D. S. Brewer and will be of interest to many readers of *OEN*. Nine chapters and three appendices provide an overview of the current sate of scholarship on the poem as well as suggesting new directions for future research. Pp. xix + 396. $75. ISBN 0-85991-766-5 (hardcover).

Toronto University Press has made available a related volume, *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the "Beowulf"-Manuscript*, by Andy Orchard. This is a revised paperback edition of Orchard's study of the monsters in the *Beowulf*-manuscript, complete with a useful series of edited and translated texts, first published by D. S. Brewer in 1995. Pp. xi + 352. $35. ISBN 0-8020-8583-0 (paperback).

A rich crop of monographs relating to Anglo-Saxon art and archaeology has seen publication recently. Four Courts Press in association with English Heritage has released *The Sandbach Crosses: Sign and Significance in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture*, by Jane Hawkes. Hawkes studies and illustrates the iconography of a group of ninth-century stone carvings from Sandbach in Cheshire. Pp. 192. $45. ISBN 1-85182-659-9 (hardcover).

Anna Gannon, *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* has been published by Oxford University Press in the series Medieval History and Archaeology. This study provides an art-historical appraisal of the iconography of Anglo-Saxon coinage from its inception in the late sixth century to Offa's second reform of the penny, c. 792. Pp. x + 230. $98. ISBN 0-19-925465-6 (hardcover).

The Museum of London Archaeology Service has published *Middle Saxon London: Excavations at the Royal Opera House 1989-99*, by Gordon Malcolm and David Bowsher with Robert Cowie, MoLAS Monograph 15. This book

analyses the Middle Saxon settlement of Lundenwic, a flourishing center for trade and manufacture from the 7th to 9th centuries, and catalogs finds from the site. Pp. xvi + 359. £27. ISBN 1-901992-32-2 (paperback).

Anglo-Saxon Books has published *The Mead-Hall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England*, by Stephen Pollington. Drawing on literary and archaeological evidence, Pollington contextualizes feasting and the hall, suggesting that the idea remained important after the reality had declined in significance. Pp. 283 + 24 illus. £15. ISBN 1-898281-30-0 (hardcover).

Swein Forkbeard's Invasions and the Danish Conquest of England, 991-1017, by Ian Howard has been published by Boydell Press in the series Warfare in History. Howard examines the Viking attacks in the time of Æthelred by focusing on the activities of Swein Forkbeard and, after his death in 1014, the Danish warlord Thorkell the Tall. Pp. xiv + 188. $75. ISBN 0-85115-928-1 (hardcover).

VIII
Essay Collections

Don Scragg is celebrated in a festschrift published by Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies of the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies: *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Susan Rosser. This volume contains a bibliography of Scragg's publications and the following essays: Roberta Frank, "North-Sea Soundings in *Andreas*"; Malcolm Godden, "Ælfric as Grammarian: The Evidence of his *Catholic Homilies*"; Mechthild Gretsch, "Ælfric's *Sanctorale* and the Benedictional of Æthelwold"; Joyce Hill, "Ælfric's Authorities"; Patrizia Lendinara, "'*frater non redimit, redimit homo...*': A Homiletic Motif and Its Variants in Old English"; Gale R. Owen-Crocker, "Horror in *Beowulf*: Mutilation, Decapitation and Unburied Dead"; Alexander R. Rumble, "*Interpretationes in latinum*: Some Twelfth-Century Translations of Anglo-Saxon Charters"; Carole Weinberg, "'Hende' Words in Lagamon's *Brut*: The Editing and Transmission of Texts"; Paul E. Szarmach, "Editions of Alfred: The Wages of Un-influence"; Janet Bately, "Book Divisions and Chapter Headings in the Translations of the Alfredian Period"; Phillip Pulsiano, "*The Passion of St Christopher*: An Edition"; Jane Roberts, "Two Readings in the Guthlac Homily"; Loredana Teresi, "*Be Heofonwarum 7 be Helwarum*: A Complete Edition"; Charles D. Wright, "More Old English Poetry in Vercelli Homily XXI"; Mary Clayton, "An Edition of Ælfric's *Letter to Brother Edward*"; Jonathan Wilcox, "The Transmission of Ælfric's *Letter to Sigefyrth* and the Mutilation of London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv"; Michael Lapidge, "Ælfric's Schooldays"; Andy Orchard, "On Editing Wulfstan"; Joana Proud, "The Cotton-Corpus Legendary into the Twelfth Century: Notes on Salisbury Cathedral Library MSS 221 and 222"; Timothy Graham, "William L'Isle's Letters to Sir Robert Cotton." Pp. xix + 391. $40. ISBN 0-86698-295-7 (hardcover).

The State University of New York Press has published a collection which brings together essays on Anglo-Saxon art and literature: *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown. This volume contains the following essays: Leslie Webster, "Encrypted Visions: Style and Sense in the Anglo-Saxon Minor Arts, AD 400-900"; Fred Orton "Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Deprecation of Style; Some Considerations of Form and Ideology"; Jane Hawkes, "*Iuxta Morem Romanorum*: Stone and Sculpture in Anglo-Saxon England"; Perette E. Michelli, "Beckwith Revisited: Some Ivory Carvings from Canterbury"; Carol Farr, "Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Questions of Learning and Intention"; Michelle P. Brown, "House Style in the Scriptorium, Scribal Reality, and Scholarly Myth"; William Schipper, "Style and Layout of Anglo-Saxon

Manuscripts"; Nicholas Howe, "What We Talk About When We Talk About Style"; Sarah Larratt Keefer, "'Either/And' as 'Style' in Anglo-Saxon Christian Poetry"; Jonathan Wilcox, "Eating People is Wrong: Funny Style in *Andreas* and Its Analogues"; Carin Ruff, "Aldhelm's Jewel Tones: Latin Colors Through Anglo-Saxon Eyes"; Roberta Frank, "The Discreet Charm of the Old English Weak Adjective"; Haruko Momma "Rhythm and Alliteration: Styles of Ælfric's Prose up to the *Lives of Saints*"; Andy Orchard, "Both Style and Substance: The Case for Cynewulf." Pp. viii + 320. $24. ISBN 0-7914-5870-9 (paperback).

The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300, edited by Martin Carver, published by York Medieval Press in association with Boydell Press and the Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York, includes a series of essays centering on Anglo-Saxon England. The collection results from a conference held in July 2000 to mark the beginning of the third Christian millennium. Part III on Christianity and the English contains the following: Audrey L. Meaney, "Anglo-Saxon Pagan and Early Christian Attitudes to the Dead"; Barbara Yorke, "The Adaptation of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts to Christianity"; Helen Geake, "The Control of Burial Practice in Middle Anglo-Saxon England"; David Stocker and Paul Everson, "The Straight and Narrow Way: Fenland Causeways and the Conversion of the Landscape in the Witham Valley, Lincolnshire"; Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts, "Three Ages of Conversion at Kirkdale, North Yorkshire"; P.S. Barnwell, L.A.S. Butler and C.J. Dunn, "The Confusion of Conversion: *Streanæshalch*, Strensall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church"; John Higgitt, "Design and Meaning in Early Medieval Inscriptions in Britain and Ireland"; Elisabeth Okasha, "Spaces Between Words: Word Separation in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions"; Jane Hawkes, "Sacraments in Stone: The Mysteries of Christ in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture"; Kate Rambridge, "Alcuin's Narratives of Evangelism: The Life of St Willibrord and the Northumbrian Hagiographical Tradition"; Julian D. Richards, "Pagans and Christians at a Frontier: Viking Burial in the Danelaw"; Catherine E. Karkov, "The Body of St Æthelthryth: Desire, Conversion and Reform in Anglo-Saxon England." Pp. xiv + 588. $130. ISBN 1-903153-11-5 (hardcover).

West Virginia University Press has recently published two relevant collections. *Naked Before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox, contains essays and illustrations examining nudity in Anglo-Saxon art, literature, and culture. The volume contains the following essays: Benjamin C. Withers, "Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England"; Suzanne Lewis, "Medieval Bodies Then and Now: Negotiating Problems of Ambivalence and Paradox"; Sarah L. Higley, "The Wanton Hand: Reading and Reaching into Grammars and Bodies in Old English Riddle 12"; Mercedes Salvador, "The Key to the Body: Unlocking Riddles 42-46"; Mary P. Richards, "The Body as Text in Early Anglo-Saxon Law"; John M. Hill, "The Sacrificial Synecdoche of Hands, Head, and Arms in Anglo-Saxon Heroic Story"; Karen Rose Mathews, "Nudity on the Margins: The Bayeux Tapestry and Its Relationship to Marginal Architectural Sculpture"; Susan M. Kim, "The Donestre and the Person of Both Sexes"; Catherine E. Karkov, "Exiles From the Kingdom: The Naked and the Damned in Anglo-Saxon Art"; Mary Dockray-Miller, "Breasts and Babies: The Maternal Body of Eve in the Junius 11 *Genesis*"; Janet S. Ericksen, "Penitential Nakedness and the Junius 11 *Genesis*"; Jonathan Wilcox, "Naked in Old English: The Embarrassed and the Shamed." Pp. xii + 315 + 45 illus. $45. ISBN 0-937058-68-8.

Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and Fred Orton, features theoretically-acute essays examining Anglo-Saxon carved monuments. Contents are: Richard N. Bailey, "Introduction"; Jane Hawkes, "Reading Stone"; Catherine E. Karkov, "Naming and Renaming: The Inscription of Gender in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture"; Fred Orton, "Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Strictures on Similarity; Some Questions of History," with a response by Richard N. Bailey, "Innocent from the Great Offence"; Ian Wood, "Ruthwell: Contextual Searches"; Éamonn Ó Carragáin, "Between Annunciation and Visitation: Spiritual Birth and the Cycles of the Sun on the Ruthwell Cross: A Response to Fred Orton." Pp. 232 + 34 illus. $45. ISBN 0-937058-79-3.

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

Eighteenth Progress Report

Peter Jackson
for the Management Committee

This year's report is dominated by one event: the publication of the database on CD-ROM in 2002. Many readers of this report will already be familiar with this invaluable facility (about 150 copies have been distributed so far), which in several ways, particularly its search capacity, is a significant advance on the website – as well as being easily portable and permanently accessible. All the Old English and Anglo-Latin texts sourced, and all the source texts, can be arranged by author or title, and are searchable by author or title (the texts sourced can also be searched by edition). It is also possible, for example, to call up a "reference summary" for an individual author, showing at a glance which texts by that author have been sourced and which source authors have been identified; this information can then easily be broken down into entries for single passages from particular texts. In addition, the CD-ROM of course includes a bibliography of Anglo-Saxon texts, source texts, and source studies, which can again be ordered in various ways and is fully searchable. Some copies of the CD-ROM are still available (details below); alternatively, a version of the database can be downloaded to CD-ROM from the *Fontes* website. [See, further, "The Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Database: The Stand-Alone Version," *OEN* 36.1 (Fall 2002): 17-23.]

The project would never have reached this stage without the devotion and perseverance of Dr. Rohini Jayatilaka, who has been associated with *Fontes* since 1994 and was full-time Research Associate and Database Manager from 1999 to 2002 (funded by a grant from the Arts and Humanities Research Board). In addition to the (often tedious) editing and standardizing of thousands of entries, Dr. Jayatilaka has found time to generate many entries of her own and to liaise with computer consultants about the presentation of the material on the website and now on CD-ROM. Though she has now moved to another project, Dr. Jayatilaka has generously offered to continue to add incoming material in her spare time. These new contributions will initially be available only on the website, though it may be possible to produce a new edition of the CD-ROM in due course.

New entries have, indeed, continued to be submitted or added, drawn from a range of texts including three by Ælfric (two Old English and one Latin) and two major Latin works – Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (460 entries) and Asser's *Vita Ælfredi regis* (138 entries). Other work is in preparation. Since June 2002, Dr. Augustine Casiday has been working for the project as Research Associate in Anglo-Latin, and has been making steady progress on sourcing Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* (nearly 70 entries out of a projected 90, including several sources not previously identified). Dr. Casiday has also prepared two articles and two conference papers based on his work for *Fontes*. Other scholars are sourcing various Old English texts, Ælfrician and anonymous.

There were meetings of the Management Committee in Birmingham in May 2002 and in Cambridge in October 2002. Professor Joyce Hill, who served as Chairman from 1998 (and previously as Secretary from the inception of the project in 1984) has now resigned on her appointment to a permanent administrative appointment with the Equality Challenge Unit, a recently formed body which works to promote equal opportunities in higher education across the UK. The Committee is very much in Professor Hill's debt, especially for seeing through our application for the major 1999-2002 AHRB grant, and it is a particular pleasure to report that she will continue to serve as a member (and to remain active in research). Professor Don Scragg, who has also been involved with the project since the outset, agreed to take her place as Chairman from January 1 2003, and he has himself been succeeded as Director of Old English by Dr. Susan Irvine.

Fontes inaugurated its twentieth year with a celebratory Open Meeting organized by Professor Clare Lees at King's College London on April 8, 2003. Several members of the Committee spoke in the first half, surveying the achievements of *Fontes* (with a case study of Anglo-Latin), outlining the challenges posed by changing technology and considering future developments. The afternoon was devoted to three papers by younger scholars on two Anglo-Saxon authors (Ælfric and Aldhelm) and their Latin sources and on one twentieth-century author (Auden) and his Anglo-Saxon ones.

By mid-March 2003, 1153 texts had been sourced and 29,552 entries added to the database (22,162 in Old English and 7390 in Latin), and well over 1000 source-texts identified. Despite the publication of the CD-ROM, the project continues in operation; many texts in both languages remain to be sourced, and offers of further assistance are as welcome as ever. Potential contributors in the Old English field should contact Dr. Susan Irvine (Department of English Language and Literature, University College London, Gower Street, London, WC1E 6BT, UK), and in the Latin field, Dr. Rosalind Love (Robinson College, Cambridge, CB3 9AN, UK); while enquiries about the database, or requests for the CD-ROM, should be addressed to Dr. Rohini Jayatilaka, either via the *Fontes* website or by e-mail (fontes@english.ox.ac.uk).

April 2003

Appendix

Fontes entries added to the database since April 1, 2002

Old English

C.B.1.3.18, ÆLFRIC, Lives 17 (On Auguries), M.R. Godden, 52 entries
C.B.1.3.2, ÆLFRIC, Lives 1 (Nativity of Christ), M.R. Godden, 67 entries
C.B.22.1, ANON (OE), Alexander's Letter to Aristotle, C. Rauer, 41 entries
C.B.3.3.10, ANON (OE), Life of St Guthlac (prose), J. Roberts, 56 entries
C.B.3.3.10.1, ANON (OE), Vercelli homily 23 (Guthlac), J. Roberts, 9 entries
C.B.3.3.23, A ANON (OE), Life of St Mary of Egypt [second edition], H. Magennis, 42 entries

Latin

L.D.1.4, BEDA, Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum, K. Scarfe Beckett, 460 entries
L.G.7.1, ÆLFRIC, Excerpts from Julian of Toledo, M.R. Godden, 194 entries
L.D.2.0, ASSER, Vita Ælfredi regis, Richard Hewitt, 138 entries

Current database statistics

Number of texts: 1153 (535 OE; 618 Latin)
[NOTE: 1 OE text replaces an earlier version]
Number of entries: 29,552 (22,162 OE; 7390 Latin)

ANGLO-SAXON PLANT-NAME SURVEY (ASPNS)

Fourth Annual Report

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

ASPNS made two contributions to the Twelfth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, held in the University of Glasgow August 21-26, 2002. Firstly, I read a paper entitled "Juniper in Anglo-Saxon England." This will not appear in the conference proceedings, as the word-studies involved will be included in the first volume of collected plant-name studies to appear in the ASPNS series (publication will be in 2004 at the earliest). Secondly, ASPNS presented its new database, LPNAD, at the conference's software demonstration session. LPNAD stands for "Latin Plant-Name Associations Database," compiled by me (on paper), and turned into a fully functioning database by Flora Edmonds of the Department of English Language, University of Glasgow. LPNAD can now be seen on the ASPNS web-site at www2.arts.gla.ac.uk/SESLL/EngLang/ihsl/projects/plants.htm.

The ultimate goal of LPNAD is to record all the associations of the Latin plant-names of Anglo-Saxon England, in whatever language they occur. In other words, whenever a plant-name is presented in contemporary records as being a synonym, translation, or some other form of close associate of a Latin plant-name, it will appear on the database, along with its associations. At this stage in the construction process, there is no intention to record plant-names without any associations, or Old English plant-names with only non-Latin associations, so LPNAD will not be a complete record of the Latin plant-names, and even less, of all the plant-names of Anglo-Saxon England. Nonetheless, it is hoped it will be of service to the ASPNS authors, in the process of collecting evidence for their word-studies. Work on the database has commenced with the recording of a single glossary, and more material will be added as time permits. Researchers can see exactly which texts have been entered on LPNAD by consulting the "Texts Analyzed" web-page, and they are encouraged to read the introductory material to understand the limitations and value of the database.

It was a disappointment that the proceedings of the first ASPNS symposium were not published in 2002, mainly because our publisher changed its policy on the acceptable format of "manuscripts," but it is likely that 2003 will finally see the publication of these varied and interesting papers.

The links ("Other Relevant Sites") page of the ASPNS web-site was revised and expanded in 2002, and work is ongoing to revise the *ASPNS Bibliography*, section by section.

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

January 2002

APPENDIX: PUBLICATIONS

Banham, Debby, "Investigating the Anglo-Saxon *materia medica*: Latin, Old English and Archaeobotany," *The Archaeology of Medicine*, ed. Robert Arnott, BAR [British Archaeological Reports] International Series 1046 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002), 95-99.

Biggam, C. P., "Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey (ASPNS): Second Annual Report," *Old English Newsletter* 34.3 (Spring 2001), 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).

Unebe, Noriko, "Uses of Seaweed in Anglo-Saxon England: From an Ethnographic Angle," *Journal of Tokyo Kasei Gakuin University, Humanities and Social Science* 41 (2001), 85-94 [not reported last year].

Recovering Unique Ælfrician Texts Using the Fiber Optic Light Cord:
Pope XVII in London, BL Cotton Vitellius C. v

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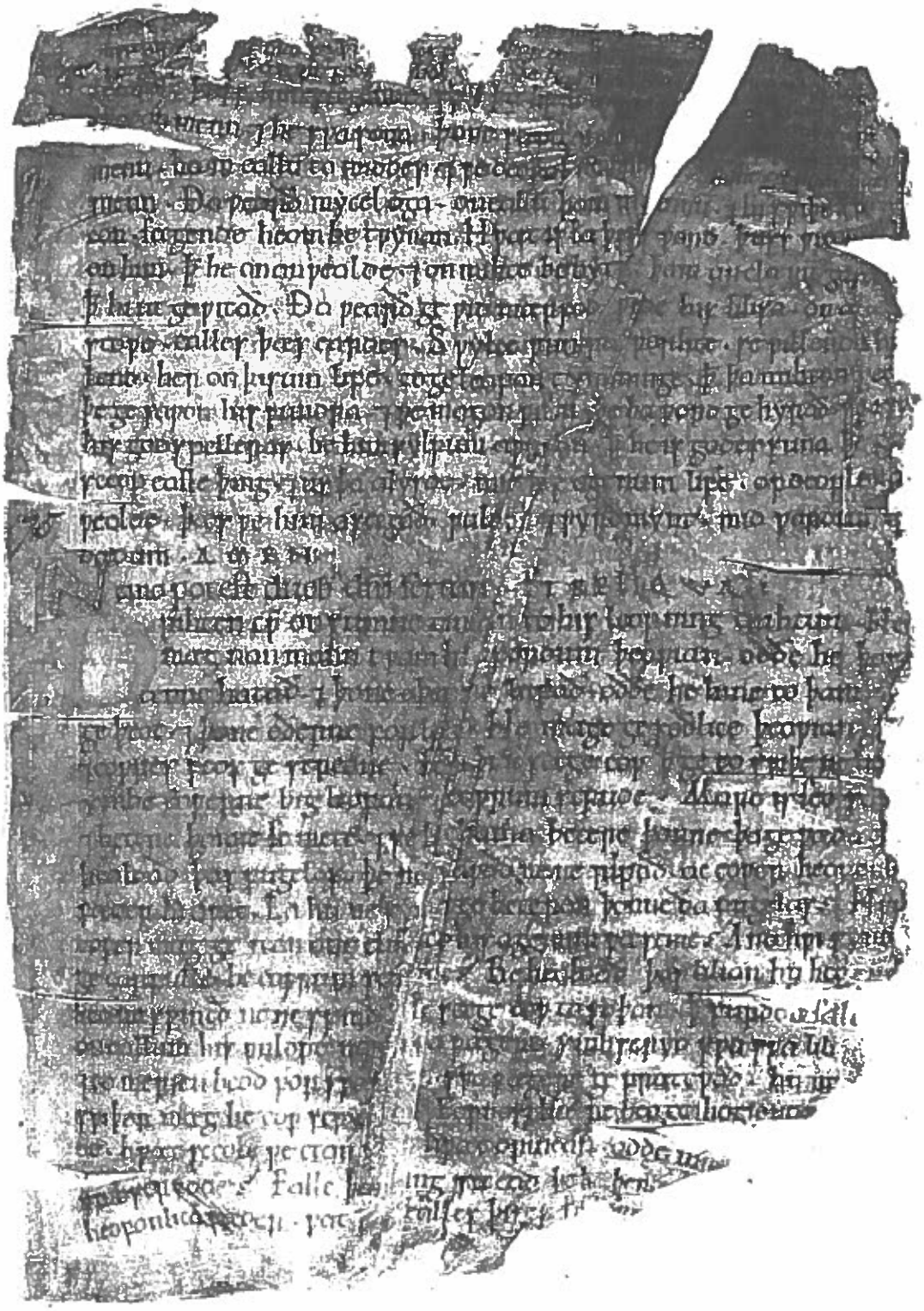
Of the twenty-eight manuscripts examined by John C. Pope for his 1967-68 edition of Ælfrician Homilies,[1] London, BL MS Cotton Vitellius C. v (Ker 220; cited as H in the standard sigla of Ælfric MSS)[2] stands out as an excellent witness to Ælfric's later work and mature style. Moreover, of the seven full and clearly genuine homilies for which it supplies readings in Pope's edition (I, IV, XIII-XVII), the first and last are preserved nowhere else, and it also contains three unique passages of sermon XIa: lines 54b–74, 81–85, and 102–27 (Pope I.31–32). Unfortunately, the manuscript was severely damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731, leaving numerous lacunae which make it "not wholly reliable" as a textual authority (Pope II.564). In 1990 and 1991, in the course of translating homilies I-XVII (for the Proper of the Season) from Pope's edition,[3] I had the opportunity to examine Cotton Vitellius C. v; comparing my transcriptions to Pope's meticulous edition gradually convinced me that a modern scholar might see somewhat more than Pope had been able to see. This was no doubt partly due to the more limited and focused nature of my project, but also to the availability of modern technology.

The burnt folios of Cotton Vitellius C. v were individually pasted into modern paper frames, probably in 1844 and 1845,[4] and the tan onionskin pasting paper obscured thousands of words in the manuscript, making them invisible to the naked eye. Pope himself notes, "I made my own examination of the physical characteristics of the manuscripts, size, gatherings, script, &c., mainly in the years 1927-33" (I.13), at a time when the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for example, had no electric light system.[5] Therefore Pope, like Ælfric himself, may have often found himself peering at old manuscripts in ill-lighted rooms on short winter days. The Fiber Optic Light Cord (FOLC), a cold pencil-point of light, allows the viewer to see text hidden under the modern paste-downs, making visible letters, pieces of letters, and whole words that Pope could not see.[6]

A conscientious use of FOLC in reading MS Cotton Vitellius C. v confirms the vast majority of Pope's suggestions in whole or in part; Pope's edition demonstrates that careful editing is always on the cutting edge, with or without the latest technology or even the benefit of good lighting. In a few cases, however, evidence gathered with FOLC displaces earlier conjectures. The notes that follow contain a line-by-line analysis of the lacunae found in one homily (XVII) in Pope's collection, one of the Ælfrician texts for which Cotton Vitellius C. v. is the sole or primary witness; it is offered as an addendum to Pope's work, representing the text in its present condition under the best-available conditions of legibility, and as an illustration of the value of FOLC in recovering text from damaged manuscripts.

Homily XVII is a composite homily celebrating four of Christ's miracles; over half of it is devoted to an exposition of the miracle described in the pericope for the day, Mark 7:31–37 (Pope II.563). Pope suggests that homily XVII belongs with homilies XIII-XVI as a part of Ælfric's attempt to complete his series of homilies for the Sundays after Pentecost (Pope II.565). Cotton Vitellius C. v is the only witness for lines 1–202 and 277–314 (Pope II.567); lines 203–76 have been interpolated from *CH* II.xxiii (lines 126–97 in Godden's edition) and are found in



London, BL Cotton Vitellius C. v, fol. 175r
(Reproduced by permission of the British Library)

six other manuscripts.[7] It is thus an important witness not only for Ælfric's sense of style (by virtue of its mixture of older plain prose material and later rhythmical prose) but also for his compositional technique, the weaving-together of new and old material to create a coherent work.

The collation that follows notes only the lacunae in the text, placing Pope's reading and/or conjecture alongside the author's own best judgment of the visible reading where it differs from Pope; where necessary, more detailed descriptions of the state of the MS are given below each pair of readings. The line numbers are Pope's, and I have followed his complex editorial conventions (described in I.188–90); in this homily, he indicated expanded abbreviations by italics and retained the tironian *7* for OE *and*. Lacunae are indicated by parentheses; letters and words within these parentheses are Pope's conjectures, supplied, as he put it, "from imperfect traces, from the parallel readings of other manuscripts, or from the implications of the context, always with consideration of the space available in the manuscript" (I.189). Conjectures Pope deemed "unduly hazardous" (I.189) were placed in the textual apparatus; here they are listed directly below the reading of Pope's text. In many cases examination of the MS under FOLC reveals more letters than Pope was able to see, or recovers completely letters which were only partly visible to him; these letters are placed outside the parentheses in the right-hand column, indicating that they are no longer conjectural but confirmed. Sometimes Pope has listed a letter or word as visible to the naked eye that is now, in fact, only visible under FOLC, and in a few rare case Pope indicates a lacuna that is in fact visible to the naked eye.

Where Pope was unable or unwilling to offer a conjecture to fill a lacuna, he indicated the approximate number of missing letters by colons (the number is supplied in square brackets after Pope's reading); examination under FOLC often suggests a different number of spaces. While care has been taken in estimating these spaces, the condition of the water- and/or fire-damaged vellum sometimes makes such estimations almost impossible, as Pope himself realized (I.189) and these numbers are at best only approximations. Tears, stitches, worm holes, and other damaged spots are also noted; in these cases, obviously, no technology can recover the lost readings.

HOMILY XVII, DOMINICA XII POST OCTAVAS PENTECOSTEN

(Pope II.563–83; Cotton Vitellius C. v, fols. 172–5)

(fol. 172r)

10 cuma(n).

The right edge of fol. 172r is torn away, and letters are lost at the end of each line through 24.

12 swiþ(e)
14 (þa)
15 misli(ce ge)swencte;
17 (::::::::::::) [12 spaces][8]
18 þi(ss godspell ge)sette
20 MARC(VS:::::::, se þe) [7 spaces]
MARC(VS gehaten, se þe)
21 be(::::::::::::::::::) [18]
be(com to þære Galileiscan)

22	(::::::::::::::::) [17] (þæs Tyriscan folces	þæ(::::::::::) [10]
23	::::::::::)|eiscan, [10] (geond þæt Sidon)eiscan,	[end of fol. 172r]

(fol. 172v)

24	o(::::::::::::::te)ne tyn (burhsci)ra. [13] o(n bocum synd gehate)ne tyn (burhsci)ra.	on(::::::::::::::::)tene tyn (::::::)yra. [16]

Pope calls lines 21-24 "troublesome" (II.580), and in a long note explains the rather complicated reasons for his opinion (II.580–81). He believes part of the problem is that a whole line has been lost. Examination with FOLC confirms that there is enough space for all of the readings suggested in Pope's note.

28	mid (::::::::::::::::)um; [17] mid (his halwendum fingr)um;	mid his halgum handum;

Line 28 is a burnt spot under onionskin paper on the left edge of fol. 172v, above a horizontal split of approximately 1.5 to 2 inches. Pope supplied the conjecture "his halwendum fingrum" here, comparing it with line 121. But under FOLC a different reading is visible, with a different meaning and stronger alliteration.

29	(meniu)	meniu

Noted by Pope as "partly visible" (II.568), but fully visible under FOLC.

55	(þæt)	
66	mi(ne)	
68	(yþ)um,	yþum
69	men(nisce)s	
71	(::::::)e [6] (gehwæn)e	(:::::)ne
73	for (þan þe::::::::::), [10]	for (þan þe::::::::::::)e, [12]

FOLC reveals approximately 19 total spaces (including Pope's conjectured *þan þe*); a final *e* is visible under FOLC, and before it part of what could be an *m* (though this is not certain). The remaining lacuna leaves enough room for the reading "(þan þe Crist cum)e," which I propose based on Pope's suggestion in his note at II:581.

74	Go(des bearn::::::::) [7] Go(des bearn on anum)	
76	(::::::::::::::::), [16]	(::::::::::::::::::::), [21]

Pope reports 16 spaces here, but examination with FOLC suggests about 21. Pope offers no suggested reading; various readings such as *7 fram unstæððignesse* "and from unsteadiness" or *and to his gegaderung* "and to his gathering/assembly" would fit the context and the physical space, and create apt alliteration with *staðolfæstnesse* in line 75.

77	þæra (::::::::::). [10]	þæra (::::::::::::::). [15]

78	(:::::::::: ge)haten [10] (An eard wæs ge)haten	(::::::::::::::ge)haten [14]

Examination of 77–78 with FOLC suggests about 29 spaces. Pope offers no suggestion for 77; taking the spacing and the case of *þæra* into consideration, various readings are possible (*þæra worulda ealdend, þæra worulda scyppend, þæra worulda alysend*, etc.).

79	(::::::::::::::), [14] (ea Iordanen::::), [4]	
80	(::::::::::::) [12] (Decapolis on)	(::::::::::::::::::) [1] (::::::::::::)l(::::)n

FOLC examination of 79–80 suggests about 31 total spaces where Pope saw 26. Pope supplies "(ea Iordanen:::: / Decapolis on);" FOLC reveals traces of letters which support this reading. The remaining four spaces may be filled by placing *þe is* before *Decapolis*.

(fol. 173r)

81	(þam) … sw(a swa se)gð þiss (godspell),	þam … swa (swa se)gð þiss godspell,
82	ge(hælde) … hrepung(e	geh(ælde) … hrepung(e
83	þ)one … ge(dyde)	þone … ged(yde)
85	Ð(es deafa)	Ðes (deafa)
86	ad(ea)fode	

The right side of fol. 173r is cut away at this point, creating the lacunae through line 134. In a few cases a letter missing at the edge of the damaged leaf is visible under FOLC.

87	deadl(ice)	
89	n(olde)	
90	(þonne). or (þa).	þ(onne). or þ(a).
92	(he)	
96	dryme(n)	drymen
98	me(n)	men
107	Drihte*n*(e)	
111	hi(s)	
117	hi(s)	
121	syndo(n),	syndon,
125	mih(te)	
126	Ha(l)gan	
128	egesl(ican)	
129	(syl)fum	
130	hrep(ode his)	
132	(::::::::::::::) [14] (Godes mærða on)	go(::::::::::::)

Pope suggests in the apparatus to this line that the first two letters here could be either *go* or *to*; FOLC confirms *go*.

133	sceol(de,::::::::::::) [13]	
	sceol(de, þa God his mod)	
134	me(::::::::::::::::). [18]	me(::::::::::::::::::::). [21]
	me(nn::::::::::::::::).	

FOLC reveals about 21 spaces available after the *e* in *me(nn)* where Pope records 18. In the textual apparatus Pope notes that "the concluding word may have been an adverb ending in -lice" (II.572). With this in mind, I propose *menn swiðe geornlice* as a possible reading.

(fol. 173v)

135	'(He be|sea)h … geom(erunge	'(He be|se)ah … geom(erunge
136	to) … dum(ba)n … (an dyrne word):	to) … dum(ba)n … (an)dyrne word:
137	(is) … (to) … geopenigenn(e).'	is … (to) … geopenigenn(e).'
138	(he)	
139	(::::::::::::) [12]	(::) æt fruman
	(us æt fruman)	
141	(::::::::) [8]	(::::::)n
	(feorran)	

Pope notes "(Last letter either *r* or *n*)" (II.572); FOLC confirms *n*.

142	(on)	on
143	(He ge)swutelode	(He g)eswutelode
144	(þære h)eofonlican	(þære)heofonlican
146	(mid)	mid

Only the right side of *m* is visible with FOLC.

147	(m)ot	mot
178	(dæd)um,	dædum,

Pope notes that "the lower half of each letter is visible" (II.574); they are no longer so to the naked eye, but distinct with FOLC.

182	(þ)e	þe

Only the top half of *þ* is visible with FOLC.

183	(þu)ss	þuss
184	mih(te: [1][9]	mih(:::)
185	h)e	he
186	dum(ban þ*æt* hi)	dum(ban þ*æt*) hi
187	gefrem(man,	
188	mihte)	
189	(::::::::::::::::::::) [20]	(::::::::::::::::::::) [22]
	(þ*æt* hi hit nanum ne sædon)	
191	(:::::::::::::::::: þe w)e [18]	(:::::::::::::::::: þe) we [20]
	(þ*æt* we on þam godu*m* dædu*m* þe w)e	

(fol. 174r)

192	b(ugon	bu(gon
193	::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::::) [36]	::::::::::::::::::::::::::::) [30]
194	Se idela gylp (::::::::) h(::::::::::::, [8/12]	
	Se idela gylp (huru is an) h(eafodleahter,	
195	::::::::::::::)sæte, 7 we (eac) [14]	::::::::::) andsæte, 7 we eac
	Gode swiðe and)sæte,	

Examination with FOLC suggests 9 spaces after *gylp* and 13 after *h* in line 194, ample room for Pope's suggested readings. The words *idela gylp* are partially covered with pasting paper, and only the bottom half of each letter is visible; not even FOLC reveals their top halves. Pope reports that "The *eafo* of *heafod* [is] almost intact though out of position" (II.574), but not even FOLC reveals it now. In 195 FOLC indicates a lacuna of 16 spaces rather than Pope's reported 14, but the vellum here is wrinkled and its original spacing is difficult to determine. After the initial *h* of "h(eafodleahter)" (194) there is a hole some 24 spaces long; the following *and* (195) is visible to the naked eye, but wrenched out of position, partly detached from the main vellum and twisted upwards, with the letters *a-n-d* stacked vertically directly above and to the left of the letters *-sæte*. Other letters are indeed visible to the naked eye here, but they are so out of position that they are impossible to decipher; the manuscript is simply too mangled. Perhaps this is where it landed with a wet thud after being tossed out a window of Ashburnham House in October 1731.

196	ascy(r)ian,	ascyrian
197	(m)ede,	mede
199	(his halgum)	his halgum

Pope indicates in a note that these words are "partially visible" (II.575). As noted above, for lines 203–276 Pope was able to rely on the evidence of six other MSS to supply gaps in the text of Cotton Vitellius C. v; evidence from FOLC helps confirm these readings.

218	g(e)sette	

At this point the right side of fol. 174 is cut away; the damage affects lines through 234.

219	oferga(n).	
221	gehat(en)	
223	hi(ne)	
224	fótcopsu(m)	fótcopsum
228	g(e)seah,	geseah,
229	þ(u)	
230	tintr(egie).	
231	A(nd he)	
232	uncl(æna gast)	
233	þ(an þe we	þan (þe we
234	her ma)nega	

(fol. 174v)

235	þ|(am earde ne adræfde. Ða stod	þ|(am earde ne adræfde.)Ða s(tod
	þaer onemm ða dune micel heord	þae)r (onemm ða dune micel heord
236	swyna,) … mosto(n into ðam swynu*m*.	swy)na, … moston in(to ðam swynu*m*.
237	[Þa geðafode se Haelend ðæ*t* ðam deoflum.	
	And hí gewiton of ðam	
238	men into ðam swynu*m*.] Þa swyn ða e)alle	
239	s(æ, sume twa) þusend(:), [1]	sæ, sume twa þusend(:),
240	(deofel)lican scy(f)e.	deofellican scyfe.
241	(be þa)m	be þam
245	Drih(t)*en*	Drihte*n*
246	Drih(t)*en*	
247	Dri(h)tenes	Drihtenes
256	adr(æf)de	adræ(f)de

The right margin of fol. 174v is gone.

278 (7)

(Text after line 276 is preserved only in Cotton Vitellius C. v.) The left margin is gone at the bottom of fol. 174v, creating the lacunae through line 287.

279	(Luc)as	
281	(Hæle)nd	(Hæl)end
282	(þær his eð)el	(þær hi)s eðel
284	(::::::::: his) [9]	(:::::::::) his
	(wundredon his)	

Pope notes that *his* is "partially visible" (II.579), but in fact it is completely so.

285 swiðli(c:::::::::: [10]
swiðli(cere mihte.
286 ::: þ)ær [3]
And þ)ær

FOLC suggests that only two characters are lost, so the abbreviation *7* would better fit the available space.

287 (::::::::::::::::::) [19]
(fulan gaste deoflice)

(fol. 175r)

289	ge(::::::::::::::::::::::) Crist, [23]	geang(sumod:::::::::) Crist, [9-14]

FOLC reveals *-ang* after *ge-*. Only one word in Old English is known to begin with these letters, *geangsumian* "vex, make anxious." The remaining space is very difficult to judge due to the damaged state of the MS at this point; Pope offers no conjectural reading, nor do I. Immedi-

ately before *Crist*, FOLC reveals traces of two letters, but these are not distinguishable; after *Crist*, FOLC reveals a medial point.

290 (::::::::::::::::::::),...u(s) gemæ(n)e? [20] Đu hæfst (::::::::::::::::), ...us gemæ(n)e?

Examination with FOLC reveals *Đu hæfst* clearly; after these words a V-shaped split runs vertically down the vellum. FOLC suggests about 16 spaces available here, but the damaged state of the MS makes any estimation hazardous.

291 (co)me... fordo(n)ne... amyrr(enne us)! (co)me ... fordonne ... amyrrenne us?

A very faint, crinkled *punctus interrogativus* is visible after *us*. On the remainder of the folio, some of the readings indicated as conjectural by Pope are in fact visible to the naked eye.

292	(ic) ... ge(are) ... God(es) Halg(a).	(ic) ... ge(are) ... Gode(s) Halg(a).
293	Hæ(le)nd ... s(ona)	Hælend ... sona
294	Swi(ga) ... hrað(e),	Swiga ... hraðe,
295	gewi(t aw)eg	gewit aweg
296	adræ(fde)	adræfde
297	earm(an)	earman
298	miht(e)	mihte
300	(spræ)con,	spræcon,
303	gast(um)	gastu*m*
305	æ(lcere)	ælcere
306	H(æ)lend	Hælend

The right side of the folio is torn away here; this damage affects lines 308 and 313.

307	t(r)ymminge,	
308	sec(gan)	secg(an)

Only the bottom of the tail of *g* is visible with FOLC.

313 a(n)wealde

CONCLUSION

An examination of this damaged text using the enhancements of modern technology puts Pope's 1967-68 edition under equally intense scrutiny, but even while such an examination can offer corrections and revisions of Pope's textual apparatus, it demonstrates that the latest technology is, in this case, only a small improvement on the conjectures of a capable editor half a century ago. With FOLC in hand, I read all of the Ælfrician texts uniquely preserved in this damaged manuscript, and my analyses of other homilies followed the pattern seen here: nearly all of the readings I was able to recover only confirmed what Pope had already conjectured. Ælfric may be a special case because his works survive in many MSS, his style has been thoroughly studied, and his sources (at least in general terms) are usually known; where other witnesses are lacking and the meaning of a text is more puzzling, the visual advantages offered by the latest technology may be essential. But I think the analysis presented above should give us pause. It is tempting to become enamored of, even dependent on, the ability of technology

to increase the legibility of damaged manuscripts, but an intelligent eye remains the best camera, and no amount of digital wizardry can replace the imagination of a diligent editor.

NOTES

[1] John C. Pope, ed., *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection. Being Twenty-One Full Homilies of His Middle and Later Career for the Most Part Not Previously Edited* (2 vols.; EETS o.s. 259, 260. London: OUP, 1967, 1968). Cited here as "Pope."

[2] N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: OUP, 1957).

[3] These eighteen translations are in my dissertation: "Eighteen Sermons by Ælfric: Translations and Commentary," Diss. University of Georgia, 1991 (*DAI* 52A (1991): 2137). Assistance in that work was provided by Professor R. I. Page, then of the Parker Library, the late Professor John Dodgson of University College London, and Dr. Bruce Mitchell of St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford; the research was made possible by a grant from the Fulbright Commission. Revised under the working title *God of Mercy: Ælfric's Sermons and Theology*, it is currently under consideration by a university press.

[4] According to Frederic Madden, "Madden Repairs to Cotton MSS," London, BL Add. 62576, fol. 42.

[5] According to R. I. Page, in a conversation with author 17 February 1990.

[6] This method was also used to recover damaged readings in MS Cotton Vitellius A. xv; see Kevin Kiernan and Andrew Prescott, et al. *Electronic 'Beowulf'* (London: British Library; Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Press, 1999), Kevin S. Kiernan, "Digital Preservation, Restoration, and Dissemination of Medieval Manuscripts" (online at http://arl.cni.org/symp3/kiernan.html) and "Digital Image Processing and the Beowulf Manuscript," *Lit. and Ling. Computing* 6 (1991): 20–27. Other new technologies such as the ultra-violet light machine and the binocular microscope give scholars even more ways to decipher damaged manuscripts, but FOLC remains one of the most powerful; in an email to the author, Mr. Laurence Pordes of the British Library's Photo Studio recently remarked that FOLC has not been superseded (9 September 2002).

[7] Cambridge, University Library Gg. 3. 28, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 303, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 342, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 198, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 162, and Cambridge, University Library Ii. 4. 6. The location of this passage within each MS is given in Malcolm Godden, ed., *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The Second Series Text*, EETS s.s. 5 (London, 1979), p. xvi.

[8] Pope suggests *fyligde micel*, citing the translation of the same pericope in Pope XIa.102–27 and *LS* XVI.134–41 (W. W. Skeat, ed. *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*. 2 vols. EETS o.s. 76, 82 and 94, 114. London, 1881-85 and 1890-1900).

[9] In this rare case Pope's system of notation is ambiguous; his ":" may have been intended to represent a punctuation mark rather than an unfilled lacuna.

APPENDIX A

Abstracts of Papers in Anglo-Saxon Studies

edited by Robert L. Schichler
with the assistance of Joshua Brodbent
and Christopher Garrett Clark

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 History of Science Society, Milwaukee, November 7-10, 2002:

Session: "Crossing the Boundaries: Translators and Translations in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance"

Maria Amalia D'Aronco (Univ. of Udine)

"Translating Medical Texts in Anglo-Saxon England"

The aim of this paper is to discuss the methods used by different translators in Anglo-Saxon times in order to render Latin texts of medicine. As it is well known, the Anglo-Saxons were the first to translate in a European vernacular language Latin scientific and technical treatises of the late antique period. Already in the ninth century, as the studies by L. M. Cameron have conclusively shown, the Anglo-Saxon physicians had access to quite a number of the medical works of the classical and late antique period. In fact these were widely used by the compiler of Bald's *Læceboc,* the book of remedies that has come down to us in the first two books of the *Læceboc*, a collection of recipes in Old English that corresponds broadly to the Latin *Dynamidia.* The same knowledge is to be found, albeit in a less systematic way that depends less directly on the Latin sources, in all the other Old English works of a medical nature that have survived to the present day. These range from the earliest remedies preserved in the Omont fragment to the *Lacnunga*, a collection similar to the third book of the *Læceboc* transcribed in the London, BL, Harley 585 manuscript after the *Old English Herbal,* and to a number of remedies scattered here and there in various other manuscripts.

Among these treatises, an outstanding position is held by the so-called *Old English Herbal,* the translation of a group of medical tracts in Latin, which together can be considered to form the common pharmacopoeia of the early Middle Ages. This text, however, is more than a mere translation; it is the result of an intelligent and functional choice of different treatises, which, in the Latin tradition, remain separate and autonomous although transmitted together in the respective textual traditions. The utilization of different texts and their merging and adaptation in two distinct works, one dedicated to herbal remedies and the other to animal-based cures, was clearly the result of a well-defined translation project, whose aim was to offer an audience unable to tackle Latin with sufficient confidence the most authoritative learning available in the field of pharmacy.

This translation is also very interesting as it offers the possibility to study how different translators worked on the same texts. In fact both the pseudo-Apuleius *Herbarius* and the *Medicina ex animalibus* served as a source for many of the remedies included in Anglo-Saxon collections from very early times, in particular for a number of recipes that appear in Bald's *Læceboc.* From a comparison of the remedies in the *Old English Herbal* and those in the *Læceboc* and/or the other collections, it appears evident that there is no relationship of equality or subordination between the texts of remedies deriving from the same Latin source. The translations are independent of each other both in syntactic structure and in their choice of vocabulary. This holds true in every case where it is possible to compare remedies deriving from the same passage in the Latin herbal. The existence of different translations of the same Latin sources can give us an insight into the methods used by the translators to render the Latin originals and all their contents from one language to another.

II. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association of America, New York, December 27-30, 2002:

Session 328: "Diction and Friction: Ambiguity and Polysemy in Old English Poetry and Prose"

Robin Waugh (Wilfrid Laurier Univ.)

"The Flood of Ambiguity in *Andreas:* Text Versus Audience"

Scholars have often treated instances of ambiguity, polyvalency, and so-called corrupt passages in Old English poetry as opportunities for problem-solving. To take a typical example of a problem passage, then, from the Old English poem *Andreas*, the hero, in prison in Mermedonia, notices several stone pillars. He praises stone as the medium that received and preserved the ten commandments, and announces that God commands one of these columns to send out flood-waters upon the saint's persecutors (1489-1521), the Mermedonians. The pillar obliges by splitting open. A flood blasts out from its base and dispenses divine justice (1522-53) upon these notorious cannibals, who perish in large numbers. In the middle of this retribution, a phrase occurs that has caused difficulties in interpretation — at least, according to modern editions and translations. The manuscript has *Fæge swulton, / geonge on geofene guðræs fornam / þurh scealtes sweg* (1530b-32a). The conventional view is that, as George Phillip Krapp writes, "The MS. *scealtes sweg* gives no meaning" (121). Through an examination of the textual ambiguities that surround *þurh scealtes sweg*, I demonstrate that textual authority is not as "sacred" as *Andreas* would seem to make it on the surface. The poem's hero splits the text that he evokes from the stone pillar, whereupon ambiguity causes several rifts in the understanding of both readers and listeners — ideal ones, ones contemporary with the text, and ones implied in *Andreas*'s narrative of textual history, which prominently includes the ten commandments. Besides an examination of the relationship between the ten commandments and ten speeches by God in the poem, I deal in particular with ambiguities surrounding the ideas of preaching, mocking, and commanding.

Heide Estes (Monmouth Univ.)

"*Ides ælfscienu:* Armed and Dangerous Women in Old Testament Verse"

Genesis and *Judith* contain the only Old Testament women in Old English poetry. In the exegetical tradition, Sarah and Judith are both presented in exemplary terms: each is interpreted as a figure of *Ecclesia*, and in addition, Sarah is praised for her obedience to Abraham and Judith for her chastity. However, the unusual diction used in each poem evokes an element of friction between the elevations of the women in the exegetical tradition and the problematic aspects of their sexually charged actions in each narrative.

The unusual terms *ælfscinu*, *blachleor*, and *wundenlocc* are not drawn from Biblical sources or the exegetical tradition, but are added to the poems to describe these women. *Ælfscinu*, literally "elf-bright," is used twice of Sarah and once of Judith, but appears nowhere else in the extant corpus of Old English poetry and prose. Each woman is called *ælfscinu* at a moment when she is perceived as sexually attractive in a way that places a man in danger. Although the sexual charge comes from the gaze of a man in each case, the quality *ælfscinu* seems to refer to a menacing attractiveness that somehow emanates from each of the women to entrap the men. Judith is praised repeatedly as chaste, and Sarah as passive, traits that would seem to contradict the possibility of sexual aggression, yet the use of this term suggests that the responsibility for the men's attraction falls in each case with the female object.

In addition to *ælfscinu*, the non-aristocratic women in both poems are called *blachleor*, usually translated as "pale-cheeked," another term that is used only in these two poems. Perhaps these women are *blachleor* rather than *ælfscinu* in reflection of the lesser glow of those women not possessed of noble status. Finally, Judith is described as *wundenlocc* ("curly-haired") as she seizes Holofernes' sword and again as she strikes him with it. The only other use of this word in Old English poetry is in the Riddle conventionally solved as "Onion," whose subtext involves a sexually active, *wundenlocc* woman who is perhaps also a foreigner. None of the women — Sarah, Judith, or the unnamed women — are referred to as "Hebrew"; this association is made only through their relationships with males described as such in each poem. However, the use of these unusual terms to characterize them suggests an Anglo-Saxon sense that they shared an identity not just religious but also in some way "ethnic" or "tribal."

Christopher A. Jones (Ohio State Univ.)

"'A Huge Rude Heape': Reading 'Chaos' in the Early Middle Ages"

This paper considers some of the less familiar uses of *chaos* in medieval Latin, Old English, and other early vernaculars. Medieval Latin *chaos*, like its Greek etymon, bore several meanings, including "primal void," but also "matter in confusion, disorder" and "hell, the underworld." Medieval Latin showed sensitivity to the range of meanings and (especially) ancient etymological lore about *chaos*. As a densely associative and metrically acceptable synonym for hell, *chaos* found special favor among the Christian-Latin poets Prudentius, Sedulius, and Arator, and in hymns. The most important medieval philological traditions about *chaos*, however, grew up about Luke 16:26 (from the parable of Dives and Lazarus), where Abraham says to the rich man in torment: "between us and you, there is fixed a great chaos" (trans. Rheims 1582). Here "chaos" was a textual and exegetical crux. Did it mean a vast,

gaping space (some Vulgate manuscripts have *chasma* for *chaos*, and "chasm" may indeed have been the original reading). Or did exegetes take Abraham's *chaos* for an impenetrable, oppressive confusion of substance? The ambiguity proved opportune, as commentators could define hell both as a space and a condition.

The different senses of *chaos*, and the difficulties of choosing among them, are most apparent in early attempts to translate the term. The two Old English words most often used were *dwolma*, "confusion, obscurity, darkness" and *throsm* "smoke, vapor, darkness." Both make *chaos* primarily a material state rather than a space, but each term carries its own resonances. *Dwolma* belongs to a large number of (etymologically related) Old English words for "going astray, erring" and of course "heresy." *Throsm*, on the other hand, captures the dark, vaporous, suffocating element familiar from other Old English descriptions of hell or any setting where darkness oppresses as a palpable substanc. The lack of a single Old English equivalent confirms the elasticity of the Latin lemma, which to the Anglo-Saxon glossators was probably more familiar as a poetic, literary word than a scientific or theological one. A range of examples comparable to *dwolma* and *throsm* can be found in Old High German.

Distinct from the senses of "confusion" and "thick gloom," glosses of *chaos* (at Luke 16:26) in the Rushworth and Lindisfarne Gospels render the term as "path" (probably in the sense of "ravine" or "gulley" leading up or down a slope). This "chaos" as a concrete feature of the landscape, a site of dangerous passage or (in Rushworth) frozen solidity, has fairly close analogues in Old Norse translations of the same verse.

Session 390: "Klaeber's *Beowulf:* Planning the Fourth Edition"

John D. Niles (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Context and Theme"

Re-editing Klaeber's *Beowulf* for the twenty-first century is a task of unusual delicacy. In many regards the current edition of this exemplary book (3rd edition with first and second supplements, 1950) is a monument to the best tradition of nineteenth-century German philology. As a consequence, Klaeber's elegant scholarship is sometimes directed toward ends that may strike some current readers as inconsequential or even incomprehensible. To what extent is that a problem? How can one "update" Klaeber's *Beowulf* into the postmodern age while maintaining the book's integrity in the same terms by which its excellence has long been defined?

While a resolution to that latter question that will satisfy all readers is hard to imagine, I note some of the issues that confront this team of editors. In particular, since I will be chiefly responsible for drafting those sections of the Introduction that address the poem's historical context and thematic content, I discuss the extent to which it now seems possible to identify, even in tentative terms, "the" context of the poem or define "the" theme. The following are among the questions that are worth raising: What is the meaning of "authorship" when we speak of a vernacular work of this kind dating from such an early period of English literature? To what extent is it useful to approach this text, which we know only through writing, in terms of "the oral in the written" or "writing as an aid to performance"? To what extent does study of the poem shed light on an emergent sense of English identity in the later Anglo-Saxon period, as the people of that era measured themselves against images of a heroic past? What are the proportions of accuracy or fantasy in the poet's depiction of the Scandinavian landscape and of early Germanic society, material culture, and ideals? To what extent should editorial choices be influenced by provocative arguments that have been made in the critical literature of recent years, e.g., about the poet's artfully dual representations of the deity (F. C. Robinson), about the precise role of the two scribes (K. Kiernan), about the poem's possible East Anglian connections (S. Newton), about a putative eighth-century manuscript exemplar of the existing text (M. Lapidge), or about the editorial biases of Klaeber himself (J. Bloomfield and others)? This special MLA session is an occasion where such questions can be aired and discussed, even if not answered to universal satisfaction.

R. D. Fulk (Indiana Univ.)

"Language, Text, and Glossary"

We begin with an overview of the project: its history, its goals, and some of its guiding assumptions, as laid out on the project web site. A brief presentation follows about some of the kinds of problems one encounters in trying to modernize an edition like Klaeber's — brief to reserve the greater part of the period for discussion. Our aim is preservative: we wish to keep the edition valuable to as diverse a body of students and scholars as always, so in general we wish to avoid deleting features that remain useful, though many such features can be improved upon, and some new ones may be added, such as overdotting to indicate palatal and affricated consonants. One fundamental principle is that our intent is not to transform Klaeber's work but simply to bring it up to date. As a consequence, although we welcome advice of all kinds from the community of Anglo-Saxonists, we're unlikely to be able to contemplate changes of a fundamental nature. Yet there are countless smaller issues on which advice is needed. For example, should references to the deity

other than the name "God" itself be capitalized? Should the text continue to be divided into verse paragraphs? Is it important to maintain the same typographical conventions, e.g., spaced small capitals in the glossary for direct reflexes but ordinary small capitals for related forms? Would the benefits of hyphenating compounds in the text be outweighed by the resulting change in the look of the text page? Should the principle of minimal textual emendation continue to be allowed to produce rare and peculiar spellings, e.g., *fæðer* — rather than *feðer* — for MS *fæder* (3119) and *hræðre* rather than *hreðre* for MS *hwæðre* (2819)? We hope to receive advice on a variety of issues like these.

Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State Univ.)

"The Structural, the Historical, the Bibliographic"

The result of an updated, 4th edition of Klaeber's *Beowulf* is far less interesting than the route one must take to reach that result. So that you may better understand why we propose to do what we may end up doing, and so that you may better perceive and help us correct or modify any illogicalities or impracticalities in our deliberations, I walk you through our reasoning in revising three sections of the book for which I have primary responsibility. While the title of my presentation ends with the bibliographic, however, I start there because the bibliography affects all three of us in all of the tasks we've taken on for this project. First, I lay out a plan for creating a simpler, more user-friendly bibliography in the 4th edition than in the 3rd, where bibliographical references are both scattered throughout the book, some without further mention in the bibliographical list, and concentrated in a list that is topically arranged in ten sections. This discussion of the structure of the bibliography leads to a consideration of its content as well and to how we are conducting a comprehensive overview of what's been done on the poem since 1950. Second, I set forth a plan for revising Klaeber's Appendix 1 on analogues and illustrative passages, a plan which will, among other things, make the appendix accessible and useful to a modern audience. Because this discussion concerns some historical material, it leads to a consideration of "The Historical Elements" section of the Introduction and how the content of that section will be affected by 50 years' worth of scholarship on the poem. And third and finally, I talk about how Klaeber's treatment of the "Structure of the Poem" will have to be thoroughly revised in light of the 45 or so analyses of this issue that have appeared since the publication of the 3rd edition.

<u>Session 546</u>: "Poetry, Prose, and Gloss: Probing Genres"

Lori Ann Garner (Univ. of IL, Urbana-Champaign)

"Oral Tradition and Architecture in Old English Poetry"

Architecture in Old English poetry can serve a number of significant functions: a protection against attack as in *Beowulf*'s Heorot, a reminder of previous generations as in the *Ruin*, even an active hero as the pillar in *Andreas*. Comparison of such passages against archaeological evidence from Anglo-Saxon buildings reveals that while the materials and formations described in images of architecture would generally have been available to Anglo-Saxons (in the form of Roman ruins left on the landscape if not in contemporary structures), the combinations of materials used and the functions of the buildings described do not always reflect actual architectural practices. At times such descriptions pose problems of logic as well, such as the indoor pillar in *Andreas* that has weathered many storms. To view such seeming inaccuracies as "mistakes," however, risks overlooking important aspects of the poetry.

Awareness of Anglo-Saxon oral traditions brings us closer to understanding the idiomatic meanings of phraseology and images employed in depictions of architecture. For an audience attuned to their wider implications, formulas and themes that might appear as mistakes to an audience outside the tradition actually bear great meaning beyond that of literal description, foreshadowing events to come or aligning a building with a specific character. This paper examines traditionally-encoded meanings in three poems depicting buildings. The passages to be discussed represent different Anglo-Saxon genres — epic (*Beowulf*), hagiography (*Andreas*), and elegy (*Ruin*) — as well as different building types — an Anglo-Saxon hall, a prison, and a Roman-style bath. Discussion draws from scholarship on Old English oral traditions (e.g., John Miles Foley), archeological studies of Anglo-Saxon architecture (e.g., Mary and Nigel Kerr), and theories of vernacular architecture (e.g., Bernard Rudofsky).

Nicole Guenther Discenza (Univ. of South Florida)

"Alfred the Poet and the Proems to the *Boethius*"

While the brief prose Proem to Alfred the Great's *Boethius* has not received great attention, its authorship has rarely been disputed, and it has been mined for clues about both the king and his program of translation. In this paper, however, I argue that this Proem was not written by Alfred himself. Indeed, the Proem never claims to have been written by Alfred; its only first-person pronoun indicates that its writer is a contemporary, *not* Alfred himself. The Proem is spiced with several phrases from Alfred's own writing to add an

Alfredian flavor, but Alfred's own texts never quote each other this closely. At the same time, this Proem employs diction not found elsewhere in Alfred's corpus. Moreover, although the rest of the *Meters of Boethius* closely resemble the corresponding prose passages, the Metrical Proem does not resemble the Prose Proem. Finally, the prose Proem's presentation of Alfred differs significantly from that of the Prefaces to the *Pastoral Care* and *Soliloquies*, which offer a less anxious and more reflective king.

The authorship of the Proem matters because that Proem provides our only description of the composition of the *Meters of Boethius*, a description that clearly makes them a secondary work. Yet if we accept that this Proem is not by Alfred, then the only preface to the *Boethius* is a metrical, not a prose, proem — and the strictly prose *Boethius* may be a working draft rather than a polished text. Instead of the three original prose prefaces and two verse prefaces traditionally ascribed to Alfred for his own translations, we have two of each. Alfred may be the father of English prose, but he valued Old English poetry highly and crafted some himself. The prose Proem has helped obscure Alfred's role as poet; in concluding, this paper encourages an overdue re-examination of the king's contribution to his beloved native poetry.

Matthew Hussey (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Glastonbury Glosses and Exeter Books: The Traces of Æthelwold"

In the last few years, the study of Old English glosses has provided insights into different phases of Anglo-Saxon intellectual history; for instance, the Leiden family of glosses is a mine of information on the educational program of Theodore and Hadrian's Canterbury school in the seventh century (thanks to work by B. Bischoff, M. Lapidge, and J. Pheifer). More recently, Mechthild Gretsch, in a deep and illuminating examination of three corpora of Old English glosses, has revealed the scholarly foundations of the vernacular effort of the English Benedictine reform movement. The centerpiece of Gretsch's study is the Old English glossing in the Royal Psalter, which she shows to be part of an initial assay at a learned and careful lexicon of Old English for numerous liturgical, literary, and exegetic purposes. Developed in the circle of Dunstan and Æthelwold, this vocabulary later evolved into a standard Old English, or Winchester usage, and became a crucial element in the English Benedictine reforms.

Meanwhile, in the last ten years, there has been a rich debate on the origins of several manuscripts, which were later associated with Exeter. Codicological, paleographical, and historical work by Patrick Conner and Richard Gameson has contested the origins of London, Lambeth Palace 149; Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 319. The end results of these investigations are purposefully inconclusive, but suggestive; this group of Exeter books more than likely was written by the same scribe in a southern or south-western English center with significant resources, both material and cultural.

It is with one of these manuscripts my paper is primarily concerned: Bodley 319. This codex is a copy of Isidore of Seville's *De fide catholica*, in which Isidore marshals dozens of Old Testament citations, and interprets them as prophecies or types of later doctrinal or historical aspects of the advent of Christ. In effect, *De fide catholica* is a useful reference or handbook to Old Testament writings and their prefiguration of Christ's life, passion, and resurrection, as well as certain Christian sacraments. After contextualizing the manuscript and the text, including brief summaries of Conner and Gameson on material conditions of the book, I turn to the allegorical mode of Isidore's work and the ways in which it pervades the Old English interlinear gloss to the last chapter. In the main part of the paper, through careful lexical and literary analysis, I discuss affiliations with similar Old English glosses in the Royal Psalter, highlighting literary aesthetics shared by each in a few uncommon *interprementa*. Having established a link between the Royal Psalter gloss and the Isidore gloss, the paper turns to the consideration of the shared intellectual aims of the Æthelwoldian glossing campaign and Bodley 319, with special reference to the allegorical aesthetics of vernacular glossing seen in paronomastic *figura etymologica*.

In the conclusion of the paper, I contemplate the consequences of such a claim: that the Bodley 319 gloss and the manuscripts by the same scribe, Lambeth 149 and Exeter 3501, may share a link to the Royal Psalter glossing, with its origins in the mid-tenth-century scholarly milieu of Dunstan and Æthelwold. My work would then add a bit of evidence to the discussion of the origins of these three manuscripts with later Exeter provenance, and address the questions of how the intellectual activity in Glastonbury may intersect with the content of the Exeter books, and how the two clusters of material, so important to our understanding of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon intellectual and literary history, shed light on each other.

III. The Annual Meeting of the Medieval Academy of America, Minneapolis, April 10-12, 2003:

Session 30: "Translation and Transmission"

Robert K. Upchurch (Univ. of North Texas)

"Transmitting Monastic Ideals in Translations for the Laity: Ælfric's Old English *Life of Chrysanthus and Daria*"

This paper considers how Ælfric promotes among the laity a monkish vision of Anglo-Saxon society when he translates the Latin legend of the virgin spouses Chrysanthus and Daria into Old English for his *Lives of Saints*. First is an examination of Aldhelm's epitome of the Chrysanthus and Daria legend in the *De virgnitate* in order to throw into relief the extent to which monastic sensibilities pervade Ælfric's version. I then consider in the context of his preaching on marital chastity Ælfric's elevation of *clænnyss*, an Old English word meaning both "chastity" and "purity," as the highest virtue among the laity. To suggest ways in which English Christians might have imagined the legend of Chrysanthus and Daria to be relevant to their lives, I enumerate various definitions of chastity from the homilies and demonstrate how Ælfric alters his putative Latin source to invite literal and figurative interpretations of the legend. Literal asceticism is the cornerstone of the spiritual virginity or steadfast belief that makes the saints (and, by extension, the laity who are to emulate them) worthy to be preserved by God for eternity, a train of thought Ælfric sums up in his postscript with a bit of wordplay: those who steadfastly *gehealdað* (keep) their faith in this life will be *gehealdenne* (kept) by God in the next. The legend of Chrysanthus and Daria thus becomes for Ælfric a vehicle for spurring lay folk to greater asceticism and more orthodox Christianity, and so he reshapes it in order to transmit to them an idealized purity of body and belief.

IV. The Thirty-Eighth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 8-11, 2003. 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:

Twenty-First Symposium
on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

Session 53: "Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture"

Andrew Rabin (Univ. of Chicago)

"From *Æwda* to *Gewitnes*: Testimony and Subjectivity in the Old English Law Codes"

Although the scope of the Old English law codes surpasses that of other surviving Germanic legislation, and despite the fact that the Anglo-Saxon dooms are the only surviving vernacular juridical texts from the early middle ages, modern scholars generally have ignored these texts' potential to illuminate pre-Conquest understandings of self and society. To a certain extent, this critical neglect may be attributed to the laws' resistance to usual strategies for linking "historical" and "literary" texts. Not only does the dearth of specifically legal language or vocabulary hinder the codes' use in literary source study, but the complete absence of citation in surviving pre-Conquest case records makes it nearly impossible to determine their provenance or function with absolute certainty. Patrick Wormald, however, has suggested that the seemingly anomalous character of Old English legal codes points to their role as "symbolic" texts, expressing in metaphorical terms particular notions of regal authority and legal subjectivity.

This symbolic aspect of the legal text particularly defines the emphasis the law codes lay upon the *gewitnes*, a term encompassing both the witness himself and his testimony. Beginning with the laws of Hlothhere and Eadric and continuing to the Conquest, accounts of witnessing and testimony occasion the exploration of the individual's relationship with society and the characterization of the legal subject — the identity created through juridical discourse which defines one as subject of and to legal authority. Indeed, of the other major surviving Germanic law collections, none develop as complex or extensive statutes on witnessing as do the Anglo-Saxon dooms. As in *Beowulf*, the act of speaking before the court, be it the Danish royal court or an English court of law, defines both one's relationship to authority and one's identity in the eyes of authority. The witness testifies, not merely to what he knows, but to who he is.

This talk analyzes characterizations of the witness in the Old English law codes. Resisting the critical tendency to treat pre-Conquest law as monolithic, consistent, or unchanging, it examines how evolving depictions of testimony result in changing notions of legal subjectivity. In particular, it adopts Wormald's interpretation of the law codes as "symbolic texts" to investigate how the increasing emphasis on the written affects constructions of the legal subject. According to the Old English codes, valid testimony, as a form of discourse authenticated by the identity of the speaker, demands that the witness be possessed of an internally consistent, fundamentally knowable, unified self. Implicitly, this essentialized self may be interrogated, recorded, and archived by social or juridical authority. However, I argue that this naturalized self is a fiction produced by the rhetorical structure of the testimonial scene. Moreover, the qualities valued in the legal self are identical to those valued in the legal text: fixity, coherency, consistency, and atemporality. Accordingly, the characterization of the witness as "written" re-enacts the production of the legal text itself. As such, while I do not claim that the Old English laws necessarily act as direct or immediate sources for literary depictions of testimony, I argue that both law and literature frame the representation of testimony as a rhetorical scene where-

in the act of bearing witness produces a coherent, naturalized self subject to social, religious, and legal authority. Ultimately, then, this paper claims that the legal accounts of testimony idealize the subject as a unified, knowable text to be recorded, read, and archived by the law.

Melissa Putman Sprenkle (Florida Atlantic Univ.)

"Abjection and Identity Formation in *Soul and Body I* and *II*"

The Old English *Soul and Body* poems exhibit a kind of generic heterogeneity familiar to most Anglo-Saxonists (as well as to scholars of medieval vernacular texts in general). The textual roots and the functions of the poems are unclear. Echoes of Latin dialogue and debate poetry, Hiberno-Latin penitentials, and both Latin and vernacular homilies mingle with the phrases and cadences of heroic poetry, mixing high literary and oral traditions. The eschatological interests of the poems are expressed in detailed images of bodily decomposition that border on the scatological, and the language the soul uses to address the body suggests an inconsolable and obsessive self hatred. A context in which such a poem might be read or an audience to whom it might be directed is difficult for modern critics to imagine. Were listeners supposed to find the descriptions of decomposition entertaining or were they to be driven by fear of death to confess and convert?

The sermonic, though somewhat hysterical, tone of these poems tempts one to imagine their audience as silenced and obedient, a group receptive to monologue in ways that the audiences of epic are often imagined in contemporary literary theory. Approaching the poems using oral traditional theory would heighten the monologic powers of heroic themes and phrases while deemphasizing the importance of Latin literary sources but would posit the same audience. Setting aside questions of audience/author relationships to look at how the poems struggle with competing fantasies of monologue, this paper argues that the poems' representations of bodily abjection reveal a paradigm shift in identity formation processes. The I-You dynamic of Western discourses is disrupted by the poems' use of dual pronouns, and the body/soul dualism of Christianity is not comfortably expressed in the Anglo-Saxon lexicon describing manifestations of spirit. In the textual and linguistic hybridity of *Soul and Body I* and *II* one can see traces of conflict, suggesting that this shift in Anglo-Saxon subjectivity was felt as deeply violent.

Session 89: "The Cross in Anglo-Saxon England I"

Rolf H. Bremmer (Univ. Leiden)

"Old English 'Cross' Words"

Unlike the Continental West Germanic speaking peoples, the Anglo-Saxons did not borrow, upon their conversion, a form of the Latin word *crux, crucis* "cross." Instead, the Anglo-Saxons used native words such as *rod* "pole, stake," *galga* "pole, stake; gallows(?)," *beam*, *treow* "tree," or compounds with these elements to indicate the instrument upon which Christ suffered his death. Only in the eleventh century do we find some early if problematic instances of *cruc* and *cros*. In my paper, I review all these "cross" words from a lexicographic and cultural-semantic view point.

Tracey-Anne Cooper (Boston College)

"The Cross in Rule, Liturgy, Homily and Charm: Evidence of Cotton Tiberius A.iii"

Cotton Tiberius A.iii is an eleventh-century compilation manuscript, most probably from Christ Church, Canterbury, which contains ninety-nine texts and two illustrations. These texts are representative of the many different aspects of Late Anglo-Saxon intellectual culture, including the *Rule of Benedict*, the *Regularis Concordia*, prognostications, charms, a scientific treatise, homilies, prayers, and confessional material. There are also five texts specifically concerned with the adoration of the Cross. This paper examines these unusual texts with reference to other texts in Cotton Tiberius A.iii. The *Regularis Concordia* contains instructions for the adoration of the Cross on Good Friday. This highly dramatic service has an optional conclusion which involves placing the Cross in a sepulcher on the altar, until Easter Sunday. Two of the three prayers which are proscribed for this Good Friday service have been borrowed by the first of the texts specifically concerned with the Cross, which appear later in the manuscript. The first text is in Latin with Old English directions. These directions inform us that these "prayers" in adoration of the Cross are to be said as often as possible. The form of this first "prayer" is somewhat parallel to that in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, as is the second text, which has hitherto been referred to as a charm. This "charm," however, has the same format as the previous prayer, Old English directions for the performance of prayers interspersed with psalms and hymns. They also have the same basic purpose — protection. The Cross is asked in both the "prayer" and the "charm" to protect the supplicant from harm from both the devil and mortal men. In the first text the supplicant even lists parts of his body that he would like the Cross to protect. Thus this part of the text could perhaps be seen as a medical charm and not a

prayer. Scholars have pointed to the instruction at the beginning of the "charm," to turn around three times, as evidence that the text is not only a charm but that it also has a pagan origin. However, at the beginning of the Good Friday service, from the *Regularis*, the abbot prostrates himself three times before the Cross, and I am sure nobody has ever suggested that this is a pagan survival. The third of these texts gives four reasons to adore the Cross, prefiguring perhaps later numerological hymns and prayers relating the Cross to various theological groups of four. These reasons stress both the protective and redemptive powers of the Cross. The fourth prayer asks for protection from Christ through the Cross on all sides including without and within. The final prayer asks that the poor sinner might be protected in this world through the cross and therefore will be able to find redemption in the next.

These adorations of the Cross were clearly intended as a unit to provide protection against enemies both visible and invisible. In the mind of the compiler, there was no differentiation between the prayers and the so-called charm. The similarity in format and purpose indicate this, as does the occurrence of the first and second of these texts together in another manuscript. The problem in regarding these texts as non-unitary has arisen due to modern scholarly definitions of magic and religion. There are however, clear indications of manipulation in texts which have previously been referred to as prayers and supplication in texts labeled charms. Through an examination of these previously neglected texts in relation to those in the same manuscript which have been discussed at length, this paper aims at a re-evaluation of the roles and meaning of the Cross in Anglo-Saxon intellectual culture without the encumbrance of misleading and inappropriate scholarly categorizations.

Session 167: "The Cross in Anglo-Saxon England II"

Amy Airhart (Univ. of Toronto)

"Metatext and Meaning: *The Dream of the Rood* and the Ruthwell Cross"

The idea of a signifier comprises not only the object or concept being signified, but also functions within the assumption that the "reader" is capable of translating the sign. Further to this, signifiers are not to be mistaken for that which they indicate; the sign merely acts as an indicative guide. The signified is contained within a frame of signification. The function of signifiers becomes multiple when the sign itself takes on several methods of signification. The Cross in *The Dream of the Rood* and the Ruthwell Cross operate in just such a compound manner. The speaking Cross of *The Dream of the Rood* operates through a number of divergent techniques of signification: in its very existence as *the* Cross, in the voice with which it speaks to the dreamer, and in its role as guide within the dream vision. Its "voice" is not merely oral. Similarly, the non-oral communication of the Ruthwell Cross "speaks" in various ways. As a cross, it exists as a sign of the Crucifixion, and further is inscribed with both text and image to convey its message. The role of these signs, however, is ultimately silent; the divine communication of Christ is beyond the comprehension of mortals. I intend to demonstrate not only the several functions of signification employed by the two different crosses, but also that, as mere signs, they ultimately are unable to communicate the voice of the divine.

Session 402: "Anglo-Saxon Studies in Honor of Thomas D. Hill I"

Alice Sheppard (Pennsylvania State Univ.)

"Wisening Up Yourself: Knowledge and Subjectivity in the Old English *Wanderer*"

However it deals with the problem of speakers, the critical tradition of the Old English *Wanderer* tends to move along a single interpretive line: from problem to resolution. I argue that while we may wish to retain a single speaker, the diversity of sources and the many reflexes of different literary genres mitigate against this narrative trajectory. Rather, the language of the poem and its concern with collecting wisdom suggests that the knowledge exchanged in the *Wanderer* is both an end in itself and, most importantly, a means of accessing the question of what it means to be Anglo-Saxon. The cultural and social wisdom of the poem, together with its many sources and parallels, reveals several different glimpses of Anglo-Saxon subjectivities: masculine, Christian, heroic, and aristocratic. In essence, then, the poem does not tell the story of a single self without a lord; the text ranges across several different discourses of action and experience, each of which performs a different Anglo-Saxon self.

Thomas N. Hall (Univ. of Illinois, Chicago)

"Christ's Birth through Mary's Right Breast: An Echo of Carolingian Heresy in the Old English *Adrian and Ritheus*"

Question 41 in the late Old English sapiential dialogue known as *Adrian and Ritheus* reads: "Saga me hu wæs crist acenned of maria his meder. Ic þe secge, ðurc þæt swiðre breost" ("Tell me how Christ was born from his mother Mary. I tell you, through the right breast"). In their 1982 edition and commentary on this dialogue, James E. Cross and Thomas D. Hill explain that they are unable to identify any analogues

for this statement but propose two kinds of traditional ideas that may have influenced its formulation. The first is the folkloristic motif of a god or hero born in some extraordinary way, as in Minerva's birth from the head of Jove or Buddha's birth from the side of a virgin. The second is the docetic belief preserved in the Infancy Gospels which alleges that Christ never truly adopted human form but remained pure spirit and was thus never actually physically born. As a final stab at an explanation , Cross and Hill suggest that "the OE answer could be a crude attempt to emphasize the 'virginitas in partu' of Mary or be an echo of an heretical belief. But our writing around the topic above is a confession of our mystification."

This paper picks up where Cross and Hill left off in their discussion of this perplexing question and argues that their final hunch, involving both an attempt to support the "virginitas in partu" of Mary and an echo of a heretical belief, was essentially correct. In the course of the ninth-century debates over the nature of the virgin birth, Ratramnus of Corbie and Paschasius Radbertus both make reference to heretical beliefs current in Carolingian Germany which evidently sought to substantiate the doctrine of the virgin birth by claiming that Christ was born not through Mary's womb but through another part of her body such as between her ribs or through her side or stomach, thus leaving the womb intact. That beliefs of this nature were in circulation for some time is suggested by a reference which Berengar of Tours made in the eleventh century to "an old wives' tale that Christ was born from beneath his mother's armpit or through her ribs." Even closer to the statement in *Adrian and Ritheus* is the charge made by a Roman council in October 745 under Pope Zacharias against "the popular belief that Christ had been born through the right side of the Virgin." In proposing that *Adrian and Ritheus* 41 embodies a crude recollection of this heretical idea, the paper further discusses the traditional directional symbolism of the right (as opposed to the left) side and draws attention to a culturally remote but structurally sound analogue for the Old English statement in a fifteenth-century full-page illumination of the Ethiopic *Life of St. Anne* in which Mary emerges from Anne's right side.

Session 462: "Anglo-Saxon Studies in Honor of Thomas D. Hill II"

Andrew Galloway (Cornell Univ.)

"Holding Court:
The Earliest English Attestations"

The essay traces the origins of the phrase "holding court" (first in that form in ASC E 1154), and the twelfth-century notions and constructions of historical and other writing, indeed, in Erich Auerbach's sense, the "representation of reality" to which it is connected. After surveying a range of evidence on the emergence of holding court as a major "theatrical and legal event" in post-Conquest England, the essay notes that the Latin and French calques on the phrase (*tenere curiam* and *tenir curt*) appear only after the English phrase "hired healdan," and indeed often are based directly on that phrase, a coinage attested only in ASC E (first in the lost source to the First Continuator of the Peterborough Chronicle). This lexical precociousness and originality of the First Continuator and his lost source text are paralleled by a narrative and historiographical precociousness in the focus on holding court in the First Continuator. The annal of 1127 is scrutinized at length as an example of this writer's intimacy with court, his interest in its intrigues, his subtle understanding of its manipulations. The Second Continuator of ASC E, however, writing in the reign of Stephen, does not continue this interest in or intimacy with court, and his separation and loathing of the courtly world marks the beginning of the "long exile" of post-Conquest English writings from the royal court.

E. Gordon Whatley (Queens Coll. and Grad. Center, CUNY)

"Martyrdom and Men
in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*"

It is well known that Ælfric was writing his *Lives of Saints* (*ÆLS*) late in the closing decade of the tenth century at a time of developing military and social crisis in England, when Viking armies were encountering only occasional resistance from the English *fyrd* and extorting huge sums of tribute money. Commissioned by and for two of the leading men of Wessex, Æthelweard *ealdorman* and his son Æthelmær, *ÆLS* is a puzzling work to fit into this historical context. On the one hand, the largest group of legends in the strictly hagiographic portion of the collection (11 out of 26 by my count) concern laymen: kings and military types. This is understandable given that the dedicatees were members of the West Saxon military aristocracy. Problematic, however, is the fact that most of the military saints in *ÆLS* are martyrs, including most notably King Edmund who explicitly renounces violence, throws away his weapons and submits to torture and execution instead of fighting *his* Viking foe. This has induced one recent critic to argue that Ælfric was an advocate of non-violence and a Christian pacifist in his attitude towards the Danes ravaging England a century or more after Edmund. But another prominent cluster of the military legends in *ÆLS* (comprising Maccabees, Oswald, and Exaltation of the Cross) seems to contradict this view, by depicting and celebrating "just wars" against the enemies of God and his faithful people.

Further evidence has been adduced from among Ælfric's other works to indicate his commitment to the importance of military resistance to, rather than pacification of, the heathen *here*. This paper seeks to understand the apparent ambiguity of Ælfric's views on war and violence by exploring the Latin patristic sources to which, one assumes, Ælfric would have turned for guidance on this difficult issue. In the works of authorities such as Augustine of Hippo and Ambrose of Milan, for example, there are models for Ælfric's simultaneous advocacy of violence and non-violence, and a rationale for reconciling personal pacificism, expected of every Christian even in the face of death, with the necessary violence of the Christian state.

James W. Earl (Univ. of Oregon)

"Trinitarian Mentality: Augustine, Ælfric, and *The Dream of the Rood*"

Medieval exegesis, with its fourfold typologies of sacred history, was more than a method for interpreting the Bible, more even than a theory of history; it was a way of understanding time itself, and a world-view one could inhabit completely. Likewise in the Middle Ages the Trinity was more than a theological abstraction. It was an encompassing truth, an omnipresent reality, a structure (as well as a theory) of everything. For Augustine or Ælfric the Trinity was present in the same way that today we live in a world of matter, energy, and time (a physicist's trinity), or nature, culture, and language (a humanist's trinity). I am especially interested in the existential aspect of the doctrine, i.e., its nature as a global *mentalité* or *lebenswelt*. Even more especially I am interested in the role language plays in it. Since the Son is the Word, language is central to trinitarian mentality: the incarnate Word mediates between the transcendent and the immanent, or between the world of ideas and the world of sensory experiences. Among the many consequences of this understanding of language is the phenomenon we know in the rhetorical vocabulary as prosopopoeia, i.e., the trope of inanimate objects speaking.

Augustine's *De trinitate* provides the philosophical frame; the theology of the Word and its role in various mental trinities are laid out in IX.7-11 and XV.10-16. Though the Word is not to be identified with spoken language, spoken language is an image of the Word; both are defined as knowledge animated by love. The dualism of subject and object, or soul and body, mediated by language, is one of Augustine's many mental images of the Trinity. Because the world of ideas and the world of things meet in language, both are experienced as Word and words, in more than a rhetorical or metaphorical sense: "We behold then things corporeal, and have the true knowledge of things as it were as a word within us, and by speaking we beget it from within." Or, as Heidegger puts it, being is disclosed in language.

The Dream of the Rood provides a classic instance of prosopopoeia within this trinitarian *mentalité* and *lebenswelt*. Several of Augustine's great prosopopoeias in *Confessiones* and *De trinitate* put the Cross's speech in a proper theological context: "I spoke to all the things that are about me, all that can be admitted by the door of the senses, and clear and loud they answered, 'God is he who made us'; I asked these questions simply by gazing at these things, and their beauty was all the answer they gave." In this context, how can the Cross talk? Why does Christ not? How can creation weep, and why are human beings "reordberend" even when silent or asleep? For that matter, how can a poem talk? Trinitarian theology has its own theory of language and its own poetics, in which prosopopoeia is not so much a rhetorical trope, as a consequence of the Word's role in the Godhead and in the tripartite structure of human mentality.

Session 563: "The Study of Isidore in Anglo-Saxon England"

Claudia Di Sciacca (Univ. degli Studi di Torino)

"'Where Are They Now?': Lost Traces of Isidore's *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England"

In my paper I analyze the combination of the *ubi sunt* motif as derived from the *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville with the soul-and-body material which features in a distinctive group of Old English anonymous homilies. The association of the soul-and-body legend with the *ubi sunt* topos has already been noted in a number of studies and traced back to the common hortatory intent and didactic function of the two motifs. In my essay I attempt a more thorough investigation, hoping to show how such a combination was a most effective device in the hands of Anglo-Saxon homilists which allowed them to make the most of the emotional and thematic effects the two motifs produced.

My analysis focuses on at least two anonymous Old English homilies which contain both the *ubi sunt* topos and the soul-and-body legend, namely the so-called "Macarius Homily" and Vercelli IV. As I have shown elsewhere (Di Sciacca 2002), the latter two homilies together with Napier XXIX may be said to represent a distinctive subgroup within the Old English soul-and-body corpus. Now I attempt a comparative reading of these three homilies with Vercelli XXII, which is the Old English text most indebted to Isidore's *Synonyma* since it relies for more than two-thirds of its length on the Isidorian source. As I hope to show, there is at least a close textual parallel linking Vercelli XXII, on the one hand, and the "Macarius Homily" and Napier XXIX, on the other. Furthermore, some elements

concerning the manuscript context of the homilies in question seem to hint at a common "library" or collection of source texts, on which the pre-Reform Anglo-Saxon homilists arguably drew. Thereby I try to make some suggestions concerning a possible literary and theological milieu of the *Synonyma* in Anglo-Saxon England.

Matthew Hussey (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

"Boniface's Books: Three *Synonyma* Manuscripts and their Use in the Anglo-Saxon Mission"

In this paper, I examine the literary works of Boniface (his *Enigmata*, *Ars grammatica*, and one of his letters) and two groups of manuscripts connected to Boniface and the Anglo-Saxon mission in Germany. Though Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma* is found in these three sets of books, the varied extant manuscripts provide very different contexts, which can be read to illuminate the ways the text was used by Boniface, both in England and in the mission. The paper sets out first to demonstrate Boniface's use and dissemination of the text, and then reflects upon how the generic multiplicity of the *Synonyma* emerges in manuscript copies. I then conclude with a consideration of the multiple purposes of the text and how they intersect with the varied roles of student, teacher, and preacher that the *peregrinatio* Boniface played in the Anglo-Saxon mission.

Philip G. Rusche (Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas)

"Isidore's *Etymologies* and Old English Glosses: The Study of Isidore at Canterbury"

In the first part of this paper I discuss the relationship between Old English glosses and Isidore's *Etymologies*, particularly in manuscripts from Canterbury. It is not unusual to find long Latin quotations as glosses side by side with short, one- or two-word glosses in Old English. The longer glosses usually represent a more detailed linguistic or explanatory commentary while the Old English words provide lexical translations of the Latin text. While it is well known that Isidore's *Etymologies* are the source for many of the longer Latin glosses, it is also true that many of the Old English glosses themselves can also be traced to the *Etymologies*. In other words, many Old English glosses are *not* translations of the Latin words in the text of authors such as Aldhelm or the Bible, but are rather translations from various passages from the *Etymologies*. Recognition of this possibility will be important for anyone working on the meaning of various Old English words or translations through comparison of their Latin equivalents as given in reference works such as the *Dictionary of Old English.*

The second part of this paper looks briefly at one of the ways in which the massive text of the *Etymologies* was known to the Anglo-Saxons. The First Cleopatra Glossary and the Antwerp-London Glossary both preserve traces of an epitome of the text, and there are some suggestions that it can be dated to the late seventh or early eighth century. In keeping with this dating, the extracts in the epitome show a concentration on Isidore's Greek words. One entry includes a Greek word not found in Isidore's text but that was perhaps added to the epitome by someone with a knowledge of Greek.

Other Sessions

Session 23: "Anglo-Saxon Kingship in Life and Literature"

Virginia Cole (Cornell Univ.)

"Generosity and Kingship: Ring-Giving and Alms-Giving in Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper focuses on the kingship of the Northumbrian bretwalda Oswald (634-42). In the competitive environment of the seventh century, successful rulers were those who in some measure fulfilled contemporary ideals of kingship of which there were several. One was the Germanic warrior king — a ring-giver. Another, just appearing on the scene in this period, was the Christian, just, protective king — an alms-giver. While these ideals were not entirely mutually exclusive, neither were they tension-free, especially when it came to royal generosity. Oswald's experiences, activities, and success provide some useful insights into the practical application of these ideals in a period of transition.

Brian Broin (Marquette Univ.)

"Tenth Century Adaptation of Christ's Two Natures for the Depiction of Anglo-Saxon Kings"

The Anglo-Saxon "Disappearing Christ" iconographic motif, depicting Christ's body split so that the upper portion is no longer visible, is a possible result of "split body" depictions of earlier Continental kings, indicating a surprising interchange of motif between representations of kings and Christ. The Ottonian crown of the Holy Roman Empire, for example, accompanies its Ascension-type depictions of kings with Solomonic texts referring to right rule and stresses the dual nature of kings through having the kings on the crown hold scrolls before them that split their bodies in two at chest level. Anglo-Saxon Ascension texts (not least Cynewulf's *Christ II*, in which kingship is a major theme) often portray the return of Christ as the triumphal entry of a victorious ruler into his kingdom. Homilies, such as

one by Ælfric for the Ascension season, reciprocate this by recommending that Anglo-Saxon kings emulate Christ, not only as earthly vicars straddling two worlds, but also as good judges. The Charter of the New Minster, a document central to the Benedictine Reform, includes a frontispiece in which the ascending Christ appears to be refounding his Church in King Edgar. The charter's text similarly parallels the glory of the ascending Christ with Edgar's responsibilities as a king, ruling through the permission of Christ. The Anglo-Saxon coronation orders, which are based on earlier Continental models, parallel the kings being crowned with the ascending Christ. The dedication-page of the *Regularis Concordia*, which pays particular attention to the theme of Christ's Ascension, portrays King Edgar sitting in majesty like the ascending Christ, his body divided by a scroll. In this manner we find regal concepts of the Ascension entering the political mainstream through the idea of dual-natured kings modeled on the ascending Christ.

Session 33: *"Beowulf* and Translation"

Michael D. C. Drout (Wheaton College)

"J. R. R. Tolkien's Translation of *Beowulf*"

J. R. R. Tolkien made a complete prose and a partial verse translation of *Beowulf*, but neither of these translations has yet been published. Both translations are of substantial interest to literary scholarship, not only for their aesthetic worth (which, particularly in the case of the poetic translation, is substantial) but also for their influence on the scholarly history of *Beowulf*. For even though Tolkien did not publish the translations during his lifetime, the interpretations of the poem that they illustrate did influence (both directly and indirectly) two generations of Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

In this paper I discuss the translations (which are included in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tolkien A 29), paying particular attention to the most important cruces not otherwise addressed in Tolkien's published commentary on *Beowulf* (i.e., "The Monsters and the Critics," "On Translating *Beowulf*," and *Finn and Hengest*). There are in fact several stages of revision of both translations, including manuscript versions, an original typescript, and an amanuensis typescript (probably by Christopher Tolkien). The amanuensis typescript is complete; the verse translation is complete through line 600 and then fragmentary. The original typescript has been edited in the hand of C. S. Lewis.

In discussing these materials I also draw on other unpublished commentaries on *Beowulf* found in Bodleian Library, Tolkien A28, A29 and A30. I also explain the characteristics of the verse translation and touch upon the evolution of both meter and content through a series of drafts.

C. M. Adderley (Missouri Valley College)

"To *Beot* or Not to *Beot:* Boasting in *Beowulf*"

Translators seldom make enough of a distinction between the Anglo-Saxon words that describe heroic boasting. We tend to think of all boasting as being bad. There were (at least) two Old English words meaning "to boast": *gilpan* and *beotan*. Beowulf gilps when he's speaking to Hrothgar of his past deeds, but Unferth uses the word *beotan* to describe his swimming competition with Breca. The difference is that Beowulf, even though he's speaking largely of himself, is giving an accurate portrayal of events; Unferth is not. A *gilp* is an accurate, heroic boast; a *beot* is a boast of which one cannot be certain of the outcome. When Beowulf faces the dragon at the end, he says that he cannot boast about the outcome, and the word he uses is *gilp*. So, facing the dragon, he deliberately rejects gilping in favor of a more circumspect analysis of future events. This implies that he is certain of the outcome when he faces Grendel, and not so when he faces the dragon. Facing the dragon, therefore, is a far braver thing to do. Being unaware of the distinction between *gilpan* and *beotan* therefore actually erodes the possibility of understanding the poem fully, so I'd suggest that translators use two words, *gilp* and *boast*, to describe the boasting of the Anglo-Saxon heroes.

Frederic Lardinois (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Whose *Gifstol* is it Anyway?
***Beowulf* 168-69 Revisited"**

One of the most prominent cruxes in *Beowulf* is the (in)famous *gifstol* episode (lines 169-69). While almost every single word in the lines has been analyzed in minute detail, the exact meaning of the passage as a whole still remains elusive. Generally, these lines have been read as meaning that Grendel was not allowed to greet (or touch) the *gifstol* (which could be read as Hrothgar's throne, or, as some commentators have argued, the throne of God) because either God or Hrothgar did not allow him to do so, or because Grendel did not want to.

My paper highlights the arguments that have been raised during the last century and then proposes a new solution to this crux. So far, the most elegant solutions to the problem have been brought forward by Alfred Bammesberger and Fred C. Robinson. Their reading is based on a paper by A. Pogatscher from 1895 that argues for line 169 to be emended to *maþþum formetode*. Robinson's translation therefore reads: "By no means did he [Grendel] have to show respect for the throne; he despised the precious thing."

While I strongly agree with this emendation, my paper analyzes the historical roots and possible mean-

ings of *formetode* and the implications of different possible translations within the limited context of these lines, as well as within the wider scope of the poem, especially focusing on the character of Grendel.

Session 80: "Tolkien and the Discourses of Medieval Culture I: Philosophy and Theology"

Neal K. Keesee (Christchurch School, Christchurch, Virginia) and John Wm. Houghton (Episcopal High School of Baton Rouge)

"Tolkien, King Alfred and Boethius: Platonist Views of Evil in *The Lord of the Rings*"

In all three versions of his groundbreaking study of Tolkien's mythopoesis, T. A. Shippey has argued that *The Lord of the Rings* combines two contradictory views of evil, one rooted in a Boethian understanding of evil as non-existent, the other based in the semi-Manichean heroic perception (associated for Shippey with King Alfred, as an interpreter of Boethius) that evil is an active force which must be actively resisted. What Shippey sees as Tolkien's modern juxtaposition of two philosophical positions held in tension by ambiguity seems to us to be, rather, a self-consciously paradoxical view common to the Platonic tradition of which both Boethius and Alfred are parts.

Session 82: "Approaches to *Beowulf* I"

J. D. Thayer (Gonzaga Univ.)

***"Swa sceal man don*: Wealhtheow's Gnomic Wisdom"**

This paper explores the role of Wealhtheow in Heorot during her long speech and her audience's response to that speech. This paper is, in part, a response to a roundtable discussion on translating social ritual that took place at Kalamazoo in May 2002 at which the reception of the queen's speech was debated. I argue that the queen commands the ritual space of the hall during the ritual time of gift-giving, and it is her use of gnomic language that signals readers/listeners that we are to take her words very seriously. It has been argued that because her speech does not induce a response from the men of the hall she has been ignored. However, the quiet hall is a sign of gravity, not misogyny. Moreover, while the queen instructs Hrothgar and others about what a man should do, she is doing what a queen should do; she is performing her duty as peace-weaver, but in an *active* way, not merely by being married off to a neighboring tribe as a symbol of an oath. She emerges from her speech as the character who is most aware of the dangers facing the Danes, and one who thinks about, and plans for, the future instead of dwelling on the past like most male characters. The paper argues, finally, that characters who utter gnomic statements do so largely during moments of social ritual and that we may see the gnomes as markers of such ritual.

Eileen A. Joy (Univ. of North Carolina, Asheville)

"The Elsewhere Ghosts of *Beowulf*"

We have a wealth of scholarship on *Beowulf* that has provided a vibrant picture of the ways in which the poem performs ideological tensions and anxieties of Anglo-Saxon culture in upheaval and transition, and while these readings have greatly enriched our understanding of the construction of meaning in Anglo-Saxon culture, they have also abjected the concerns of modern history somewhat outside the traditional hermeneutics for interpreting the poem's possible meanings. This paper makes the argument that *Beowulf* is a poem in which it is possible to glimpse the posthumous Other arising in the present — not only in the present of the main events of the poem itself, but also in the present of the Anglo-Saxon culture in which the poem was first composed as a literate text, and in our own present time. Following Walter Benjamin's, Dominick LaCapra's, and Pierra Nora's work on the relationship between memory and history (in "Theses on a Philosophy of History," *History and Memory After Auschwitz,* and "Between Memory and History," respectively), this paper provides an analysis of the poem as a refraction of constellated images of remembering and forgetting that underline the always tenuous relationship between history and memory as well as the perils of glossing over the signifying gestures of those figures — literary, historical, or otherwise — who are always departing into the past while simultaneously returning to the present with their urgent messages. The poem is ultimately seen as holding open a social space within which the very anxiety produced by the tension between history's and memory's points of incommensurability can be performed and played out, while also enacting an endless lamentation or grieving that is tensely suspended between acting out a traumatic past and attempting to work through it — a dilemma that resonates with what might be called the ethical dilemmas of modern society (e.g., how most properly to "act out" and "work through" the "Holocaust").

Chris Vinsonhaler (Independent Scholar)

"Inflectional Approaches to *Beowulf*"

Questions abound regarding the compositional origin of *Beowulf* in literary or oral-traditional pro-

cesses. But the problem of *Beowulf's* aurality is a subject that also merits attention. Whether the poem was originally a "script" to be read aloud or a transcript of oral composition, we can agree that *Beowulf* in some context was meant to be heard. Nevertheless, this area of relative certainty subsides into uncertainty: We can never certainly know the aesthetic which governed aural performance.

The question of aurality invites at least two approaches. Examples like the Yugoslavian *guslar* suggest that *Beowulf* may have been sung or chanted. Another possibility, given the contravariety of syntax, alliteration, rhythm, and enjambment, is that *Beowulf* is built upon an inflectional aesthetic. Either approach finds antecedents in tradition. If we are justified in searching oral tradition the world over for exemplars of the *Beowulf*-poet, we are equally justified in examining the oral traditions of England herself — especially those which bear, in the words of Walter Ong, a "high oral residue": the psalms of King James Bible, Shakespeare's dramatic poetry, and of course the English folktale.

Given the unavoidable hypothetical constraints, the essential task is to articulate ways in which these divergent performance styles govern interpretive possibilities. Where chant and song styles typically sustain a fixed emotional pitch, inflectional performance styles heighten such elements as irony, vocal characterization, contradiction, and pacing.

Lisa Makros (Arizona State Univ.)

"Dwelling on Dwellings:
The Liminal Living Spaces of Danes,
Dragons, and Monsters in *Beowulf*"

Building upon earlier works by Kathryn Hume, Sarah Lynn Higley, Alvin Lee, and Arnold van Gennep, my paper explores the connections between physical dwelling spaces and their surroundings, boundaries and thresholds, and transitional language. Assisted by psychological-archaeological and cultural materialist methodologies, I demonstrate how liminality emerges as an epistemological system by which deeper layers of the poem can be revealed.

The foci of my analyses are Heorot, Grendel's mere, and the dragon's barrow. Each of these "dwelling spaces" exists on multiple levels. Old English poetry both praises the hall as a physical structure of warmth and safety and emphasizes its elaborate hierarchal social system of law and order. The hall system embraces the ideals of human civilization and juxtaposes, in the sense of Bede's famous sparrow, the dichotomies of external/internal, laws/creations, and man/nature. The primitive, watery space of the Grendels exists "in-between" the realms of monsters and humans. The mere itself, the home of Cain's exiled descendants, is the Jungian crossing-over of possibilities. A burning lake complete with waterfall and sea serpents, it is an unnatural occurrence, symbolizing a perverted space where the evil and supernatural conjoin with the natural and the civilized. Finally the earthen dragon's barrow epitomizes the language that binds and separates, the interconnectivity of a space is that both created and artificial and set in the natural world. Like the mere, it is both civilized and primitive. Through the use of its treasures, and the borderline between the beautiful and the beneficial, the barrow encompasses the liminal transition between the Last Survivor and the dragon. Ultimately, the liminality of language itself (and the problems inherent with translation), present a slippery threshold that binds the three types of dwellings together.

Session 111: "Judgment, Law, and Order in the Early Middle Ages II: Art Historical and Archaeological Sources"

Sarah Semple (Oxford Univ.)

"Illustrations of Damnation
in Late Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts"

London, BL, Harley 603, is the earliest of three English copies of the Utrecht Psalter, a Carolingian masterpiece composed in the early ninth century at Hautvilliers near Reims. Exploration of how the compositions of the Harley artists deviated from those of the Utrecht Psalter has formed the basis of several excellent studies. Martin Carver used Harley 603 to examine whether contemporary Anglo-Saxon artifacts and building styles were represented in Late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illustration, and Judith Duffey identified that the unusual and inventive drawings of artist F contained references to royal, political, and monastic life and were thus of great importance to historians.

This paper considers the innovative treatment of hell and damnation in Harley 603 found within the work of artist F and in a comparable composition from Cotton Tiberius B.v. These unique portrayals of hell represent common beliefs and practices prevalent in Anglo-Saxon England at the time, and the artist is suggested to have been influenced by the secular world of judicial process and the folk-culture of popular beliefs and practices regarding landscape. In his illustrations, artist F was portraying aspects of a highly defined late Anglo-Saxon conception of landscape, within which the damned had both a physical and a metaphysical place.

Session 150: "Pedagogy Then and Now"

Susan Oldrieve (Baldwin-Wallace College)

"Un-Covering Old English Texts: Evaluating Heaney's Translation of *Beowulf* in an Undergraduate Old English Course"

Making Old English and Anglo-Saxon literature accessible to typical midwestern undergraduates can be done. In an attempt to introduce average Ohio students to Old English (and to get at least ten students in the class so it would make), and to make the study of Old English texts more attractive to our average undergraduate, I designed a course that capitalized on our students' growing interest in creative writing. The first nine weeks of the course were dedicated to learning Old English, using Mitchell and Robinson's *A Guide to Old English* with help from Peter Baker's *Old English Aerobics*.

The second half of the course was dedicated to the students' own creative translation projects. First, each student devised his or her own criteria for what a good translation of a work of Anglo-Saxon literature should be. The second step in the process was to apply those criteria to an evaluation of Seamus Heaney's *Beowulf*. Each student had to write an essay evaluating Heaney's translation, with reference to specific passages and lines from the text. This exercise not only allowed them to test and adjust their criteria and to clarify the goals for their own translations, but also helped to build their confidence as translators.

Finally, the students completed their own translations of Old English works, and we received grant money from our school for the students to build a webpage where they could publish their translations. That project is currently in progress.

Stressing the creative and evaluative aspects of the translation project empowered the students to make the texts their own, helped them to engage more deeply with the texts and the culture that informs them, and gave them the motivation to get past the difficulties of learning a new language in order to discover the beauty of the literature.

Session 224: "St. Andrew in Anglo-Saxon England"

Frederick M. Biggs (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Ælfric's Andrew: Apostle or Saint?"

This paper investigates the homily on the nativity of Saint Andrew (*Catholic Homilies* I.38) to consider what it reveals about Ælfric's attitude toward the apocrypha. It considers the structure of the work as well as its relationship to its sources and situates it in the context both of Ælfric's other writings and of the larger Anglo-Saxon reception of this material.

Session 237: "Conquerors as Other: The Anglo-Saxons in Post-Conquest Literature"

Katherine Olson (Columbia Univ.)

"A Saxon Woman in Britain: The Representation of Renwein in Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace, and Lawman"

This essay examines the representation of Renwein, the Saxon daughter of Hengist, in three post-Conquest medieval texts — Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae,* Wace's *Roman de Brut,* and Lawman's *Brut* — in order to consider the changing perception and representation of the Saxons from the 1130s to the end of the twelfth century. Geoffrey, Wace, and Lawman all situate their works within the tradition of the translation of British history, yet they all have different agendas, which are formed by the national and political composition of their audiences and their own backgrounds.

Renwein provides a disruption in the narrative of all three historiographies in which the authors explore, through the convenient façade of gender, the problems associated with portraying the Saxons and with the often murky political, social, and linguistic relationship between the conqueror and the conquered. Through a close reading of the representation of Renwein in each work, I explore how each author's choices of language, genre, and details reflect both his audience and his sense of the role the Saxons will or should play in the formation of national post-Conquest identity. Because her gender can excuse or explain her destructive behavior, Renwein acts as a representative Saxon through whom each author can suggest his fears about the Saxons and work through their proper place in the collective memory and myth of the British.

Michael Wenthe (Yale Univ.)

"Saxon Otherness as Opposition and Resemblance in the *Historia Regum Britanniae*"

In his *History of the Kings of Britain* — really a history of the Britons as a single people — Geoffrey of Monmouth explores the questions of inclusion and exclusion that affect the formation of identity. For the Britons to be Britons, they must make decisions about who is already one of them and who may eventually join their people; and for the Britons to rule over Britain, they must exclude those who challenge their authority, often making exclusions on ethnic grounds. National identity depends on the oppositions created through exclusion: such familiar binaries as Gentile and Jew, Christian and pagan, or Briton and Saxon may simplify the real multiplicity of possible identities, but they strike at the truth that identity is known, is recog-

nized as such and not other, by its contrary. For this reason, Geoffrey's history of the Britons is always also a history of the Britons' foils, the most troubling of whom may be the Saxons who repeatedly threaten the Britons on their own soil. Yet the simple binary opposition that sets Saxon otherness against a discrete, integrated British selfhood constantly risks breaking down, presenting serious challenges to the naive identities promulgated and maintained by British leaders. This paper examines three episodes of Saxon-British interaction to consider their implications for British identity, as the apparently odious Saxons are embraced as lovers or welcomed as fellow soldiers, especially when they take sides during a British civil war as external props to an internal crisis of identity.

Kathleen Davis (Princeton Univ.)

"Vital Signs: Anglo-Saxon History in *Athelston*"

The fourteenth-century romance *Athelston* may seem a disappointment for Anglo-Saxonists. It offers no steadfast martial hero of Brunanburh fame, no clear-headed lawmaker who unified England through conquest. Moreover, its treason plot takes a clear interest in fourteenth-century politics, its quick reference to St. Edmund is apparently confused or anachronistic, and Athelston himself verges on a stock character. Nonetheless, tenth-century events are vital not only to this romance's process of conceptualizing a unified and stable pre-Conquest England, but also to its negotiation of the historical breach of the Conquest, which, by the fourteenth century, could no longer be imagined in the simple terms of "us" and "them." Indeed, *Athelston* refuses the politics of kinship, insisting instead upon the sworn allegiance of diverse kin groups.

The romance character of Athelston is, like the historical Athelstan, a unifier of sorts. He binds his "weddyd breþeryn" of "dyuers cuntre" to England's land, Church, and political institutions, and in so doing binds these things to each other and to himself. The description of Athelston and his three sworn brothers as messengers, who "wolden yn Yngelond lettrys bere," underscores the fluidity of their identities as they criss-cross England and stresses the importance of writing to unifying England's diversity. Tenth-century England is being remembered here not as a singular realm of Anglo-Saxons who had long since quashed the Britons, but as a diverse group knitted into a political unit through a delicate balance of loyalties and of Church and State — not a bad description of Athelstan's achievement, even if it does ignore his military methods. The fourteenth-century English, self-conscious of their history and thus of their own diversity, and aware of their close blood ties to the French with whom they fought, needed a legitimizing English past: not an ethnically simple past based on natural unity, but one of complex political organization that could survive a breach.

With the breach of Wymound's treason *Athelston* intensifies its focus on the relation of political loyalty and kinship, which it narrates through the entrenched metaphor of the body politic. Wymound's deceit causes not only spiritual interdiction for the nation and near destruction of political alliance, but also — with Athelston's deadly kick to the unborn son in his wife's womb — what would appear to be a fatal miscarriage of State. As is characteristic of romance, however, *Athelston*'s plot weaves a pattern of doubles, which includes not only two messenger-Athelstons but two pregnant wives. Athelston's sister Edith, after enduring trial by ordeal to attest her husband's innocence, delivers St. Edmund, whom Athelston promptly names his heir, thus negating the breach in lineage caused by Wymound's breach of faith. It has been noted that Anglo-Saxon history also offers (at least) two Athelstans and two Edmunds, one of whom succeeds King Athelstan. More importantly, however, Anglo-Saxon history — replete with struggles, difference, and even ambivalent kings — offers the space for writing a history necessary to fourteenth-century "England."

Session 266: "Inscription and Order: The Anglo-Saxon World"

Martin Foys (Hood College)

"Living on the Edge:
The Anglo-Saxon *Mappa Mundi*"

The Cottonian *mappa mundi* may be "justly famous," but is rarely discussed. In part the relative obscurity of the oldest English graphic representation of the world derives from an academic inability to assess the content of the map clearly in terms of sources and analogues. Unable to fit the map into a clear category and stemmatic tradition, scholars since the nineteenth century have more or less left the map by the wayside. In contrast this paper, informed by new theoretical discussions of new media and virtual reality, argues how the map in fact needs to be understood as a synthetic discourse — as a graphic space in which a number of cultural and ideological variables interact to reveal Anglo-Saxon struggles with the past that forms their own marginalized cartographic identity. In the map, we see efforts to bring England in from the edge in two ways: through a de-emphasis on Jerusalem and Rome, the literary and physical centers of the *mappa mundi*, and through representations of other edges of the world, most notably the south and the eastern margins of the map. In this effort, the Cotton Map's inscriptions (and at times pointed gaps in them) play an important part — through them one can discover how Anglo-Saxon England charted notions of geographic

and cultural desire through the simulation of a virtual world.

Session 271: "Medieval Languages and Linguistics"

Andrew Troup (California State Univ., Bakersfield)

"Teaching Old English at the Small State College"

Ten years ago I completed the Ph.D. with a dissertation on Old English syntax. Ever since then I have tried to offer Old English language as a formal course at the small state college where I teach. I finally achieved my goal last winter (2002). In my paper, I discuss the obstacles I encountered in implementing the course and explain how I overcame them. My results should be helpful to other medievalists working at small institutions who wish to offer courses of a specialized nature.

California State University, Bakersfield (CSUB), my school, enrolls just over six thousand students. We are the only four-year-degree-granting institution within a radius of one hundred miles. Approximately eighty-five percent of the majors in my department, English, intend to become high school teachers. Only about one percent plan to enter a doctoral program. Very few students or faculty perceived a need for a course in Old English, and yet I found a way to teach the language to a class of sixteen students. With a list of problems and solutions — as well as a detailed syllabus — I demonstrate here to other medievalists how they can successfully implement similar courses.

Session 273: "Approaches to *Beowulf* II"

Jeffrey Runokivi (Univ. of Toledo)

"Scyld Scefing as Culture Bearer and Divine Ancestor"

Beowulf begins with a 52-line preamble that has little to do with the hero of the poem at all. These beginning 52 lines concern an enigmatic figure and the subject of many other references in other Germanic poems, tales, and royal genealogies, Scyld Scefing. To add to the mystery, the end of the "Scyld episode" also corresponds with the first "silence" in the manuscript. The next eleven lines draw a connection between Scyld and Hrothgar by listing Scyld's descendants and a few of their deeds. The question that comes to mind is, "Why?"

The characteristics of this first section of *Beowulf* seem to be setting up Hrothgar's royal pedigree. It is my contention that this segment of the poem attempts to place Hrothgar within the framework of the Skjolding (Scylding) dynasty of Denmark, a line that runs from the mythical Scyld/Skjold to Gorm the Old. To my mind, what it also does is continue the practice of establishing divine lineage in royal genealogies, a practice that continued even into the Christian era in the North.

In my paper I discuss the connections and comparisons between mythical Scyld/Skjold and the divine figure Ing/Frej. Both are associated with fertility and warfare. Both are strongly connected with travel by ship, ships being an icon that stretches back to the Germanic Bronze Age at least. Both are also connected with Sacral Kingship and display the aspect of "Culture Bearer." Scyld, in all sources that speak of him at any length, is said to have come to the Danish people as a homeless wretch in a ship, sometimes with a sheaf of wheat, other times with a cargo of treasure. Ing, when He is spoken of, is mentioned as a figure that travels about by wagon. However, in the *Rune Poem* it is mentioned that the wagon travels over the water. It is probable that in this case "wagon" is a kenning for "ship" which relates it to the "wet path." The *Rune Poem* also mentions that the East Danes were the first to know this divine figure. Of course, the connection between Ing and Scandinavian Yngvi-Freyr is a long contested one. However, I think that there are enough similarities between both of these figures — linguistic, functional, and symbolic — to say that they are the same God, spoken of in different eras and places. This Germanic Fertility God was far too important during the Viking era to have simply sprung from the fancies of Snorri Sturlusson. This is where the author of the Scyld Episode in *Beowulf* gets the divine connection for his royal pedigree for Hrothgar.

To this task I intend to examine some of the primary sources that speak to these aspects of both Scyld and Ing, such as *Beowulf*, the *Rune Poem*, and *Widsið*. To guard against the draw of complete fancy I also examine some of the most current secondary sources as well as seminal works concerning the subject.

Andrew Pfrenger (Univ. of Connecticut)

"Wulf and the Wylfings: The Missing Link in *Beowulf*"

In lines 2961-98 the *Beowulf*-poet gives a detailed history of Wulf and Eofor's slaying of Ongentheow, yet the passage is dominated by the poet's concern for the survival of Wulf and the subsequent gifts granted the two brothers. This serves, I would argue, as the impetus for the poet's interweaving of historical fact and narrative fiction. Most of the scholarship on Wulf and Eofor focuses only on the significance of their names, not on who they are and what other function they might serve in the poem. My paper offers a possible explanation for the detailed account of Ongentheow's battle with the brothers Wulf and Eofor. I believe that a careful examination of this passage in conjunction with lines 459-62 will show that Wulf, granted huge tracts of land and

valuable treasures by Hygelac, is the founder of the power Wylfing dynasty, with whom Ecgtheow had some trouble. If we accept Wulf as the founder of this dynasty, all of the characters and histories of the poem become interconnected by the events revealed in the final moments of the poem.

Rodger Wilkie (St. Thomas Univ., New Brunswick)

"Beowulf, Cuchulainn, and the Wildness of the Hero: A Shared Motif in *Beowulf* and the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*"

This paper explores the character of Beowulf by comparing the pattern of his life to that of the Irish hero Cuchulainn as told in the *Táin Bó Cuailnge*. The paper focuses on the necessity of wildness in the hero — a trait that sets him outside the bounds of society, yet without which the society he defends cannot survive. This pattern of heroic wildness is evident in the *Táin*, and through a reading of *Beowulf* in the light of Irish epic, one can identify many elements of the pattern in the Anglo-Saxon poem. This paper's methodology is comparative, and its conclusions are outlined below.

Each character approaches the society for which he fights from outside, is perceived as a threat, is introduced to the king and offers his protection, and then stands alone through a period of darkness while other warriors lie down. Each initiates the defense of his adopted society by engaging in unarmed combat with an enemy whose remains are taken to otherworld locations by women. Each destroys all or most of the weapons that come to hand, and is given the king's own war gear. Finally, in each character, the heroic wildness seems to reach its purest form in a battle-rage that shows itself in a display of light. This luminescent rage is dissipated through the offices of both the queen and king, and the dissipation of this rage, in turn, is necessary for the survival of the society that each hero defends.

Session 282: "Medieval Archaeology, New Light on Old Problems IV: Art, Identity, and Style"

Genevieve Fisher (Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology)

"Producing Identities in Early Anglo-Saxon England"

The study of labor, as a locus of social practice, offers the opportunity to examine how these acts were sites of expression for those engaged in their performance. The mundane daily labor of textile manufacture was a technology that created individuals through particular bodily experiences and relationships, thereby producing identities. Anglo-Saxon literary texts present spinning and weaving as female activities, and finds from early Anglo-Saxon burial contexts support this stereotype. However, reading archaeological finds of textile implements simply as expressions of gendered identity risks masking the diversity of individual experience and denies early Anglo-Saxon women agency and authority over their own identities. In finds of spindle whorls from settlement and cemetery sites, we can see how an association with this initial stage of cloth production articulated, sometimes simultaneously, concerns of age, disability, status, privileged knowledge, and gender.

Session 305: *"Beowulf:* Are We Talking to the Poem?"

Peter J. Fields (Midwestern State Univ.)

***"Beowulf* 424b: *ond Nu wiþ Grendel Sceal:* Restoring the Importance of 'Now' and 'Must' in *Beowulf*"**

Translating *sce(a)l* in *Beowulf* as a future modal ("shall") is a popular concession to modern sensibility. However, as the frequent occasion of *nu* in the poem indicates, the moments of decision in the poem are here and now, rather than deferred to the future. Beowulf does not speak of what is going to happen, but rather of what he *must* do "now." Moreover, what *nu ic* must do, or be, leads from the indicative mood to the elusive role of the subjunctive in *Beowulf*, inasmuch as *nu* and *sceal* ultimately strive against, and derive their meaning from, an over-arching principle that conditions human choice. At the same time, Beowulf is notable for his peculiar aloneness, a sense of personal mission that has the force of fate itself. Modern "shall" amounts to postponement, while OE *sceal* reflects a dire urgency and centers on the moment. Beowulf's use of *nu* and *sceal* represents personal will taking the form of impersonal fate, a dynamic proposition that Beowulf regards as yielding to something larger than himself.

Benjamin Slade (Johns Hopkins Univ.)

***"Þrym Gefrunon . . . Helle Gemundon:* Indogermanic *Śruti* and Christian *Smṛti* in the Epistomology of *Beowulf*"**

In the twentieth century *Beowulf* has usually been understood as constructed within the Christian tradition, though the poem itself concerns pre-Christian "heathen" characters. This paper suggests that it is more illuminating to read *Beowulf* as originating from within the very heroic society it depicts; and thus as portraying and applauding the pre-Christian "heroic" philosophy and values, with the "Christian elements" being limited to those which do not contradict this philosophy.

Taking as example the one overt Christian element of *Beowulf,* the story of Cain and Abel, it is shown how the Christian material is carefully chosen and made to fit within, not only the plot of *Beowulf* itself, but also the pre-existing native mythic structure. The argument is made with reference to striking parallels to *Beowulf*'s giant-slaying divine flood found in the Norse Edda and the Indian Ṛg-Veda.

This conception of the relation of the native Indogermanic to the Christian is discussed using two Sanskrit terms — the *śruti* and *smṛti* of the title — which are used to distinguish primary Hindu scripture (*śruti*), from secondary scripture (*smṛti*), which may amplify and further explain the former, but not contradict it. So too stands the Indogermanic to the Christian in *Beowulf.*

Nicholas Wallerstein (Black Hills State Univ.)

"The *Ubi Sunt* Problem in *Beowulf's* Lay of the Last Survivor"

Scholars have sometimes noted that the Lay of the Last Survivor can be read as having been influenced by the tradition of the Latin homiletic literary mode, *ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt,* "where are those who lived before us?" — a tradition of which many vernacular authors during the Middle Ages availed themselves. I contend, however, that identifying the Lay specifically with the *ubi sunt* motif is problematic, for there is no *ubi sunt* in this allegedly *ubi sunt* elegy. Or, to put it another way, there is no "where" there. *Ubi sunt,* after all, means "where are?" Yet the *Beowulf*-poet puts no such question in the mouth of his Last Survivor. The Lay is, in fact, missing two of the three fundamental characteristics of the *ubi sunt* motif: it lacks the series of rhetorical questions begun with the adverb "where"; and it lacks, even more importantly, the concomitant religious consolation found in *ubi sunt* pieces. What the *Beowulf*-poet has left us with is a passage replete with grief, loss, and isolation, but no Christian consolation. Thus, we must not be too hasty in our generalization that the Lay is an *ubi sunt* piece.

Session 346: "Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture"

Elizabeth M. Tyler (Univ. of York)

"Talking about History: The *Encomium Emmae Reginae*"

The degree to which lay patrons shaped the medieval Latin historical texts which recounted their pasts and in what sense they can be considered as audiences for these texts defies generalization, varying from specific context to specific context. The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* was written to support the interests of Emma amidst the complex dynastic politics of the early 1040's. In this paper, I argue that it was an active text, which sought to intervene in political debate, and that it was accessible, on different levels, to a range of secular aristocrats at the court of Harthacnut. Work which approaches literacy in the Middle Ages from a perspective which undermines any neat dichotomies between Latin-learned-written on the one hand and vernacular-oral-lay on the other provides a starting point for such inquiry. The prefaces to the *Encomium* make clear that this text took its form in an environment in which oral and written interacted.

The text also shows the influence of both Old Norse and English literary traditions. The centrality of trilingualism to the vibrancy of the literary culture of Norman England has been highlighted by recent scholars, especially Ian Short, who argue that the long established use of English as a written language encouraged the emergence of written French literature. The linguistic and literary complexity of the Anglo-Danish court far outstrips that of post-Conquest England. The *Encomium* was a Latin text surrounded by talk not just in the vernacular, but in several vernaculars: English, Danish, French, and Flemish: all languages with different traditions of the use of writing. Written English was used alongside Latin in almost every sphere of Anglo-Saxon culture, and continued to be under Danish kings. The Danish conquest brought not only Scandinavian language, but also Scandinavian literary culture, including obscure skaldic verse, to the heart of the Anglo-Saxon royal court. Even within West Norse contexts, skaldic verse was accompanied by a culture of talking about the text. We should not imagine that the Latin literary tradition, in its need for explication by a learned professional, was in an unusual position in the Anglo-Scandinavian court culture of eleventh-century England. It is my contention that its very particular linguistic and literary situation effects the way the *Encomium*, as a Latin text, would have been produced and received in Harthacnut's court, and that the *Encomium* , in turn, offers us an exciting starting point for re-considering the literary culture of early eleventh-century England.

Michael Matto (Yeshiva Univ.)

"Rhetoric as Cultural Process"

Nineteenth-century readers of Old English saw metaphors and similes as indications of different stages in literary and social progress. While such ethnocentric philology has been abandoned, we can still investigate rhetoric's function within the processes of culture. The metaphor and the simile perform different cultural functions because they provoke different cognitive functions in the reader, as recent work in cognitive psychology has shown. The "swa...swa" construction in *Maxims I* serves as an

example of a conspicuous simile which encourages a naturalistic (as opposed to legal) understanding of the hundred moot in the tenth century, offering an alternative to the top-down enforcement of attendance in the law codes.

Session 364: "Anglo-Saxon Saints and Their Afterlife: Origins, Agendas, Appropriations (700-1700)"

Katherine J. Lewis (Univ. of Huddersfield)

"Henry VI and the Lives of Anglo-Saxon King Saints"

On All Saints' Day 1433 the royal council announced that the twelve-year-old Henry VI would spend Christmas with his court at the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. Their stay lasted until April the following year. As a commemoration of this visit the abbot, William Curteys, commissioned a *life* of St. Edmund from John Lydgate, to be presented as a gift to the young king. At a later date another, anonymous author wrote a Latin *life* of Edward the Confessor which was also dedicated to Henry VI. This paper explores the concepts and images of kingship and masculinity which are presented by these two *lives*. It, in part, considers them in relation to contemporary mirrors for Princes to question how far these Anglo-Saxon king saints are being held up as models for Henry VI to imitate. It also considers the ways in which the *lives* constitute commemorations and/or idealizations of Anglo-Saxon kingship.

Session 367: "Performance II: Theory and Praxis"

Lori Ann Garner (Univ. of IL, Urbana-Champaign)

"Anglo-Saxon Charms in Performance"

Providing explicit ritual instructions alongside verbal incantations, the Anglo-Saxon healing charms offer us a relatively rare glimpse of poetry in performance in the Anglo-Saxon world. In performance these charms attest to the complexity of traditional modes of expressive power and illustrate the limitations of purely text-based literary analysis and classification. Taken collectively, the charms blur conventional distinctions between the oral and the literate, the Christian and the Germanic, the metrical and the non-metrical, the poetic and the practical. In performance the charm's function as healing remedy becomes all encompassing, and familiar dichotomies quickly break down. This paper examines a few such binaries in order to illustrate how a performance-based approach can enhance our understanding of these complex and often cryptic texts.

Session 419: "Old English Poetry I"

Henk Aertsen (Vrije Univ., Amsterdam)

"Kenning, Compound, Alliteration: The Art of the Old English *Scop* Analyzed"

According to C. L. Wrenn (1972), the poetic diction of Old English verse is characterized by four distinct features: the use of synonyms, archaisms, metonyms, and kennings. To those one must add two more, compounds and formulas, both of which occur with great regularity and frequency in the poetic corpus. Some of these six features have a long history, apparently belonging to a common Germanic heritage, since they are also found in other early Germanic languages (the kenning, the formula and, possibly, the metonym), but the other three were in all probability developed by the Old English poets themselves. Is this expansion of their poetic diction another indication of their poetic genius and inventiveness, or were there other reasons why it was necessary for them to come up with additional modes of expression? The present paper answers the question by presenting the results of a detailed analysis of the Old English poetic diction in relation to that other characteristic feature of Old English verse, the alliteration.

The framework within which the Old English *scop* had to operate is, of course, the alliterative line. The stringent demands of this medium must have increased the *scop*'s inventiveness: he applied the devices which he had inherited from his ancestors and found ready to use, but at the same time he developed new ways of using them. Thus he established new formulas by the side of those that were part of his poetic inheritance, and the same is true of the kennings. But the kenning also made him aware of the usefulness of any two-term compound in alliterative verse, and the great number of compounds in *Beowulf* (many of which are peculiar to this poem) may suggest that the compound was often an easy way of meeting the alliterative requirement in a line, yet it also provided him with a way of embellishing the traditional alliterative patterns by introducing double alliteration. Double alliteration has never been given much attention in discussions of Old English prosody, but a systematic analysis of this phenomenon shows that it was not something accidental but something very deliberate, since it is only found in lines containing a compound. This is one of the findings that I present in detail in my paper, and in a similar way I comment on the relationship between alliteration and kennings and on that between alliteration and formulas.

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

"An Anglo-Saxon Model of the Mind and *The Dream of the Rood*"

Underlying many of the Old English poetic terms

for the store of thought, attitude, or emotion — *breostcofa, breosthord, breostloca, ferhðcleofa, ferhðcofa, ferhðloca, hordcofa, hordloca, hreþercofa, hreþerloca, incofa, modhord, gewitloca* — is an interior/exterior model of subjectivity and its opacity to others, often expressed as an analogy between the mind's contents and valuable possessions to be sealed away and protected. Anglo-Saxon poets made continual use of this model of the mind as a container: it not only inheres in the traditional poetic idiom, but is also exploited thematically in several ways. Sometimes the emphasis is on not letting out what should be kept inside (*The Wanderer* 12b-14, 17-19, 112b-13a; *Beowulf* 1878-80a; *Juliana* 233b-34; etc.); other times, on the appropriateness of opening the mind-coffer to others (*Maxims II* 1-4a; *Precepts* 90-93a). Conversely, as well, the mind as figured by Anglo-Saxon poets can (or ought to be able to) keep out what had best not be admitted, like the devil's darts of temptation (*Vainglory* 35b-39; *Juliana* 398-414a). This same potential for closing the stronghold of the mind against intrusion is what creates the possibility of socially harmful thought-hoards, like secret malice, deceptive intentions, or other private vice (*Vainglory*; *The Riming Poem* 45b-48a).

All of these ideas are not merely implicit, but explicit in the surviving poetic corpus: in short, Anglo-Saxon poets were fully capable of contemplating the mind-as-container and the various potentials for literary use that the interior/exterior, private/public dichotomy suggests, and they often did so. Sometimes they did so in very sophisticated ways. For instance, *Homiletic Fragments II* juxtaposes the safeguarding of valuable lore in the enclosure of the mind — here, the creedal tenets of the Christian faith — with Christ's voluntary enclosure in the Virgin Mary's body, thus creating an analogy between his embodiment of God's immanence in the material world and his figurative presence in the Christian's mind through orthodox belief. Another example is the especially complex metaphoric structure of *The Metrical Epilogue to Pastoral Care*, which figures the mind as a cup through a process of metaphoric layering: it first establishes the mind-as-enclosure metaphor and then moves from there, by way of the shared quality of being able to hold contents, to represent the mind as a cup that can be dipped into the stream of Christian wisdom.

These and other examples show that Anglo-Saxon poets made deliberate and complex use of the mind-as-container model, and also that Christian truth was a frequently invoked item of value to take into and store in one's mind. I suggest that these ideas can be informatively applied to *The Dream of the Rood*. Its dream-vision structure places the *visio* of the Cross within the dreamer's mind-coffer as a privately possessed item to which society at large would not automatically have access, and the Cross is explicitly represented as a treasure though the poem's imagery of gold and gems. According to a poetic ethics of mental impenetrability that is expressed in *Maxims II* and elsewhere, it is important that the dreamer, once he has acquired this valuable Christian lore, voluntarily share it out rather than hoarding it for his own sole benefit — and this is, in fact, exactly what the Cross instructs him to do near the end of the vision. My reading of the poem is further supported by the depiction of Constantine's vision of the Cross in *Elene* and by the Cynewulfian epilogue to that same poem: these passages emphasize Constantine's reception of the knowledge accompanying his vision into his *hreðerloca* as a valuable acquisition and Cynewulf's similar reception of his understanding of the Cross into his own mind, and both have obvious affiliations with *The Dream of the Rood* and its promotion of Cross-veneration. Considered in light of the model of the mind and its reified contents whose currency in Anglo-Saxon poetry I have shown, the evidence from *Elene* reinforces the likelihood that the Cross's admonition to the dreamer in *The Dream of the Rood* (to *onwreon* his new knowledge to others) — the fulfillment of which is the poem itself — should be understood to rely on the same widely attested set of traditional concepts.

Michael Wilson (Kent State Univ.)

"Stiffnecked Hagar and Sorrowful Sarah: Characterization of Two Women in *Genesis A*"

While *Genesis A* has generally been one of the less studied Old English poems, much recent work continues to illuminate its artistry. Early readings of the poem as a reflexive paraphrase of its biblical source continue to be challenged by close readings of particular episodes that reveal the Anglo-Saxon poet's departures from the chronicle style of his source, and the manner in which every episode is molded into a coherent unit. The poet utilizes every opportunity to transform the material for his Anglo-Saxon audience, outwardly by employing rhetorical devices such as envelope patterns and defeated expectation that are typical of other Old English poetry, and inwardly by bringing forward themes of special relevance in Anglo-Saxon culture, such as exile, loyalty, and the special status of women.

In the story of the birth of Ishmael, the *Genesis A* poet enriches the characterization of the childless wife Sarah and the slave Hagar. First, he emphasizes the sorrow of Sarah and the stiff-necked rebelliousness of Hagar, using paranomasia (*Sara/sar*, Old English for "sorrow") and other techniques. Further, in presenting the relationship of the married couple, he focuses on reciprocity: he highlights Sarah's initiative and Abraham's respectful obedience in the fornication with the slave woman, and later the husband's deference in allowing Sarah a free hand with her disrespectful servant.

In contrast, the slave's sorrow is at the forefront — together with the theme of exile — when Hagar flees from Sarah's harshness. This section also emphasizes loyalty in the master/servant relationship, with Sarah rather than Abraham as master.

The depth of characterization and the centrality of typically Anglo-Saxon themes in the episode of Sarah and Hagar are additional evidence of the thoughtful artistry with which the *Genesis A* poet reshapes the biblical narrative.

Session 480: "Old English Poetry II"

Rafal Boryslawski (Univ. of Silesia)

"'Tu Beoð Gemæccan' *(Maxims I)*: The Culture of Reciprocity in Old English Gnomic Verse"

The paper looks at the socio-cultural aspects of Anglo-Saxon literary tradition in the light of the discourse of the Other and discusses the representations of encounter as a reciprocal relationship.

The examination of the question of otherness in Anglo-Saxon literature commences from its most obvious manifestations in heroic verse. What initially may appear as conflict in its pure form is discussed from the perspective of offering and receiving. While a hero offers death to his enemy, he is, in return, given an opportunity of realizing his heroism. Moreover, the destructiveness of death-dealing becomes a gift in the sense of perpetuating life as a heroic deed whereby both parties are immortalized.

This is further extended to the gnomic texts and to the tradition of gift giving and gift receiving. Despite the fact that the Cotton Maxims *(Maxims II)* speak about the inexorability of conflicts in the world, these conflicts, parallel to heroic conflicts, can in almost every instance be viewed as constructive and, in accordance with the Christian doctrine, are to be accepted as divine gifts. Such an approach is evident in the elegiac texts, but also in *The Gifts of Men*, where regardless of the quality of human predicament, the fate of man is always a gift.

The logical extrapolation stemming from the understanding of life as a gift and from the earthly existence as *læne* "on loan" (*The Seafarer*) is that an obligation is put on man to share his *gifts*. *The Gifts of Men* seen from this perspective is really a list of obligations imposed by God on man, and human existence is designed on the grounds of reciprocity. Reciprocity, repaying the gifts offered, in the Anglo-Saxon social system in particular, denoted survival. The social traces of it can be seen in the enormous emphasis placed on gift-giving as a pillar of communal order.

Anglo-Saxon culture of reciprocity, however, is presented as existing not only on the socio-cultural level, but also as present on the textual level. The idea of exchanging wisdom *gieddum wrixlan (Maxims I)* between men is analyzed from the viewpoint of reader response criticism operating as a model of text reading. In other words, the concept of reciprocity is also employed to serve as a model of reading in Anglo-Saxon literature. This paradigm is particularly evident when the Exeter Book riddles are taken into consideration. These texts demand solutions from their readers; they demand the covenant of reciprocity in order to exist fully. Thus, it was not only texts that offered their *gifts* to Anglo-Saxon readers, but it was also the readers who brought the texts to life. Anglo-Saxon reading becomes an act of exchange, bearing semblance in this respect to the thesis advanced by Georges Poulet (*Criticism and the Experience of Interiority*).

In conclusion, the cultural model of exchange can be employed as an approach to the phenomena of otherness and encounter in Anglo-Saxon culture, encompassing their multiple levels of signification there.

Katalin Halácsy Scholz (Eötvös Loránd Univ.)

"The Dynamism of Intertwined Motifs in *The Advent Lyrics*"

There is an agreement among scholars nowadays that the Exeter Book poem *The Advent Lyrics* or *Christ I* can be divided into 12 parts, almost each of which is based on an antiphon, either one of the so-called Great 'O'-s used in the last week of Advent or one from the Christmas season in general or monastic use. The string of antiphons voice the expectation and the fulfillment of the expectation of the people for the coming of the Savior. The order of antiphons attached by scholars to the parts of the poem follows only a very rough and large logical pattern of expectation and fulfillment. The parts of the poem, however, show a much more conscious and elaborate development of certain thematic elements.

The purpose of this paper is to explore these in detail, and show how two closely connected, complementary, intertwined main motifs define the pattern of the sequence of lyrics. One of them is a strong desire and cry for Christ's coming in order to set humanity free from the darkness of captivity and sin. This desire is satisfied in lyric IX, after which the tone of celebration takes over. The other motif is that of query and doubt about how the Virgin will bear a child, how the Redeemer can come, what will happen, and what happened later, after the historical event was over. The motifs are present in the poem on several levels of the text.

This paper only wishes to add one more point of view to the study of the poem, one more aspect showing the imaginative power and artistry of the poet of this meditative sequence.

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

"Imputations of Visions in Old English Literature"

This paper summarizes the argument and conclusions of my nearly completed dissertation of the same title. I begin with a discussion of the problems and potentials of a revelatory experience within medieval dream theories and Anglo-Saxon thought. The tensions involved suggest that a dream or vision in a poem could be a device to consider fundamental questions of epistemology which involve the dreamer's subjectivity, types and status of knowledge, and the function of the experience in spiritual development.

I address four major Old English poems *(Daniel, Elene, Genesis B,* and *The Dream of the Rood)* as well as Bede's account of Cædmon, with the question, "Why and to what effect does the poet impute a dream or vision?" The poet's choices of a dream's presence, form, and content reflect and reveal the themes and ideas present in other areas of the poem. Hence, studying the poems with this question in mind moves beyond the individual dreamer to how the dream or vision contributes to or expands on other themes of the poem.

Though the epistemological issues invoked by visions overlap, the works taken together reveal an interest in dreams and visions which highlights two questions. *Daniel* and Bede's account of Cædmon highlight the function and implications of right and wrong types of knowledge. *Elene, Genesis B,* and *The Dream of the Rood* highlight the question of how knowledge may be rightly gained and transmitted.

Saturday Evening Session: "Once and Again: The Beat Goes On"

Anne Van Arsdall (Univ. of New Mexico) and Robert B. Van Arsdall (Blues List)

"Hear That Long Snake Moan: Beowulf and the Wolof Disapora"

This paper suggests that the themes of Anglo-Saxon poetry and Mississippi Delta Blues can both be linked to the Wolof tribe of Senegal, whose bards were enslaved during the late Roman and early medieval times along with others of their tribe. (We base our study of medieval slavery on A. Frantzen and R. Karras's works.) These same Wolofs were later enslaved and sent to the U.S. South, where their ancestors were part of creating the Delta Blues. Themes of exile, sorrow, and loneliness are strikingly similar in both Anglo-Saxon poetry and the Blues as discussed in M. McGeachy's 1999 Toronto dissertation. We demonstrate how the names *Beowulf* ("the dark Wolof") and *Ecgtheow,* his father ("sword slave"), can be deconstructed to provide evidence that Wolof slaves are the link between medieval Scandinavia, Anglo-Saxon poetry, and the Delta Blues. We also predict that our DNA testing of Frisian graves will bear this out.

Session 548: "The Cult of St. Michael the Archangel in the Middle Ages"

John Damon (Univ. of Nebraska, Kearney)

"The Old English 'In Praise of St. Michael' and the Antiphon *Estote fortes in bello*"

The Old English prose text in honor of St. Michael that appears in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 contains a verbal echo of a distinctive antiphon, *Estote fortes in bello*, commonly associated in early English liturgy with the Common of an Apostle. The same antiphon also appears, however, in the liturgy for the feast of Michael in a single early antiphonary analyzed by René Jean Hesbert in the *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*. This connection between the Michael homily in the eleventh-century CCCC 41 and the nearly contemporaneous antiphonary in which the antiphon appears in the Michael liturgy provides the homily with a liturgical context that may shed light on its origins. In addition, establishing a connection between the Michael text and a specific element of the liturgy suggests that speculations about a non-homiletic use of the text deserve further study.

Session 561: *"Ofermod* and Over-Reading: New Interpretations of *The Battle of Maldon"*

Stephen J. Harris (Univ. of MA, Amherst)

"*Maldon*'s Suffering Soldiers"

This paper considers *Maldon* not so much as a heroic poem, but as a poem about heroism. The difference is generic. As a heroic poem, *Maldon* offers up its hero Byrhtnoth as the main object of critical scrutiny. Following Tolkien's lead, we have been reading about Waterloo and asking about Napoleon's strategies and failures. Thus Byrhtnoth's *ofermod* leads many to ask whether the poet criticizes Byrhtnoth for being blind to a larger duty — *if* he was blind to duty. Monumentalizing this poem, declaring it a classic statement of an ideal, emphasizes the ends of loyalty, rather than its means. In other words, the eventual heroism of the English soldiers takes pride of place in the criticism over their long suffering. As Isidore of Seville succinctly put it in his discussion of war and triumph, "Nam turpis est dolo quaesita victoria." Maldon was not a victory. If the converse of Isidore's statement is true, ought we then to ask after sorrow in this battle? The

manuscript context may suggest as much. Mary Richards has shown that *Maldon* was likely collected in Cotton Otho A.xii with the *Life* and *Translation* of St. Elphege. Elphege, Anslem of Canterbury says, "as truly suffered for justice as St. John did for truth." One of the experiences emphasized in *Maldon* is the need for soldiers (and Christians) to suffer, *þolian*. This is the quality shown by the fated men of Byrhtnoth's hearth-troop. It is, I contend, the chief element of this poem.

Session 586: "The Riddles of the Exeter Book"

Ed Lind (Illinois State Univ.)

"The Well and the Rood:
Drawing Forth the Divine in Riddle 58"

In contemplating the origin and purpose of the riddle in Anglo-Saxon culture, I am not entirely convinced that the surviving riddles of this period, particularly those found in the Exeter Book, were devised solely for entertainment.

The popular solution for Exeter Riddle 58 is "well, draw well, well sweep, or riding well," a singular secular solution generally agreed upon by respected scholars such as Dietrich, Holthausen, Mackie, and Tupper. I find it difficult to believe that *well* is the only solution indicated by the riddle. Because resources were so limited during that period, I suspect that the Church would not have squandered them on something so frivolous as a list of riddles meant exclusively for entertainment. Consider what value the Church must have placed on riddles, how they must have been used by the ecclesiastical officers charged with the task of converting a largely pagan society into followers of Christ. The solution of *well*, although plausible, does nothing to further the interests of the Church.

This paper explores the influence that the clergy may have had in the composition of the riddles included in the Exeter Book. Just as Pope Gregory, recognizing that people are more receptive to familiarity, directed Augustine not to destroy pagan temples and shrines but to build upon them (Bede 57), similarly, these riddles promote conversion through familiarity. It is my contention that Riddle 58 may have an alternative meaning, one that could be utilized by the Church in educating the people in the Christian manner. Through a careful comparison of this riddle to other religious riddles of the period (specifically those involving the cross), an evaluation of various translations of the text, and a close reading of the riddle itself, the potential for a religious solution to this riddle becomes not only probable, but evident.

Carol Lind (Illinois State Univ.)

"Beyond the Bull:
An Appositive Approach to Exeter Riddle 38"

Inspired by Fred Robinson's *Beowulf and the Appositive Style*, this paper explores the validity of taking an appositive approach to the riddles of the Exeter Book through consideration of several potential solutions to a given riddle. The solutions may be drawn from a number of different sources: pre-Christian myths and traditions of the Anglo-Saxons, astronomical constellations, a variety of everyday objects, as well as a host of Christian referents.

Although scholars agree that the solution to Riddle 38 is "A Bull," an appositive reading of the riddle suggests that it may be referencing a particular bovine, Audhumla, the giant cow of the Norse creation narrative, for instance. Another possibility is that the four wells may not refer to a bull at all, but to the four rivers flowing from the Garden of Eden.

This paper examines similar riddles written by Aldhelm and Eusebius in order to illustrate the manner in which Riddle 38 has been modified to increase its ambiguity, thereby enhancing its appositive potential. A close reading of the riddle further supports three possible solutions for the creature: (1) Ymir, the frost giant central to the Norse creation narrative, (2) an ordinary bull, or (3) Eve, who, failing to resist temptation, *bindeð cwice* of all subsequent generations.

Such an appositive composition of the riddles, "a style more suggestive than assertive, more oblique than direct" (Robinson 13), would allow for more than one correct solution to the information provided within the riddle. It would be a safe method of enjoying references to the myths and stories of the pre-Christian past while maintaining the absolute preeminence of Christianity. An appositive approach invites a comparison and contrast between the various legitimate solutions, each helping to define the other by its own presence as a possible solution.

Thomas Klein (Idaho State Univ.)

"Biblical Typology in the Exeter Book Riddles"

Much scholarly work continues to be done on offering solutions to the as-yet unsolved riddles in the Exeter Book — a diverting but "day-off" pursuit. But over the past twenty-five years, another strand of scholarship has focused on *how* the riddles mean and the functions they might have performed. In particular, there's been growing recognition of the way in which many riddles are artfully ambiguous, how they can mean two things at once. Famously, Fred Robinson pointed out that while the concrete solution of the "Bookmoth" riddle can be easily arrived at, there is a

more subtle, secondary meaning: the dull student seeking knowledge. Recent scholarship has focused on the two meanings of the "sexual" riddles, and the purpose such riddles may have served in a monastic community (where they must have been read). In this paper, I look at how another sort of secondary meaning is developed in a number of riddles: these are the typological riddles, in which biblical scenes and celestial-infernal dramas unfold at the same time that the solver works out the more concrete solution. I conclude by considering the rhetorical purpose of such riddles and why we continue to be attracted to all the Exeter Book riddles.

Session 601: "Aged Wine in New Skins: Anglo-Saxon Biblical Literature"

Margaret M. Quintanar (Univ. of WI, Madison)

"The Nature of Eve in *Genesis A*"

Fitt xvi of *Genesis A* begins with God's punishment of Eve, then Adam, moves quickly through the story of Cain and Abel, then turns to the tree of sin metaphor before curiously returning to Eve's (not Adam's) sin. Since *Genesis A* lacks its original story of the fall, this return to Eve is puzzling. Does the text participate in the misogynistic tradition, reminding the Anglo-Saxon reader that the *freolecu fæmne* (998a) also bore responsibility for the state of the world, although Cain's sin allowed the *twige* (988b) of sin to grow into a mighty oak? Which sin does the poet consider greater? Complicating matters is the loss of God's injunction against eating from the tree of knowledge. If the injunction against eating from the tree came before Eve's creation, any warning given to her necessarily would have been conveyed through Adam; hence, Eve's sin is against Adam and only indirectly against God, making the return to Eve's guilt more perplexing. Because of the poet's shaping of the creation story between these two lacunae and the text's ambiguities, scholars have debated the poet's attitudes toward Eve at the end of fitt xvi. Before considering the extent to which the poet's choices reflect his own attitudes, one must consider which ambiguous words or phrases might be accounted for by versions of Genesis, such as Cyprianus Gallus's poetic Genesis, which contains similarities in the selection and organization of verses and verbal echoes. Individually, these links are rather tenuous. However, taken together, they could suggest that the two texts might come out of the same Genesis tradition or even have a common archetype. Assuming that they do, this paper explores how Cyprianus's Genesis can inform us about the *Genesis A* poet's attitudes toward Eve.

Wesley Yu (Princeton Univ.)

"The Old English Judith: A Meditation on Beauty"

The Anglo-Saxon Judith seems to fall into a tradition of beautiful heroines who are described in the most minimal terms. However, a second look at whole bodies in Anglo-Saxon poetry shows us, as Clare Lees has argued, that the literature is *generally* reticent in the work of bodily representation. Any focus on the body tends to revolve around body *parts* mostly at moments of death, when souls pass on from the matter of flesh. Two differences stand in between the minimal descriptions of warrior men and peace-making women on the one hand, and Judith on the other: first, Judith's beauty constitutes a weapon, her primary tool for giving her access to the privatized space of Holofernes' tent. Readers who were familiar with the biblical source in the Vulgate, as Ælfric was, would have understood this quite clearly. Second, even auditors and readers unfamiliar with the apocryphal narrative would have seen in this Anglo-Saxon verse *Judith* the signs of a minimized representation that underscores the importance of Judith's beauty, but by calling attention to the labor of its own silence. This beauty described as *ælfscinu*, or "elfin shining," functions within a network of descriptions that render Judith's loveliness as a sort of mystical resplendence that both encourages and limits the visual imagination. The centrality of her beauty, then, is emphasized by the peculiar reluctance to represent a beauty that is fully and sensually comprehensible. This paper attempts to examine the place of Judith's physical pulchritude vis-à-vis the general reticence of Anglo-Saxon poetry around whole representations of living bodies, and to think about the place of an Anglo-Saxon aesthetics and poetics that can be understood from this concentration on Judith's beauty, obliquely expressed.

Session 605: "The Imperfect Art: Editing Medieval Texts"

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

"The Heights of Imperfection: Editing the Old English Bede"

Because the Old English Bede (OEB) survives in varied manuscripts, and because it has been edited at least once every century from 1643 to 1899, it provides a rich site for exploring the history and limits of the "imperfect art" of editing.

From the anonymous translator, who trimmed and rearranged Bede's Latin as he rendered it into a predominantly Anglian dialect of Old English, to Thomas Miller, who rearranged the Old English back into the shape of the Latin as he reconstructed his lost Old

English "original," translators, scribes, readers, and editors have constructed various versions of the text we call the OEB. Because of discrepancies between the lists of chapter headings and a lost-then-restored section of Book 3 (in some manuscripts), no clear relationship can be established between the surviving copies. History has also intervened. Four of the manuscripts are incomplete: BL, Cotton Otho B.xi (C) was burned in 1731. The oldest manuscript — Bodliean Library, Tanner 10 (T) — begins well into Book I. Tanner 10 was also pilfered for illuminated initials and submerged in a barge. Oxford, Corpus Christi College 279b (O) lacks beginning and end, but what remains has been corrected throughout. Cambridge, University Library Kk.3.18 (Ca) lacks the ending, inserts a West Saxon regnal table after its list of chapter-headings, and is heavily glossed by the tremulous hand of Worcester. The fifth manuscript — Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41 (B) — is complete. Although the two scribes responsible for B are notorious for inaccurate copying, they often updated the language of their text, and sometimes even improved it. All five manuscripts reflect a shift from Anglian to late West Saxon.

Not surprisingly, printed editions vary widely. Abraham Wheelock's 1643 edition presents the Old English and Latin in parallel columns with extensive notes and additions. Wheelock interpolates Anglo-Saxon homilies at various points to historicize and comment upon fraught issues such as the Pelagian Heresy and the Easter Controversy. John Smith (1722) included the text of the Old English along with the Latin *Historia ecclesiastica* (his principal text) and several other of Bede's Latin writings. Both Smith and Wheelock use Ca as their base text. According to Raymond Grant, however, "it goes without saying" that this choice renders their work "impractical" for use by modern scholars. Jacob Schipper (1897-9) printed parallel columns of the Old English from B and O. His edition might have provided a text useful for comparing these Old English texts, but the readings are confused and the notes unreliable. Miller's edition (1890), which is the most accurate to date, uses T as a base text. Following nineteenth-century philological models, Miller reconstructed what he believed to be the Anglian text of the missing original translation, and "restored" the order of Bede's Latin. In order to generate his text, he combined readings that differ significantly between manuscripts, presenting some of the variants in footnotes but relegating most to two separate volumes.

Editorial styles and interests have changed yet again, so that it seems almost impossible to read Miller's edition without wondering how he justified the creation of such an apparently streamlined text from this manuscript evidence. Miller's erasures look just as invasive as Wheelock's interpolations: they obscure the differences between the Old English and the Latin, as well as the nature and extent of variation between the Old English manuscripts. But is it possible to produce a readable edition of the OEB that reflects the rich complexity of the material texts? Can electronic media and informatics learn from the achievements and limits of historical practices so as to find a way to manage the historic, linguistic, and cultural data distributed across the OEB manuscripts without losing as much as we gain?

Session 609: "New Voices in Anglo-Saxon Studies"

Malasree Home (Cambridge Univ.)

"The E text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: Metamorphosis and Tradition"

It has perhaps not been sufficiently realized how much the **E** version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* lies in a liminal zone of cultural and historiographical traditions, written in the heyday of Latin historiography but belonging to an earlier mode of writing. It was rewritten at Peterborough around 1121 and continued till 1154, when all other versions of the *Chronicle* had either ceased to be maintained as contemporary records or had compromised their linguistic identities (version **A**, for example, continues as the *Acta Lanfranci* and **F** exists as a bilingual compilation). Despite the presence of a few Latin annals, the **E** text remains in its final form very much a vernacular text. However, it metamorphosed into a text with a provincial identity when insertions and continuations of specifically Peterborough provenance were incorporated in it.

Some of these insertions till 1121 draw on documents, both spurious and genuine, of Peterborough provenance. There is a charter inserted *s.a.* 656, recording the grant of King Wulfhere enriching the monastery of Medeshamstede originally built by his brother Peada; a bull from Pope Agatho noted *s.a.* 675; and a "refoundation" charter endorsed by King Edgar *s.a.* 963, supposedly dating from when the monastery was refounded by Bishop Æthelwold during the tenth-century reform. These charters, in their present form, are obviously spurious, though it is possible that some ancient documentation may lie behind them. Besides their incorporation into the **E** text, they also form part of the *Relatio Heddae*, now extant in the *Liber Niger* of Peterborough.

They are certainly the result of post-Conquest paranoia regarding the maintenance of monastic privileges in the face of a new political order. In this era of cultural transition, they are vital as manifestations of Peterborough's conception of its Anglo-Saxon past, its association with Anglo-Saxon royal power, and its peculiar relation to the papal power in Rome (which would presumably allow it to lay claim to "ancient" privileges even under the new Norman regime). An

analysis of the way in which the "original" diplomatic texts are incorporated into the different textual genre of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle;* their rhetorical purpose in comparison to other non-diplomatic text insertions; and whether this "metamorphosis" is controlled by an awareness of the differing textual traditions, form the thrust of the present paper.

Editions of the Peterborough Chronicle like that of Cecily Clark have focused on the philological elements rather than the literary. Descriptive catalogues of Peterborough manuscripts are witness to the varied textual activity going on at the abbey, but the Peterborough Chronicle has seldom been placed in this context. This study aims to remedy that want through an assessment of the textual strategies in this text.

Asa Simon Mittman (Stanford Univ.)

"Monsters, Here and There: The *Marvels of the East* and the Anglo-Saxon Identity"

In seeking to define themselves, cultures frequently look outward to other groups, near and far. The Anglo-Saxons had many genuine Others with which to compare themselves. Nonetheless, living at the edge of the inhabitable world, they were compelled to surround themselves with images of even more disparate Others. My paper focuses on the three illuminated manuscripts of the *Marvels of the East* (BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xv; BL, Cotton Tiberius C.v; and Oxford, Bodley 614), dating from the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. These manuscripts are filled with images of outlandish, monstrous peoples who lived at the other extreme of the world in the almost mythical East. Through a combination of images and texts, ultimately derived from classical sources, the creators of these manuscripts presented their readers with myriad alternate cultures and bodies, fantastic and earthly, with which to compare themselves, and against which to define their human identity.

V. The International Medieval Congress, "Power and Authority," University of Leeds, July 14-17, 2003:

Session 118: "The Medieval Power of Old Testament Heroines"

Stewart Brookes (King's College, London)

"Double-Visioned Images of Authority in the Book of Esther and its Translations"

Esther and Judith are often mentioned in tandem, presented as symbolic examples of pious heroines who, through their virtue and bravery, rescue the Jewish people from imminent destruction. Unlike Judith, however, Esther's moment of victory is much harder to define, and she expresses her bravery in terms of fatalistic self-sacrifice rather than religious faith. In response to this, the various Greek and Latin translations offer lengthy "additions" to the Hebrew narrative, introducing an explicitly religious motivation. Efforts to contain and recontextualize Esther's role can also be detected, however, and these have profound effects upon the presentation of royalty and political power in the text.

In this paper I examine the representation of authority in different versions of the Book of Esther, outlining the history and transmission of the biblical text, from its origins in Hebrew through to the translations into Greek, Latin, and then Old English. Key to an understanding of Esther's role in the story is an appreciation of the ways in which royal authority and political power are presented in a text which resists such definitions and boundaries. My discussion focuses upon those sections of the "additional material" which deal with Esther's problematic relationship with the king; her scornful rejection of the trappings of royal authority; and the dramatic scene in which she risks her life by entering into his presence. These passages were amongst those most frequently cited in the patristic commentaries, and continued to enjoy popularity throughout the Middle Ages due to their presence in the liturgy. Paradoxically, Ælfric's Old English adaptation owes comparatively little to this material, despite its prominence in the commentaries and in his proposed Latin source texts. I suggest reasons for this in the final part of my paper, noting how Ælfric recasts notions of authority in the text in order to best fit them to the model of his educative program.

Session 301: "Leofric and Exeter"

Tara L. Gale (Univ. of Alberta)

"The Subtle Machinations of Leofric of Exeter in Pre- and Post-Conquest England"

Survival in troubled times is usually the result of throwing in one's lot with the victors, and/or appearing useful but unthreatening. Bishop Leofric of Exeter survived, and thrived, during two periods of discord by apparently using the latter technique. The prevailing view of Leofric is of an accommodating functionary with little real influence but an uncommon amount of luck. My studies, however, lead me to theorize that he was actually a remarkably adept and subtle politician, quietly flourishing while advancing his own agenda and remaining on good terms with the protagonists in both conflicts.

Session 701: *"Beowulf"*

Frank Battaglia (College of Staten Island, CUNY)

"*Beowulf* 175-78: Which Old-Time Religion?"

Beowulf lines 175-78 are a famous problem. They appear to describe a religious reversion which takes place during the disarray at Danish inability to stop the attacks on Heorot. In desperation the Danes apparently adopt earlier religious practices, attempting to secure divine protection.

But what religious practices do they relapse to and, for that matter, what is their belief system? If Hrothgar's band is seen as Christian, they could be reverting to paganism, but sixth-century Danish Christians are an anachronism, and such a hypothesis creates other difficulties. If the Danes are pagan in the poem, however, what can they be regressing back to?

Insight into *Beowulf* 175-78 may perhaps be gained by considering that Scandinavian paganism was neither monolithic nor static in the mid first millennium C.E. Some developments in Danish history and archaeology merit attention. The erection of great halls was a phenomenon new to Scandinavia in the Roman Period and Germanic Iron Age, and one accompanied by profound social transformation, because these buildings were the focus of new religious activities. In fact this shift in the site of ritual — from natural, often watery, contexts to a building controlled by a military elite — has been described as the most important change in the way early South Scandinavian peoples organized their religious lives.

So *Beowulf* 175-78 may indicate turning back to pious conduct from before the period when a great hall was erected. This supposition is strengthened by the association of ODan *hørg* with heaps of stones in bogs, like that excavated at Forlev Nymolle in Jutland in 1960, where the stones marked a shrine to a female entity represented by a nine-foot-long figurine to whom sacrifices of food and pottery were made for centuries beginning about 300 B.C.E. ON *horgr* and OE *hærg* (*hærgtrafum* 175) have previously been seen as referring to "stone heap at a holy place" — on dry land.

OE *wig* in *Beowulf* 176 is another key word for understanding the religious activities being referred to. The Danish word cognate with *wig/wih* comes to refer to a temple, and to be used in a restricted way to refer to the highest cult places of the late pagan period. But if English place names are a clue to the Continental use of *wig* before the Migration, the word then referred to a lowly religious site.

If the hall were the spot where a new religious system was developing, *Beowulf* 175-78 may refer to an attempt to mollify opponents to it by honoring elements of the old religion.

Session 801: "Texts of Regulation and Instruction from the Medieval Northwest"

Melanie Heyworth (Univ. of Sydney)

"Governing Morals and Moral Regulation in the Old English Penitentials"

This paper examines the Old English penitential as a form of prescriptive and instructive discourse. Primarily considering the "Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor" (Fowler, *Anglia* 83, no. 1 [1965], pp. 1-34), the Old English penitential genre is analyzed as "regulative," and its function as an instrument of social control considered. The paper argues that written documents of this type could be used to mediate normative discourses on gender, sexuality, and agency to particular social groups in the late Anglo-Saxon period. This study recognizes moral regulation as a procedure of social and cultural definition, which both constructs and manipulates socially accepted and acceptable conduct. Thus, particular attention is given to identifying the penitential as a distinctive articulation of rhetorical and political governance. By problematizing specified Anglo-Saxon concrete behaviors and abstract values on moral grounds, the Old English penitentials participate in the implementation and imposition of Christian moralization.

Session 1501: "Dialogue in Old English Literature"

Renate Bauer (Ludwig-Maximilians Univ.)

"Talking to and about Jews: Dialogue Structures in Old English Poetry"

The paper examines the dialogic parts of the Old English poems *Elene* and *Andreas*. It explores who of the speakers asks questions, who is forced to answer them, and is thereby made to reveal details he might prefer to conceal. The underlying theory is informed by Michel Foucault's *La volonté de savoir* (1976), which shows that during humanity's history, the discursive power shifted from the one answering questions to the one asking them.

In *Elene*, Judas is at first able to defy Elene's interrogation strategies by refusing to answer her questions. The empress needs to add physical power to her discursive superiority in order to defeat the resisting Jew. In *Andreas*, Jesus does not seem to have any discursive power at all on the level of the narrative. On an extra-narrative level, the reader knows that God's son is not just innocently asking questions, but is, indeed, manipulating Andreas by asking them, revealing nothing about himself, but about Andreas's opinion about Jews.

Both poems need their dialogic parts to display a strong agent of Christianity, who is allowed to ask questions, and by doing so, supposedly shows the inferiority of Judaism.

Session 1521: "Language, Form, and Forgery in Communal History"

Tracey-Anne Cooper (Boston College)

"Historical Fabrication at Eleventh-Century Christ Church, Canterbury"

The monks of eleventh-century Christ Church, Canterbury were determined, for practical and political reasons, to project an image of consolidated Benedictinism completely in accordance with the tenth-century reforms articulated in the *Regularis Concordia.* Their determination led them to forge and manipulate documents to portray themselves as more thoroughly Benedictine than they actually were. They make specific and repeated references to expelling the secular canons from Christ Church (for example, in the proem to the *Regularis Concordia* and in their re-foundation charter, which has recently been proven to be a forgery). The monks went so far as to re-write their obituary lists to expunge any mention of canons, even from the period before their supposed expulsion. The Benedictines were clearly not above falsehood and fabrication in their resolute and conscious efforts to re-write the history of their community. Such evidence-tampering reflects not only the vulnerability of their contemporary situation, but also their relationship with their historical past and their desire to control how they would be perceived in the future. Yet, despite their efforts to eradicate all mention of secular canons after their supposed expulsion, traces of evidence of their continued existence at Christ Church do remain. For instance, Cotton Tiberius A.iii, an eleventh-century manuscript which prominently contains the *Rule of Benedict* and the *Regularis Concordia,* also contains a preponderance of Old English texts — homilies and confessional material — devoted to pastoral care, an activity inappropriate for cloistered monks. Also in this manuscript is a manual for monastic sign language, which is unique to Christ Church and which contains signs for a "priest who is not a monk" and a "celibate priest," perhaps indicating the presence of these non-Benedictines within their community. Most convincingly, however, is an extant fragment of the *Rule of Chrodegang*, the rule for secular canons, which was produced at Christ Church in the eleventh century and remained there until it was used as book-binding in the Later Middle Ages. The community's history, therefore, not only appears to have been fabricated, but this fabrication was then deliberately given the similitude of veracity through the manipulation of documentary evidence.

Renée R. Trilling (Univ. of Notre Dame)

"What is Poetry? The 'Rhythmical Prose' of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and its Literary Historical Context"

This paper explores some of the social and political implications surrounding the unconventional choice of form for writers of the so-called "irregular" *Chronicle* verse. In particular, it discusses how these deviations from standard historiography offer insight into the complex world of the various *Chronicle* texts and considers how they might illuminate our understanding of the relationships between history, ideology, and textuality.

Session 1601: "Old English Poetry: Structure, Styles, and Themes"

Ursula Zehnder (Univ. of Zurich)

"Compounds in the Exeter Book *Riddles*"

A comparison of the two texts, *Beowulf* and the *Riddles*, must be conducted on several metrical features in order to gain insight into the similarities and differences of metrical composition as a whole. The great number of compounds in *Beowulf* mark them as essential features of Old English poetic diction and, together with the metrical restrictions on poetic compounding observed in *Beowulf*, they are one possible topic. The paper presents the results of the statistical distribution of compounds in both texts and the compositional accurateness of compounding in the *Riddles* measured against the patterns found in *Beowulf.*

VI. The Eleventh Biennial Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, "Conversion and Colonization," the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, August 4-9, 2003:

Session 2: "Christian and Pagan"

Adrian Papahagi (Univ. of Sorbonne)

"Fate and Destiny in Old English Poetry: The Interplay between Christian and Pagan Conceptions of Fate Revisited"

After a long series of German dissertations — Wolf (1919), Gehl (1939), Galinski (1941), Mittner (1955), Weber (1969) — focusing on Germanic fatalism, whether to support or refute it, a line expressing a consensual status quo seems to have been drawn, and a vulgate to have been born. The reader of the *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* is offered a succinct entry on *Wyrd*, based on Timmer's essays of

the early 1940s; Trahern's chapter on "Fatalism and the Millennium" in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature* favors the current theory of a Christianized and semantically weakened *wyrd* — and once again the discussion is limited only to this term, which does not cover the entire lexical and philosophical field of the concepts of "fate" and "destiny." In the case of *Beowulf*, the shift from the "pagan fashion" to the Christian one is well illustrated by Irving's survey of criticism ("Christian and Pagan Elements," in Bjork & Niles, eds., *Beowulf Handbook*). Ideally, my paper should enable Anglo-Saxonists to go beyond Timmer and Weber, by addressing a few questions shunned by previous scholars. Most studies of A-S "fatalism" are confined to an analysis of the occurrences of *wyrd*, ignoring such important nouns like *geosceaft*, *lifgesceaft*, *mælgesceaft*, *forðgesceaft*, *gescipe*, *gescæphwil*, *heahgesceap*, *metodsceaft*, *metod*, *gewif*, *orleghwil*, *feorhlege*, *gebyrd*, *gifefle*, the adjective *fæge*, and the verbal constructions based on *sendan*, *giefan*, *sellan*, *(ge)scrifan*, *forscrifan*, *geteon*, *deman*, etc. that imply the attribution of a destiny to men. The existence of the *Microfiche Concordance* and of the *DOE Corpus* online, not available before 1985, has enabled me to investigate the corpus more minutely than most previous critics. Another disturbing blank is the lack of contextualization in post-war scholarship, and most notably the complete ignorance of OS *Heliand*, which presents striking similarities to both religious and heroic poetry in Old English.

A further reason for my perplexity is that critics of the "Christianizing" school deliberately turn a deaf ear to the general tone of Old English heroic and elegiac poetry. A candid reader cannot escape the feeling of impending doom and adverse fate that *Beowulf*, *The Wanderer*, or *The Ruin* exhale. Why is *wyrd* always contrary to men in *Beowulf*, and why is it always responsible for death? The parallelism of the formulas "hyne swylt fornam" (*Beowulf* 1436b) and "hyne wyrd fornam" (*Beowulf* 1205b) seems to suggest a diabolization of *wyrd*, often equated with death. Can it in this case still be considered as one of God's agents, as with Alfred and Boethius?

I try to suggest in this paper that no conversion is ever complete, and that, like any pagan Indo-European culture, the Anglo-Saxons had indeed formulated a specific belief in Fate, which survived in the Christian era, and remained embedded in the pattern of the dominating culture.

Daniel C. Anlezark (Trinity College, Dublin)

"Christian and Pagan in *Solomon and Saturn II*"

The fundamental structural principle of the two poetic dialogues of Solomon and Saturn is one of cultural contact and exchange. Particularly in *Solomon and Saturn II*, Solomon, who is generally understood to be the representative voice of the Judeo-Christian tradition, is interrogated by Saturn, the representative of pagan wisdom. While Solomon occasionally displays achronological knowledge of specifically Christian doctrine, his character is a relatively straightforward development of the wise king of the Old Testament. The characterization of Saturn, in contrast, is much more complex, and has been shown to draw on a range of sources including the Bible, the *Cosmographia* of Aethicus Ister, and Jerome's commentary on Daniel. Neither of the Solomon and Saturn poems pretends to be a popular work, and both are concerned principally with knowledge derived from books.

Despite the formulation of the dialogues as a competitive meeting between pagan and Christian wisdom, the debate between the two figures does not have an overtly evangelical character. The substance of *Solomon and Saturn II* — questions about universal problems of good and evil, life and death, fate and judgement — has led a number of critics to argue that the poem is essentially pessimistic about the situation of humanity in the world, though Saturn's laughter at the end of the poem suggests this text could also be read as a learned game. The genuinely inquisitive paganism of Saturn makes his character very different to the Saturn of the prose dialogue found in London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A.xv, where "Saturn" simply asks a series of trivia questions associated with the Joca monachorum tradition. The only intersection between the two traditions seems to be the borrowing of the protagonists' names in the prose. A second prose dialogue is found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, separating the poetic *Solomon and Saturn I* from *Solomon and Saturn II*. This prose dialogue is more closely related to the poems, and is concerned, as is the first poem, with the powers of the *Pater noster*.

I argue that elements of the neglected prose *Pater noster* dialogue are revealing of this author's complex attitude towards paganism, which in turn helps to shed some light on the intellectual and cultural milieu of the two poems. I also argue that the Saturn of the poetic dialogues, described as a Chaldean prince, derives part of his characterization from early medieval royal genealogies from outside Anglo-Saxon England. Sources of the representation of the "Chaldean" nation in the poems — fierce, proud, and learned — have been discussed in earlier scholarship. But further parallels between *Solomon and Saturn II* and a range of Old English and Anglo-Latin texts point to a more widely disseminated use of the idea of the "Chaldeans," the pagan scourge used by God against the sinful Hebrews. I discuss the evidence for this trope in the context of the literary response to the Viking invasions, with particular reference to *Solomon and Saturn II*.

Session 3: "Examining Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts I"

Elaine M. Treharne (Univ. of Leicester)

"Collaboration or Resistance? The Role of Old English in the Post-Conquest Period"

Work on the emergence of a sense of English national identity in the post-Conquest period has, to date, focused cursorily on the idiosyncratic writer of the Peterborough Chronicle Continuations. Here, the lone voice of the chronicler seems to speak volumes for the oppressed, silent victims of the twelfth-century civil war, and the Norman over-lordship more generally. This remarkable text has customarily been regarded as an isolated example of anti-colonial defiance, replicated nowhere else in the corpus of extant late Old English prose. It is the case, however, that embedded within many of the homiletic, hagiographic, and didactic texts compiled c. 1070-1200 are numerous unambivalent declarations of resistance against colonization and the elite culture represented by the Norman conquerors, and others complicit in the subordination of native culture and traditions.

Employing pertinent (and intelligible) elements of colonial and post-colonial theory, this paper sets out a new paradigm for interpreting the significant body of English materials surviving from regionally diverse centers, such as Worcester, Rochester, and Peterborough, in this period. While, on the surface, the extant texts can be perceived to be complicit in the social and religious control practiced by the Church (which belonged, theoretically, to no particular ethnic group), the English works can be demonstrated to be paradoxical: collaborative, on the one hand (requiring resources and facilities governed by the elite); while simultaneously encouraging resistance against any passive acceptance of enforced subordination. The corpus of Old English materials (among them *The Dicts of Cato,* anonymous homilies, and saints' lives in manuscripts such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303 and London, BL, Vespasian D.xiv) can thus be shown to reflect a political urgency and social vitality rarely acknowledged by scholars today.

This paper also, tangentially, seeks to counter the recent remarkable claims by an eminent Anglo-Norman scholar that the Normans rescued "the insular backwater of tenth- and eleventh-century England," and that "the general consensus is that the Norman Conquest productively turned the course of history." Such comments reflect the elitism of some post-Conquest literary and cultural historians who often relegate English literature produced in this period to the category of, effectively, dormant archival material. This paper therefore seeks to offer new and provocative readings of key vernacular works compiled and collated by late eleventh- and twelfth-century scribes and editors: namely, as textual witnesses of the non-compliance of the literate element of native society who created the codices; and, by implication, of the deliberate promotion of resistance among the non-literate English audience for whom some of this literature was certainly intended.

Jacqueline Ann Stodnick (Univ. of Texas, Arlington)

"Lists of Places and the Place of Lists in Writing Anglo-Saxon England"

This paper argues that habits of copying lists in Anglo-Saxon England operated as a cultural practice by means of which categories of understanding, such as "England" itself, were produced. More particularly, my paper engages the conference theme by showing how list-texts wrote "England" as a cohesive territory resulting from the historical merger of different ethnic kingdoms.

I develop this argument in the context of examining a particular "interpretative problem" from the period: the early eleventh-century *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum*. Scholars working on this text, and primarily David Rollason, have read it as a national expression of sanctity because it includes only those saints buried in England. However, Rollason is perplexed by the question of the *Secgan*'s function, since it lacks the principles of ordering (according to geographical itinerary or the Church calendar) which would make it effective either as a guide for pilgrims or as a reference for ecclesiastics. While the national meaning of the *Secgan* thus seems obvious, it is nevertheless a confusing text since the purpose of its copying, circumstances of its compilation, potential uses, and audience are so obscure to modern readers.

My paper re-addresses these problems of reading the *Secgan* by placing it in the context of other "list collections" from the time, most particularly the list texts contained in Cotton Tiberius B.v (a manuscript contemporary with the *Secgan*). Examining this collection of lists (which includes genealogical, papal, episcopal, and geographical material) allows me to deduce certain principles of list copying in the period. Broadly, this manuscript suggests that lists were copied together because they were seen to share a common form, even though their content differed (regnal and episcopal material; lists of names and lists of places). At the same time, the form of lists (decontextualized series of names) made them particularly susceptible to miscopying and regularization (addition or deletion of names towards a standard length and shape). Instances of scribal "miscopying" in the Tiberius collection strongly suggest that the lists were not copied for their content, but because their form was seen to be authoritative and valuable. The combination of these factors (the perceived value of lists; the accretion of lists into

"collections"; and the tendency towards regularization in the shape of the lists) had the effect of reifying categories of understanding suggested by the lists. The Tiberius collection in particular, which has at its core a number of Anglian genealogies sandwiched between Wessex material, functions to write England as a coherent territorial and historical entity composed from the merger of originally separate ethnic kingdoms.

The lists in Tiberius B.v, which are both individual items and also part of the whole collection, dramatically demonstrate (or graphically map) the principle of ethnic fusion operative in England's history. They also provide us with a context for understanding the value of texts like the *Secgan*. I argue that such list-texts, which we may today label documentary, are in fact integral to the production of England in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Session 4: "Christian Metaphor"

Mercedes Salvador (Univ. of Seville)

"Christological and Marian Imagery in the Advent Lyrics: Royalist Propaganda in the Exeter Book"

As Deshman (1976) demonstrates, Æthelwold's *Benedictional* offers two new iconographic motifs: the crowned Christ and the Virgin's Coronation. It also presents a persistent emphasis on Christ's kingship and imperial condition. The appearance of these two pictorial motifs is, on the one hand, assumed by Deshman as "a form of political propaganda for Edgar" (403), which would help consolidate his position as Christ's earthly representative after his coronation in 973. On the other hand, the Virgin's Coronation seems to be related to the contemporary concern with queen Ælfthryth's legitimate condition, as her predecessor had been repudiated.

In the line of Deshman's investigation, this paper argues that these two iconographic elements can also be traced in the images employed in *Christ I*. Thus, lyric I presents Christ as a mighty king who will reconstruct and unify the ruinous Church; this notion is further developed in lyric III with the description of the New Jerusalem, symbolizing the renewed Church. This imagery evinces clear affinities with the king's political plans for a reformed Church through the enforcement of the Benedictine Rule. Lyric VIII in turn opens with a presentation of Christ as an imperial ruler, as a peacemaker and, further on, as the Good Shepherd. All these images seem to parallel Edgar's own role as a monarch: since his consecration, Edgar was officially declared the *Christus domini* and explicitly compared to Christ. In the preface to the *Regularis Concordia*, for example, the king is overtly equated to Christ, the Good Shepherd. Furthermore, as described in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, his coronation at Bath and the acknowledgment of his sovereignty by other northern kings seem to indicate that Edgar was considered an imperial ruler. Finally, he received the sobriquet "pacificus" as he managed to avoid the fragmentation of the kingdom and to curb foreign invasion.

Under this light, the imagery used in *Christ I* for the Virgin might have been equally meaningful, since it probably appeared at a time when the legitimacy of the earthly queen, a well-known patroness of the Reform (Stafford, 1990), was at stake. In lyric VII, which develops the traditional motif of "The Doubting of Mary," the Virgin is persistently acknowledged as legitimate wife and mother. Lyric IX then presents the Virgin as the Queen of Heaven, a notion which — as in Æthelwold's *Benedictional* — might have a correspondence with contemporary efforts to legitimize Ælfthryth's position at court. Besides, She receives epithets like "cwen" and "hlæfdige," the second of which — as Stafford affirms (62) — became the common form to refer to a consecrated queen since Ælfthryth's anointing in 973.

This research intends to prove that, with their pervasive emphasis on Christ and the Virgin's regal condition, the Advent Lyrics are more than a mere reworking of a few liturgical antiphons. As a whole, *Christ I* seems to encapsulate the main iconographic and propagandistic motifs of the Benedictine program. This paper therefore considers the possibility of a tenth-century dating for *Christ I*, as Conner (1993: 163) has already suggested.

Heide R. Estes (Monmouth Univ.)

"Conversion and Colonization in Cynewulf's *Elene*"

The Latin legend of the Invention of the Cross resonates powerfully in Anglo-Saxon England, rendered in two Ælfrician versions as well as in Cynewulf's verse treatment. The narrative of colonization and conversion in Cynewulf's *Elene* provides two-fold legitimation for Anglo-Saxon rule in England. Constantine's defeat in battle of pagan Huns and Hrethegoths sets the stage for Helen's verbal contest against the Jews of Jerusalem. The use of force, not only in war but also in the conversion of the Danes, the perennial enemy of the English, is a tool given legitimacy by Helen's physical and spiritual conquest of Judas.

The pagan Huns and Hrethegoths attacking Rome are an insignificant enemy force, vanquished easily by Constantine once he is granted a vision of the Cross and adopts it as his battle standard even without understanding its significance. The battle is fought on familiar ground, with the sounds of shields and humans mingled in battle-song with the cries of wolf and eagle. The people of Jerusalem, on the other hand, are a bitter foe, against whom Elene must wrangle words at length.

First, she must reduce the elders of the city from a force of 3000 to the 500 most learned in the law, and finally to the single figure of Judas with his crypto-Christian knowledge of Jesus' birth as son of God and his crucifixion. Next, she wages a battle of will against Judas as representative individual, confining him to a dry pit until he reveals his knowledge of the cross, the "tree of life" (l. 706). Helen's use of torture, weakening Judas in body so that he may be bolstered in spirit and faith, leads to his recognition that he has acknowledged "ðæt soð to late" ("the truth too late," l. 709). Weakened by starvation, he must beseech God (in Hebrew) for knowledge of the exact burial location of the cross. Despite the difficulty with which Judas, the archetypal Jew, is brought to accept Christianity, his conversion is powerful enough that he acquires the strength to battle the devil himself before being named bishop of Jerusalem; the miracles he enacts in his new position bring about the conversion of the entire Jewish population of Jerusalem.

Physical defeat of pagan by Christian is rendered a simple matter enabled more by faith than by fierce fighting; Constantine's conversion is a simple matter of recognition of the power of a vision, in stark contrast to the agonized and difficult conversion of the Jews, which is represented as a matter complicated by bad faith and misplaced will. The figures of Elene and Constantine, and even the oppositional Germanic tribes, are absorbed into the Anglo-Saxon cultural matrix, while the people of Jerusalem become the Other, first colonized and then converted. Thus the poem establishes precedent for the English defeat of the Danes, both on the field of battle and in the struggle for religious unity.

Session 5: "Medicine and Personal Injury Law"

Philip G. Rusche (Univ. of Nevada, Las Vegas)

"Greek Medicine in Early Anglo-Saxon England: Dioscorides and the Laud Herbal Glossary"

In keeping with the theme of "cultural contact and exchange," I examine some evidence for the influence of Greek medical knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England. In particular, I look at the evidence for the knowledge of a major Greek medical-pharmacological text, Dioscorides' *De materia medica*, as preserved in plant name glossaries copied from the seventh through the twelfth centuries. Although I have mentioned this in two recent articles, I have not yet presented the evidence in its full detail; thus, in this paper I concentrate on the primary witness to the list of plant names in its earliest form: the Laud Herbal Glossary. Although copied in the twelfth century, this glossary preserves relatively intact a much earlier Greek-Latin list of plant names that was drawn straight from Dioscorides' text in the original order of the text (and not the alphabetized version of Dioscorides that was created in the fourth century). The glossary, conceivably at Constantinople, was drawn from a list of multilingual synonyms that circulated with Dioscorides' text, by excerpting all the Greek and Latin synonyms, and it thus represents the only instance of this list copied apart from Dioscorides' text. By the end of the seventh century the glossary was brought to England, most likely with the entourage of Theodore and Hadrian. It was quite possibly brought by Theodore himself since he makes a number of statements that show he had undergone medical training, and as the major source on pharmacology the *De materia medica* would certainly have been well known to him. It was at Canterbury in the seventh century that a number of Old English glosses were added to the glossary, but the version as found in the Laud Glossary includes very few of these and far more entries with the original Greek and Latin. An examination of these entries can reveal a number of things concerning the study of medicine and knowledge of Greek in early Anglo-Saxon England, from the type of Dioscorides' text the glossary was taken from, to those parts of the text considered the most important or necessary to gloss, to linguistic features concerning spoken Byzantine Greek. The glossary was copied numerous times and survives in several later lists of plant names, all in different formats, but its preservation in this early form and inclusion in a compilation of medical texts in a twelfth-century manuscript testifies to the long-lasting influence of Greek herbal and medicinal lore in Anglo-Saxon England.

Christina Lee (Univ. of Nottingham)

"Blistered Skin and Scabs on the Soul: A Comparison of Leprosy in Anglo-Saxon Archaeology and Literature"

Of all diseases leprosy is most closely associated with the Middle Ages in popular culture. This may be due to the fact that the leper represents the outcast, the one that is expelled from the communal culture of the Middle Ages. Leprosy also features in the writings of Anglo-Saxon authors, such as Ælfric and Wulfstan, but archaeological excavations have not revealed much evidence for the disease from this period. Where it occurs, such as in the elaborate bed burial at Barrington, Edix Hill (Malim and Hines, 1998), it does not necessarily disqualify the afflicted person from a high-status burial. This paper examines attitudes towards leprosy in the Anglo-Saxon period, comparing references from archaeology with textual evidence. What I aim to show is that this potentially fatal disease caused a range of diverging attitudes, which may reflect changing ideas towards disease and disability in Anglo-Saxon England.

Lisi Oliver (Louisiana State Univ.)

"The Development of Anglo-Saxon Personal Injury Tariffs"

This paper examines the development of personal injury tariffs between the two Anglo-Saxon law codes which have extensive passages dealing with personal injury: the seventh-century laws of Æthelberht of Kent and the ninth-century laws of Alfred the Great. Alfred's laws reiterate with minor changes the passage in Æthelberht, and then add several new tariffs. This paper addresses three major issues:

(1) What do these tariffs tell us about the state of medical knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England?

(2) Where can we find discrepancies that must be attributed to a distinction between compensatory and punitive damages? In other words, where is an honor price appended to the fine for the injury itself?

(3) How do the changes or additions Alfred has made to Æthelberht show a development in medical knowledge or legal differentiation between insult and injury in the social structure of Anglo-Saxon England?

Session 6: "Death and Burial"

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.)

"Herebeald, Hæthcyn and Archery's Laws: *Beowulf* and the *Leges Henrici Primi*"

The tragic death of Herebeald at the hands of his brother Hæðcyn and the ensuing death of Hreðel is one of the most interesting and suggestive of the digressions in *Beowulf*. Scholars have debated about whether the episode is a meaningful allusion to the Old Norse-Icelandic myth of the killing of Baldr by his innocent and blind brother Hoð. Part of the rationale for this speculation is the onomastic parallel between the Old English royal and the Old Norse-Icelandic divine names, and scholars have in addition speculated about the apparently excessive *tristitia* manifested by Hreðel, whose grief over the death of Herebeald occasions his untimely death. The present paper focuses on a hitherto unnoticed parallel to the poem and the myth — a sapiential passage in the *Leges Henrici Primi* which speaks of the extraordinary grief which parents who lose a child in an archery or javelin accident must bear, since they cannot obtain legitimate vengeance on the killer. This passage raised difficulties for the most recent editor and translator of the *Leges Henrici Primi* and one reason why it has not been cited in this context is that he mistranslated it. At any rate, according to the compiler of this gathering of traditional legal material, because of the grief which the parents of a victim slain by accident feel, all archery/javelin accidents are legally defined as intentional killings — a legal definition, which illuminates the vengeance taken on Hoð in Old Norse-Icelandic myth and the apparently excessive grief of Hreðel in *Beowulf*. Even though he is completely innocent of desiring the death of Baldr, Hoð must die to satisfy the demands of the vengeance code which does not allow for the possibility of accident on the playing field where men "play" with projectile weapons. Hreðel dies of grief because he cannot bring himself to kill one son to avenge another. One way or another, death must answer death.

The parallel and the point of the parallel between the myth of the death of Baldr and narrative of the slaying of Herebeald in *Beowulf* is thus illuminated by the sapiential text and its legal context in the *Leges Henrici Primi*.

John Hines (Cardiff Univ.)

"'Final Phase' or 'Conversion Period'? Archaeological Evidence for the Initial Impact of Christianity in England"

Early Anglo-Saxon archaeology is dominated by burial evidence. Several hundred cemetery sites have been found, being easily recognizable by the artifacts frequently deposited in the graves at this time. The historically dated introduction of Christianity from the late sixth century onwards coincides with considerable changes in burial practice in England. These involve not only the location of cemeteries but also the frequency of furnished burial and the types and assemblages of grave goods encountered. Some unambiguously Christian elements can be found in the material from seventh-century graves, but generally the place of both Christianity and the traditional, pre-Christian Germanic religion of the Anglo-Saxons ("paganism") in explanations of what we find is a disputed matter.

An older terminology, which labelled the period from the late sixth to the beginning of the eighth century as the "Final Phase" of "pagan" Anglo-Saxon burial, is now challenged by a preference for labelling and viewing it as the "Conversion Period." This paper introduces to ISAS a major, publicly funded project of high-precision radiocarbon dating of Anglo-Saxon burials from precisely this date-range. It shows how the results are already revolutionizing our understanding of the cultural history of the seventh century, and on that basis re-assess how far, how rapidly, and in what forms, the impact of Christianity on the wider population can be traced in its first century in England.

Session 7: "*Beowulf* I"

Kathryn Powell (Univ. of Manchester)

"Meditating on Men and Monsters: A Reconsideration of the Thematic Unity of the *Beowulf* Manuscript"

Since Kenneth Sisam first suggested that the *Beowulf* manuscript might be described as a "Liber de diversis monstris, anglice," little advance has been made in understanding the basis for the compilation of the manuscript. While some special interest in monsters must underlie the collection, simply understanding the codex as a monster manuscript sheds no light upon the fascination with the exotic and monstrous that has been ascribed to the tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxons. While it is possible, regarding some of the works in the manuscript, to understand the clashes between heroes and monsters as the internal battles of heroic men against their own pride (as Andy Orchard suggests in his *Pride and Prodigies*), such a reading cannot explain the inclusion of such works as the *Wonders of the East*, where pride seems to play little or no part and where the struggles of heroes are clearly directed outward toward an external and foreign threat. I would like to suggest that what made monsters particularly interesting for the manuscript's audience was their specific status as foreign aggressors. In a refinement of Sisam's theory, I would argue that the *Beowulf* manuscript was compiled around an interest not only in monsters, but in monstrous and foreign aggression as a particular problem for rulers. All of the works in the manuscript depict leaders of peoples in a struggle to contain foreign, aggressive forces that border on or spill over into the monstrous. For an audience reading around the time the manuscript was written — in the late tenth or early eleventh century, probably during the reign of Æthelred II — such struggles with foreign agressors, however uncanny in their monstrosity, would appear increasingly familiar and would provide comment on (and, in some cases, encouragement in) their own struggles against the Danes. Furthermore, all of the works in the manuscript locate the problem of aggression in a foreign and pagan past, remote from contemporary concerns, and most of the works translate clashes with foreigners onto the mythic plane of encounters with monsters. As such, the manuscript could have provided its audience with an opportunity to meditate on the responsibility of leaders to address foreign aggression, without directly commenting upon the actions of contemporary rulers or alluding to recent events. Such an understanding, I argue, allows for the possibility that the *Passion of Saint Christopher* and *Judith* were late additions to an earlier collection that was perhaps more clearly organized around an interest in monsters and marvels. It also allows, I suggest, for an understanding of *Beowulf* as particularly appropriate to and readable during the reign of Æthelred.

Sarah L. Higley (Univ. of Rochester)

"Thought in *Beowulf* and Our Perception of It: Interiority, Power, and the Problem of the Revealed Mind"

In "Action in *Beowulf* and Our Perception of It," Peter Clemoes noted in 1979 that rarely does the *Beowulf*-poet invite us "to see and hear happenings for ourselves." In 1985 a number of studies emerged about "mind" in Old English. I return to these texts to elaborate on something in *Beowulf* of a related nature: the nearly absent depiction of Beowulf's *hyge*. His opinions and perceptions are almost always portrayed in direct address. Rarely, with one important exception, do we find a glimpse of Beowulf's secret thoughts. This omission of interiority is more striking given that several characters, Hrothgar included, have feelings the poet displays unmediated by their "telling" them. These revealed minds are frequently unsympathetic: Unferth, Heremod, Modthrith, Grendel. Concomitantly, study of mind has included the debate about Hrothgar and his tears. I observe that any emotion — welling up, spilling over, bursting out, emerging from sin and self-doubt — is complicated, and inflects almost all the poem's imagery.

Scholars have remarked Hrothgar's weakness, notably John Niles (1983), Edward Irving (1987), Thomas Wright (1967), and Mary Dockray-Miller (1998). These last two focus on Hrothgar's tears — the former dismissing the *dyrne*, perhaps homoerotic, "longing" that burned in the blood of wise Hrothgar; the other confirming it and expounding on Hrothgar's "fading masculinity." My essay, rather, focuses on the traces of revealed mind (masculine or feminine) throughout the poem and within several characters. Tearing off, dredging up, burning down — these images are totemic of the mind's destructive secrets. Only when the old Beowulf is beset by the dragon do we enter his thoughts without mediation (lines 2326-32).

Grief is described for both Hrothgar and Beowulf as "welling up," a thing that overcomes one like a tidal wave: *Wæs him se man to ðon leof / ðæt he ðone breostwylm forberan ne mehte* (Hrothgar); *breost innan weoll* (Beowulf). Heremod grew blood-thirsty *(blodreow)* in his spirit and heart *(ferhð, breosthord)*. Even the coastguard's curiosity "breaks in on his mind." The speaker of *The Wanderer* calls it a "princely custom" *(indryhten ðeaw)* to keep one's soul-coffer *(ferhðlocan)* hidden; thus is interiority metaphorized as a treasure to be dispensed carefully, ever in danger of bursting out or being broken into. It must be controlled, and the poem needs the monsters and their places to do it.

Weirdly, though, Beowulf seems more inhuman than even Grendel in his emotional opacity. In plumbing the depths of Grendel's mere (another mirror of Hrothgar's hart/heart or lack of heart?) Beowulf brings to surface

secrets that Hrothgar cannot hold back, but without revealing secrets of his own. Where is the great heart of young Beowulf? Maybe he is lucky and monstrous enough not to have one, but he is less sympathetic. For the old Beowulf, it is the hoard, finally exposed for the mirror-stage of Beowulf's strange superficiality, which may account for the sense we have that he comes too late to maturity, fatherhood, and wisdom at a time when real human minds harbored endless violence along with generosity, cooperation, and affection.

Session 8: "Converting to Christianity in Britain"

Nicholas P. Brooks (Univ. of Birmingham)

"From British to English Christianity: Deconstructing Bede's Interpretation of the Conversion"

Bede's account of the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons is an elaborate construct in which it is axiomatic that there was no British involvement. The pagan "Saxon" people, who had been God's instrument in punishing the Britons for neglecting God's laws, become the "English" (*Angli*) from their reception of the Gregorian mission from Rome. From then Bede writes of a single "English" people (*gens Anglorum*), which was entitled to hold the bulk of the island because the Britons had been (and still were) unworthy of it. Bede was well aware that late-Roman Britain had been Christian (*HE*, I.4, 7, 10, 17-20), but he makes nothing of these episodes as the roots of English Christianity. That would have reinforced British claims to land, power and Christian allegiance. The "English" whose Church history is Bede's subject, are presented as having been a pagan people, who had arrived after a sea-borne migration from north Germany. He describes their conversion in terms of missions to royal courts. There the Anglo-Saxon kings and their followers (who comprise the *gens* or "folk") took the key decisions to accept or reject a new faith. His account is solely concerned with the Anglo-Saxon ruling class, not with how (or when) the bulk of the population became Christian. Is Bede's an aristocratic interpretation with no interest in the peasant underclass? Or was the rural population partly (or even largely) of British Christian descent?

The map of places mentioned in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* reflects his location at Jarrow and his exclusively eastern and southern informants. Would his concept of the English conversion have been less ethnically driven, had it been derived from more westerly informants? Is it possible to control Bede's geographical bias and his deep-seated political and ecclesiastical hostility to the Britons? British influence has recently been detected in the "Responsiones" of Pope Gregory I and in the orthography of the Laws of King Æthelberht I of Kent. British cults and holy places have been identified, and Romano-British Christian survivals sought in later parish, minster-parish, and diocesan boundaries. British influence has been detected in "pagan" Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and the extent of overlap in the different modes of burial is under investigation. Two further investigations need to be added to the agenda: (1) the identification and excavation of the main churches in the *civitates* of Roman Britain to test their relationship to the earliest Anglo-Saxon cathedrals; (2) the investigation of the British churches where place-names incorporating PW **egles* from Latin *ecclesia* points to the survival of a community of British-speaking Christians in areas of English speech.

The excavations in the nave of Canterbury cathedral and at the Roman villa and Christian cemetery of Eccles (Kent) hint at the potential of such sites. But until carbon-14 analysis of the Eccles skeletons can complement the study of the exiguous grave goods, we cannot know if Eccles was a cemetery of fifth-century Britons who had become English by the eighth, or is rather a "final phase" Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the seventh to eighth century. Similarly, until there are excavations beneath the crypt (as well as the nave) of Canterbury cathedral, we shall not know whether St. Augustine "recovered" a Romano-British church there. How radically Bede's ethnic model needs to be deconstructed therefore depends upon the development of systematic archaeological research.

Carol Braun Pasternack (U. of CA, Santa Barbara)

"Conversion and 'Sylf' in *The Seafarer*"

In 1981, Stanley B. Greenfield argued that the emphasis on *sylf* in *Seafarer* 35b indicates the speaker's "personal recognition" of life's "transcience and sterility," and suggests that this recognition constitutes for the speaker "a kind of conversion to the Christian via." I discuss how the the emphasis on the individual self that we find in *The Seafarer* is central to the conversion of the Anglo-Saxon peoples to Christianity.

My paper places *The Seafarer* in the context of the legal texts that were integral to efforts to create Christian subjects. Both the kings' laws and the penitential regulatory texts introduced a concept of individual responsibility for one's actions that was central to Christianity and contrary to traditional Germanic emphases on the family. The relationship between the two types of documents was complex. Written law codes were recognized as a part of the Romano-Christian concept of kingship, as Bede indicates when he acknowledges the importance of Æthelberht's code, and as Alfred shows in declaring the descent of his laws from those of Moses. Though Alfred's laws, among others of the time, were written in manuscripts domi-

nated by chronicles, later laws were interspersed with penitentials in the same manuscripts, suggesting their similarity in function and audience. (See the work of Patrick Wormald, Mary Richards, and others.)

Nonetheless, there were tensions in the intent of the two types of law. The motivations for stressing individual responsibility differed — kings apparently sought to counteract the power of families to consolidate their own power over territories that extended beyond the tribe, and those producing penitentials ostensibly were teaching the relationship between the individual soul and God. While both kings' codes and penitentials attended to violations in what we might call interpersonal relations, kings were interested in social peace and power and priests in purifying the soul. The emphasis on the social environment conflicted with an emphasis on the individual soul, as Bede shows us in his accounts of holy kings who, to purify their souls, give up their kingdoms to enter monastic or even hermetic life. The *Seafarer*-poet recognizes this conflict and attempts to struggle through the conflict to a resolution.

My paper analyzes *The Seafarer* as a text that does the work of conversion in a very particular way. Part of this work involves the need for a person to experience the exile paths of the sea for himself, as Greenfield recognized; part of it also demands the rejection of the social bonds indicated by the imagery of the *burgas* or towns. But the rejection is conflicted and confusing, as the conflation of "lof lifgendra" (73) with "lof . . . lifge mid englum" (78) indicates. I examine the stylistic emphases of the poetic text to identify the ideological and emotional struggles as well as the more explicitly expressed work of conversion. The struggles and work of this text I place in the context of the widespread and various attempts to create Christian subjects through textual culture.

Session 10: "The Language of Old English"

Kanerva T. Heikkinen (Univ. of Helsinki)

"The Vocabulary of Spiritual Kinship in Early English"

This paper deals with the central developments and features of the English vocabulary of spiritual kinship from the Old English to the Middle English period. I approach the topic from a linguistic, theological, and, to some extent, anthropological point of view. My focus is on the core vocabulary of spiritual kinship — that is, the words meaning "godfather," "godmother," "godson," and "goddaughter." My main argument is that this area of the baptismal vocabulary, being in certain respects different from the theological core vocabulary of baptism (e.g., *fulwiht, fulwihtere, fulwian*), consequently calls for an approach which takes into account the special nature of the spiritual kinship vocabulary: its links to society, institutions, and the Germanic kinship vocabulary.

Baptism was and is considered an important rite because people become members of the Church through it. Therefore, the introduction and the formation of the words relating to it was a part of the cultural process of Christianization. Baptism may be defined in several ways. Perhaps the most typical term used to describe it is sacrament, *sacramentum*, a word originally referring to an oath. From a more theoretical point of view, baptism can also be seen as a rite of initiation or a rite of passage. Baptism is thus an important social event with considerable social consequences. Naturally it was more important in the essentially Christian society of Medieval Europe than today. The important status of spiritual kinship relations created through baptismal sponsorship is witnessed, for example, by the Anglo-Saxon laws in which they are mentioned. These relationships continued to be important during the Middle English period.

In the Middle English period the well-established theological core vocabulary of baptism — that is, the words meaning "baptism," "to baptize," and "baptist" — is gradually replaced by a new set of words: the indigenous *fulwiht* group is taken over by the borrowed baptism group. The agent noun is the first to change, perhaps due to the importance of John the Baptist. The noun and the verb start to change at around 1300, and the change seems to move from east to west, which is what one would expect as we are dealing with French influence.

While the central theological vocabulary of baptism changes, the core vocabulary of Christian sponsorship goes through only minor changes which can be explained by regular phonological developments. Why is borrowing resorted to in the first case but not in the second? Why do these two groups of words develop so differently from each other?

One clear lexical and semantic difference between the core vocabulary of baptism and the core vocabulary of Christian sponsorship is that they are based on different kinds of vocabulary. If it is assumed that the origins of *fulwiht* are indeed *ful* "complete" and *wihan** "to sanctify," it is clear that both the determinant and the *determinatum* of the compound are rather abstract, whereas the central words denoting spiritual kinship are based on Germanic words of family relations.

Matti Kilpiö (Univ. of Helsinki)

"The Inflection of the Past Participle in Old English Perfect and Pluperfect Constructions Formed with *Habban*"

This paper is part of a project, the purpose of which is to write the entry for the verb *habban* for the *Dictio-*

nary of Old English. It seeks to account for the change from the type of OE (plu)perfect with *habban* + Od + (inflected) past participle as an object complement (Example 1) into *habban* + uninflected past participle (+ Od) (Example 2):

(1) ChronA (Plummer) 755.16 *& hie alle on þone Cyning wærun feohtende oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon*

(2) ÆCHom I,31 458,18 *Ic hæbbe gebunden þone feond þe hi drehte*

There are a number of interrelated research questions here that have been raised but not necessarily solved. The first of them is the presence of inflection vs. non-inflection in the past participle. Non-inflection is predominant throughout the Old English period: the inflected participles make up no more than c. 7 per cent of the total of c. 2,700 participles. The number of uninflected participles is further increased by instances in which the inflection would have been zero for purely grammatical reasons (e.g., in participles agreeing with a neuter sg. noun). The inflection/non-inflection issue poses a number of problems. One of them is the simultaneous presence of inflection and non-inflection in one and the same construction as in Example (3). This seems to be a typical "change through variation" situation:

(3) Bo 7.17.31 *þone naman ic scolde mid rihte habban þæt ic wære wela & weorðscipe, ac hy hine habbað on me genumen & hi me habbað gesealdne hiora wlencum & getehhod to heora leasum welum,...*

The gradual loss of inflection in the past participle appears to be tied up with changes in word order. The earlier type of word order in (plu)perfect verb phrases in main clauses seems to have been one with sentence brace, where there is a finite verb earlier in the clause and a non-finite verb or adverbial particle at the end. The past participle is inflected, as in Example (1), or uninflected, as in (4) ÆHomM 15 (Ass 9) 129 *and hi habbað nu eft heora eard bebogod.* With exbraciation, the two verb forms become adjacent, see Example (2) above.

The discussion is supported by statistics on developments in the inflection/non-inflection of the participle, on different word order patterns, and on diachronic developments in their distribution. I show that the inflection of the past participle is relatively more frequent in early than in late Old English. Thus, the replacement of the Parker Chronicle reading *ofslægenne hæfdon* [see Example (1)] by *ofslægen hæfdon* in Chronicle E is in agreement with this general tendency.

The third, and the most challenging question is the restructuring and possible subsequent grammaticalization in OE (plu)perfect constructions. The lines of restructuring and reinterpretation suggested by Traugott, where the participle is reinterpreted as part of the verb complex, seem plausible to me.

Thomas A. Bredehoft (Univ. of Northern Colorado)

"The Poetic Function of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Rhyme"

The rhyme passages in *The Riming Poem* and in Cynewulf's *Elene* and *Christ II* have encouraged modern readers to identify the sort of rhyme that links half-lines as the primary manisfestation of rhyme in Old English verse. But within the half-line, rhymes occur even more widely, often making use of what are clearly traditional, formulaic collocations of rhyme-words. These rhymes can be called "formulaic rhymes," and they generally have a powerful poetic effect. Many Anglo-Saxon poets would certainly have agreed with Roman Jakobson's suggestion that "Rhyme necessarily involves a semantic relationship between rhyming units" ("Linguistics and Poetics" 81), and here I explore formulaic rhymes as an aspect of Old English poetics. Specifically, I argue that formulaic rhymes were a more important part of Old English poetics than the half-line rhymes of Cynewulf and *The Riming Poem*. As a frequently-used feature of Old English poetics, these rhymes demand our attention.

That rhyme within half-lines was both perceptible and functional for Anglo-Saxon poets can be confirmed by observing that rhyme could occasionally substitute (in the a-line) for double alliteration (cf. Kendall: "rhyme [could be adopted as an alternative] to alliteration on a very limited basis" 114). Even if that were not the case, the following verses indicate that at least one Old English poetic formula demanded the use of rhyme-words: "hond rond gefeng" (*Beowulf* 2609b), "sund grunde onfeng" (*Andreas* 1528b), "weal eall befeng" (*Ruin* 39b), "bord ord onfeng" (*Maldon* 110b). This *feng*-formula, apparently, required a rhyme-link between the subject and object of the verb, but it also seems to carry overtones of a crashing or clashing encounter that goes beyond the literal sense of the *feng* verbs themselves. To put it another way, seeing these verses as making up a formulaic system allows us to appreciate the specific poetic resonances of that system, and hence to better appreciate each poem's specific use of it. But further, the existence of such a system encourages us to seek out the poetic effects of other formulaic rhymes.

In my analysis, formulaic rhymes in Old English verse involve semantic linkages of at least three sorts. First, there are semantic doublets, where the rhyme words are virtually the same in meaning: *wide/side, sæl/mæl*. Second, in *feond/freond*, we see an antonymic doublet, where the phonetic similarity is countered by the rhyme-words' semantic dissimilarity. Finally, there are a number of rhyme pairs in which the semantic relationship is more complex, although generally still quite clear (*flod/blod, hond/rond, ord/bord, sund/grund, eard/weardian*). In these pairs, the "se-

mantic relationships" Jakobson refers to result in powerful imaginative linkages. Far from being accidental or random phonetic similarities, these formulaic rhymes were a powerful poetic tool used by a broad spectrum of Old English poets. Ultimately, I suggest that the semantic or ideational connections exemplified by these formulaic rhymes are far more compelling than the rhymes of Cynewulf or *The Riming Poem*: in considering formulaic rhymes, we can learn much about Old English poetics.

Session 11: "Examining Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts II"

Christopher A. Jones (Ohio State Univ.)

"The Sermons and Exegetical Work Attributed to 'Candidus' Wizo"

Nicknamed "Candidus" by his teacher Alcuin, whom he followed to the Frankish court, the Anglo-Saxon priest Wizo emerged in scholarship of the 1970s and 1980s as a major figure in the Carolingian revival of dialectic. Then modern discussion of Wizo's canon centered on his philosophical writings, especially the short theses known as the *Dicta Candidi*. More recently, however, attribution of the *Dicta* to Wizo has grown less confident, and so accordingly have claims for his originality and importance.

Even so, the controversy over the *Dicta* has left largely unaffected the attribution of other works to Wizo, including four brief "sermons" and a major exegetical treatise on the Passion gospels. The exegetical treatise, known as the *Opusculum de passione Dei (or Domini)*, is accessible only in an inadequate reprint in Migne's Patrologia (106:57-104), where the work is misattributed to a different Candidus (i.e., Candidus Brun of Fulda). The four short sermons remain unedited to this day. None of the pieces has attracted study beyond that deemed necessary to argue for or against their attribution to Wizo.

The aim of my paper is not to claim for these works a greater importance than they merit, but simply to shed a little new light on the intellectual formation of this little-known Anglo-Latin author from Alcuin's circle. I begin with a review of the scant facts recoverable about Wizo's education in England, his relations (with Alcuin, Hygbald of Lindisfarne, and eventually Arn of Salzburg), his travel to Rome, and his obscure final years. I then briefly re-examine the cases for attributing the four sermons and *Opusculum* to Candidus Wizo.

The body of the paper is then devoted to analysis of the content, sources, and transmission of these texts. The four unedited sermons all present brief exposition of trinitarian and christological dogma, but they rework the sources rather freely. Even when writing for a non-scholastic audience, moreover, Wizo could not stay away from the themes of his more advanced philosophical work, such as the nature of the soul, the quality of Christ's assumed humanity, and the limits of analogy as means for understanding such hard concepts. The same emphases continue, to a more ambitious degree, in the *Opusculum de passione*. Its sources include not only the expected (Augustine and, naturally, Alcuin on John's gospel), but some relatively rare points of 'Irish'-influenced commentary.

Neither the sermons nor the *Opusculum* appear to have had much direct influence, but I argue that certain ideas in the latter prophesy notorious developments in Carolingian eucharistic theology. For this reason, as well as for the intrinsic interest of the text, Wizo's *Opusculum* deserves to be better known. I therefore conclude by outlining how a new, critical edition of the work could improve on that reprinted by Migne.

Andy Orchard (Univ. of Toronto)

***"Guthlac B* and the Many Conversions of Cynewulf"**

As the supposed author of no fewer than four signed poems (*Christ II*, *Elene*, *The Fates of the Apostles*, and *Juliana*, comprising a total of 2601 lines of verse), Cynewulf has a sound claim to be the most significant surviving Old English poet after the author of *Beowulf*. Indeed, given the way that other Old English poems (notably *Andreas*, *Guthlac B*, *The Phoenix*, and *The Dream of the Rood*, together comprising a further 3116 lines) have been more or less closely associated with Cynewulf's name, it might be argued that the study of the origins and influence of his idiosyncratic style and poetic technique is of primary importance within the field of Old English verse. This paper explores the often-stated possibility that Cynewulf wrote *Guthlac B* (the ending of which, potentially containing any runic signature, is lost) and in the course of the analysis addresses three related questions, namely how Cynewulf converted his Latin sources into vernacular verse, how he converted and re-used phrases he had used himself elsewhere, and how formulaic phrases from his own verse were in turn converted by later poets for their own purposes. Michael Lapidge's discovery of a version of the *Passio S. Iulianae* much closer to Cynewulf's source for *Juliana* than any other so far suggested has paved the way for a more detailed analysis of the precise ways in which Cynewulf adapted his Latin sources than has been possible hitherto, and a direct comparison is made between Cynewulf's techniques of adaptation in *Juliana* and those found linking *Guthlac B* to Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*. The extent to which *Guthlac B* and the signed poems all demonstrate a stylistic debt to Latin curriculum-authors such as Sedulius and Arator is also considered. Likewise,

Alison Powell, after by far the most comprehensive analysis of the parallels to date, has recently suggested not only that the author of *Andreas* knew and used *Beowulf*, but also that the *Andreas*-poet was influenced by the four signed poems of Cynewulf; my own extensive analysis of parallel phrasing linking *Andreas* and *Guthlac B* on the one hand and *Guthlac B* and the four signed poems of Cynewulf on the other is particularly interesting in this context. Close consideration is also given to the manuscript context of Cynewulf's verse, and the way in which several of the poems associated with his name are connected to other poems which are evidently not his work: the links between *Christ I*, *Christ II*, and *Christ III*, *Guthlac A* and *Guthlac B*, and *Andreas* and *The Fates of the Apostles* are therefore analyzed, following Roy Liuzza's comments on the *Christ-* and *Guthlac*-sequences. In the light of the preceding discussion, the whole question of what constitutes authorship in the context of Old English verse is reassessed, and Cynewulf's claims to authorship of *Guthlac B* considerably consolidated and potentially confirmed.

Matthew Hussey (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison)

"The Ragyndrudis Codex and Boniface's Mission: Cultural Contacts, Material Contexts"

According to legend, Boniface warded off the blows of his persecutors using the Ragyndrudis Codex (Fulda, Dombibliothek, Bonifatianus 2) before ultimately falling into martyrdom. The book, however, survives, still bearing large gashes which attest to some ancient violence, and for these reasons, it has long been venerated as a relic. The manuscript also deserves some regard by the student of early English and Continental history and literature, because not only is it one of the few early medieval manuscripts we might connect to specific historical figures and events, but also it represents an intriguing intersection of languages and cultures.

The manuscript was written in Luxeuil around 740 and includes letters on dogma by Pope Leo, Ambrose's "De bono mortis," anti-Arian texts, creeds, and Isidore's "Synonyma." Clearly, these contents can be seen as useful to a missionary, be it Boniface himself, or one of his circle, but the particulars of the manuscript's function can be filled out by closer examination of not only the Latin texts, but also of their material context in the book as well as the traces of vernacular response to them. In the book, dozens of Old English and Old High German glosses are inscribed, without ink; some are at the limit of legibility, others are fairly clear in a certain slant of light, but in either case, these traces of the vernacular are important lexical and literary evidence which can illuminate the ways in which Anglo-Saxon missionaries in the Rhein-Mainz region in the eighth century studied and used the Ragyndrudis Codex.

In my paper, I briefly contextualize the production of the book by discussing its codicology and paleography, and by locating it in the history of the Bonifatian mission through brief reference to other books connected to Boniface. The contents of the manuscript make clear its use-value for a preacher and teacher actively engaged in the conversion of the Germanic region. The vernacular dry-point material, though, is somewhat more enigmatic; in the greater part of my paper, I consider the Old English (and to a lesser extent, the Old High German) glosses. In some senses, the vernacular material is an interpretation of the Latin base-texts, and sheds light on how these texts were read, either aloud or in private study. The glosses also represent a complex set of cultural contacts: the Merovingian Latinity of Luxeuil and the late antique Latinity of Leo, Ambrose, and Isidore intersect in this codex with the language and purpose of the Bonifatian mission, which in turn brings both Roman and Anglo-Saxon language and institutions to the Germans of the region. I conclude with a consideration of these complicated issues of cultural contact, which has been made manifest by the marks of metal points — be they the scratchings in English with a stylus, or the gashes of a sword stroke. We have in the Ragyndrudis Codex a fascinating and unique opportunity for insight into the history of language and conversion by the Anglo-Saxons working in Germany in the eighth century.

Session 12: "The Body and Soul after Death"

Glenn M. Davis (St. Cloud State Univ.)

"New Contexts for Violence: *Soul and Body* and the Undoing of 'Protection Literature'"

Toward the end of the Old English verse *Soul and Body*, the narrator provides a graphic description of the violence done to the Body by the combined force of natural decay and a troop of marauding worms. He spares little detail, recounting with meticulous care the destruction of twelve different body parts, including head, eyes, ribs, sinews, tongue, teeth, hands, and fingers. Although Old English poetry in general does not shy away from violent images — Grendel's brutal attack on the hall-companions in *Beowulf* and the grisly report of the wounded in *The Battle of Maldon* come to mind — the articulated, biological specificity with which the narrator describes the process of decomposition in *Soul and Body* has no real analogue in the verse corpus.

Most scholars have dismissed *Soul and Body*'s use of graphic imagery as amateurish and sensationalistic, included by the poet primarily to elicit shock from his

audience. These criticisms have diminished the poem's potential importance as a work of literary art. But more importantly, they have discouraged scholars from considering the violence in *Soul and Body* as part of the larger fabric of Anglo-Saxon literary culture.

This paper explores a connection between *Soul and Body* and another group of texts that has a demonstrated interest in the human body. It argues that the extraordinary violence in *Soul and Body* can be read as an inversion of Anglo-Saxon "protection literature": those texts that make defense against physical and spiritual attacks their priority, including charms, private and devotional prayers, and the *Loricae*. The recitation of these texts would supposedly have safeguarded their speaker against a host of possible assaults and illnesses, including supernatural as well as more conventional attacks. The *Loricae* in particular place conspicuous emphasis on the physical body in their exposition, even when the attack in question is more spiritual than corporeal: the limbs and organs of the body stand for all varieties of both tangible and intangible ills.

In its relentless enumeration of the Body, *Soul and Body* gestures to protection prayers like the *Loricae*. But in a significant departure, *Soul and Body* makes each of the parts it lists the recipient of a violently destructive action: "bið þæt heafod tohliden, handa toliðode, / geaglas toginene, goman toslitene" (108-09: "the head is burst apart, the hands dismembered, the jaws split open, the gums pierced through"). Many of the verbs the poet chooses — e.g., *tohlidan* and *toliðian* — appear very rarely in the corpus of Old English literature and are associated with the body for the first time in this poem. *Soul and Body* thus rehearses the literal breaching of the same things that the *Loricae* and prayers like it seek to protect. By invoking works of protection literature, the recitation of which was a balm against the anxieties of corporeal and spiritual vulnerability in the Anglo-Saxon world, *Soul and Body* issues an especially dramatic — and immediately relevant — call to its audience for prayer and penance.

Robin Norris (Univ. of Toronto)

"The Resurrection of St. Guthlac"

Many scholars have remarked on a putative relationship between *Guthlac B* and *Guthlac A*, without thoroughly examining the motivations which inspired this sequel. Just as Cynewulf wrote *Christ II* to bridge the gap between the anonymous *Christ I* and *III*, it is supposed that he or one of his followers may have composed *Guthlac B* as a continuation or supplement to *Guthlac A*. In my paper, "The Resurrection of St. Guthlac," I argue that the poet of *Guthlac B* was consciously writing in direct contradiction of the A-poet's treatment of St. Guthlac as a martyr whose soul experiences an assumption into heaven at the conclusion of his torments at the hands of demons. St. Guthlac seems to have been the center of a crisis of interpretation in Anglo-Saxon England, for the Vercelli homilist is in agreement with the poet of *Guthlac A*, but by converting Guthlac from martyr to confessor, the B-poet exploits the conventions of the *vita* to invalidate implicitly any other reading of the saint's life. Thus, the poet highlights a theme first observed by James L. Rosier, the separation of soul and body. This motif emphasizes the necessity of the role the body plays in death, and contravenes any possibility that the saint's soul was simply assumed into heaven. Throughout *Guthlac B*, the poet has also greatly expanded the description of the saint's physical decline, and most importantly, he emphasizes the emotional response of Guthlac's weeping servant, Beccel. Beccel's sadness has become something of a crux for readers of *Guthlac B*, but I argue that this reaction is entirely appropriate, as the follower of a confessor in keeping with *vita*-conventions. Although martyrs are never to be mourned, the confessor's divine foreknowledge of his death gives the saint ample opportunity to console his followers, who always exhibit some form of emotional distress.

By bringing the saint back from the afterlife at the end of *Guthlac A*, the B-poet was following a well-established precedent which ultimately requires the presence of the other poem and indicates that *Guthlac B* cannot be read in isolation. The most famous martyr, Christ himself, returned to life after his passion to console his followers for forty days, a phenomenon explored by Ælfric in his homily for the third Sunday after Easter. Likewise, in an overtly figural relationship to Christ, the Seven Sleepers awake from martyrdom to console the weeping emperor Theodosius. In fact, Felix's original Latin *vita* of the saint includes a similar episode where Guthlac returns from the grave to console the future king Æthelbald. Guthlac's resurrection from A to B may have been inspired by this incident in Felix; moreover, the poet of *Guthlac B* may have followed Felix all the way to the end. For though we can never be certain, based on typological readings of the poem by scholars like Tom Hill and Peter Lucas, we should expect the saint to rise again in the missing eighth fitt of the poem. In fact, he may have done so.

Session 13: "*Beowulf* II"

Craig R. Davis (Smith College)

"An Ethnic Dating of *Beowulf*"

Many approaches to the dating of *Beowulf* are represented in Colin Chase's collection of essays (1981; rpt. with additions, 1997) and in Michael Lapidge's recent article, "The Archetype of *Beowulf*" (2000). In

an earlier essay, "Redundant Ethnogenesis in *Beowulf*" (2001), I posed a number of questions about the way the *Beowulf*-poet depicts relations between the various hero-peoples of the past, some of which have implications for the time and place of the poem's composition:

(1) What ethnic affinities were felt to obtain between the members of the poet's audience and the various ancient peoples depicted in the poem? How is the poet manipulating his auditors' perceptions of their own ethnicities in the way he constructs relations between these peoples? In short, what designs does the poet have upon the ethnic consciousness of his audience?

(2) Why does the poet choose to valorize the royal family of a foreign, sometimes enemy nation in the opening lines of his poem? Why not celebrate the founders of some native Anglo-Saxon dynasty (their victories over the Britons or other enemies, for instance) as would have poets of most comparable heroic traditions?

(3) Why did the poet make his hero a Geat of all the ethnicities he might have chosen for him? What would Beowulf's Geatish identity have meant to the audience of the poem? Did any of them consider themselves to be Geats or of Geatish ancestry or heritage?

(4) What was the primary source of the dynastic lore which the poet adapts in *Beowulf*? When and in what form did it come to his knowledge?

(5) At what historical moment would the poet's treatment of these ancient ethnic relations have made the most sense to an Anglo-Saxon audience, especially the friendship he constructs between a Geatish *ætheling* and a Danish monarch? At what point in time would such a friendship have had the most interest or appeal to the hearers of an heroic poem in Old English?

None of these questions is easily answerable, of course, but we do know that in the 890s King Alfred appropriated for himself the genealogy of the Danish royal family in composing that of his father Æthelwulf. This is the very earliest reference we have anywhere to the Scylding legend, if that honor does not belong to *Beowulf* itself. This new tradition subsumed prior West Saxon dynastic legends, as well as the supposed ancestry of the king's mother, a Jutish/Gothic/Geatish heritage which Alfred also honored and manipulated in various forms. *Beowulf*, too, creates a new sense of positive, though ranked, relationship between Danes and Geats, one calculated to appeal especially to those who considered themselves to be of mixed ancestry, like the Saxon-Geatish-Danish King Alfred himself. Along with other considerations, then, an ethnic analysis of *Beowulf* yields a cultural window for the composition of the poem to within a generation or two, perhaps even to within a decade: the 890s at the court of King Alfred. This date should be seriously reconsidered among those produced by competing methods.

Robert D. Fulk (Indiana Univ.)

"Some Contested Readings in the *Beowulf* Manuscript"

In the course of preparing a new edition of Fr. Klaeber's *Beowulf*, the editors have found it advisable to review the manuscript evidence in regard to a number of disputed readings. Accordingly, the author of this paper examined the manuscript in early October, 2002; from his findings he presents some of the conclusions that are of particular interest on paleographical or textual grounds.

Some of the uncertainties addressed are of long standing, such as the precise nature of the text on the two most severely damaged leaves of the manuscript, to which much of this paper is devoted. Others have arisen only recently, particularly with the publication of the *Electronic Beowulf*, in which many strikingly original interpretations of the paleographical remains are offered. Some of these interpretations were substantiated by direct examination of the manuscript; others were found to be mistaken or unlikely.

The paleographical problems that are addressed pertain to some or all of the following contested readings: *gyldenne/geldenne* 47; *freoðe/freode* 1707; *ón/an* 2210; *se þe neh / ond neah* 2215; *hond wæge nam / hondgewriþenne* 2216; *bemað/bohte* 2217; *wurde/hæfde* 2218; *geweoldum/gewealdum wyrmhorda(n?)* 2221; the erased text in 2228-30; *feormie/fægrie* 2253; Zupitza's restoration *swiðe ondrædað* 2275; *bearn/hord/hearm* 2276; *giogoðe/giogude* 2426; *ungl(e)aw* 2564; *forspeof/forspeon/forsweop* 2814; *strade/strude* 3073; *m/an'* (as superior abbreviation) 3150; *wægliðendum/wegliðendum* 3158; *beaduroſes/-roſis* 3160; *twelfa/twelfe* 3170; *ceare/care/cearge* 3171; *[ond] kyning* 3171.

<u>Session 14</u>: "Gender and Religion"

Joyce Margaret Hill (Univ. of Leeds)

"Shaping the *Regularis Concordia*"

The inflow of ideas and texts from the Continent into the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon Church to fuel the Benedictine Reform has been extensively documented, and the indebtedness of the *Regularis Concordia* to Continental models has been carefully analyzed. Yet this work, produced as the defining text of the new monasticism, was subject to rapid adaptation as those working within the framework set by this model converted it for local needs. The classic example is Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,* which Jones' recent edition has shown to be a much more complex "conversion" of the *Regularis Concordia* than had previously been imagined. Another form of "conversion" is that in

CCCC 201, where there are further adaptations of ritual and practice, such as would be applicable in houses of men or women, and where, uniquely, there are also modifications which expressly cater for the needs of women. This is a thoroughly understandable "colonization" by female religious of the central Reform text, since the *Regularis Concordia* is in practice written as if for men, even though it proclaims itself to be addressed to "all the monks and nuns of the English nation." Its linguistic exclusivity is obvious in its choice of nouns and pronouns; its practical exclusivity is evident in its underlying assumption that the community includes deacons and priests, its descriptions of rituals which can thus readily be performed in male houses but not female ones, unless special arrangements are made, and its inclusion of directions which women could not necessarily execute. As a result, despite the grand sweep of the full title of the *Regularis Concordia*, women are invisible within the main body of the text. If they were to occupy the space that it defines, they would have needed guidance on how to adapt the information provided, as well as confirmation of what they could and could not do. The partial survival of a unique Old English translation in CCCC 201 is the sole witness to activity that must have been replicated in all the female houses of late Anglo-Saxon England. This paper examines the evidence of the translation to show various forms of conversion and colonization. It is possible to demonstrate that these include the "colonization" of the original translation by what, in an earlier copy, must have been interlineated and marginal annotations, made to give women a presence in a text from which, in practice if not in intent, they were previously excluded.

Mary Swan (Univ. of Leeds)

"Performing Gender and Identity in Ælfric's Preaching Texts"

This paper investigates the ways in which the preaching texts of Ælfric create, replicate, and intervene in Anglo-Saxon debates about Christian identity. Through a detailed examination of the ways in which gender roles are constructed and negotiated in the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*, and of how categories of gender intersect with class and religious status, the paper evaluates Ælfric's positioning of himself and his intended audience. This serves to reveal what authoritative cultural traditions of gender and of Christian identity Ælfric is appealing to, how he situates himself relative to them, and what competing practices and ideologies he is anxious about.

The paper builds on existing work (including that by Clayton, Lees, Magennis, and Wilcox) about Ælfric's readers and about the gendering of his work. It also draws on critical theory about performativity and textual production in order to show how preaching texts are performative and ritual, and how they thus serve to reiterate and shore up dominant cultural values whilst at the same time highlighting how those values depend on, and are in dialogue with, alternative ones. These questions of the construction of values and identities are of particular relevance to the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine Reform — a movement with a high level of investment in constructing a distinctive version of Christian, English identity, and one which had a marked impact on gender roles for religious and lay people. Reading Old English homilies in the context of these multiple influences and drives will help to further our understanding of the cultural work of preaching, the ideology of the Reform, and of Ælfric's particular role in reproducing, but also modifying, dominant cultural positions.

Session 15: "Ælfric's *Saints' Lives*"

Karolyn A. Kinane (Univ. of Minnesota)

"Instruction and Imitation in Ælfric's *Saints' Lives*"

This paper examines the rhetorical balancing act Ælfric performs in order to control the composition and interpretation of his saints' lives. As a hagiographer, the abbot must tell compelling stories about saints; yet as a teacher, he must weigh the lives' entertainment value against their instructional value. To do this Ælfric foregrounds his audience's ability and duty to imitate the saints. I argue that Ælfric's "reserved style" allows him to create a discrete space within which his audience may literally perform the same actions a saint performs. By minimizing the supernatural power of many saints (and attributing their power to God), these lives provide a series of imitable Christian duties.

However, while urging his audience to imitation, Ælfric must also warn them about the limits of imitation. His generic homilies and lives of the apostles articulate the importance of reading saints' lives spiritually as well as literally. Further, the abbot carefully distinguishes between kinds of saints, suggesting a specific lesson to be learned from each: he loosely aligns confessors, virgins, and martyrs into one group, placing disciples and apostles in another. The amount of autonomous power each saint possesses directly relates to the saint's proximity to Christ. That is, those who knew Christ in the flesh most resemble him: apostles and disciples possess enormous power, while later saints appear to be relatively powerless vehicles through whom the divine influence works. The former are to be revered, the latter to be imitated. By combining a decrease in the miracles performed by the general body of saints with an emphasis on spiritual reading, Ælfric offers his audience practical ways to imitate the saints and encourages them to see the saint as a "type"

of biblical figure. In this way Ælfric teaches his audience about the patterns of divine history and their own role within it.

Ælfric's discussion of miracles, life-spans, and toil in Memory of the Saints places his contemporaries within a distinct and separate historical space from that of their Christian predecessors. While they certainly participate in salvation history, Ælfric's audience should expect neither to experience the events of the past nor to behave like the people in the past. While on a literal level Ælfric's saints' lives and homilies provide "safe" models for imitation, his generic homilies seem an attempt to hedge his readers from other types of writing, from entertaining *gedwyld* that neglects to point out the ultimate impossibility of true *imitatio*.

The tension created by saints' lives, which often simultaneously offer literal and figural models for imitation, is in part due to the paradoxical nature of saints themselves. However, I suggest that for Ælfric this tension supports the concept of the abbot as a teacher for a broad and mixed audience as he considers the various abilities and learning styles of his readers.

Hugh Magennis (Queen's Univ., Belfast)

"Lumen Christi:
The Enlightenment of Conversion
in Ælfric's *Saints' Lives"*

In a recent article I made an initial foray into the topic of conversion in Old English hagiography, observing that conversion was an important theme in this literature but that the focus of the hagiographer in treating it was seldom on the conversion of the saint himself or herself; instead it was on the work of the saint in turning others to God, the saint as converter. This model of the saint as unchangingly virtuous is particularly favored by Ælfric, who is normally careful to air-brush out any suggestion of blemishes to saintly perfection.

Some saints were known to have changed, however — including some of those celebrated by Ælfric. A question that arises, therefore, is how does Ælfric handle saints who experienced conversion, such as St. Paul, whom he could hardly ignore, or St. Dionysius (Denis), veneration of whom he thought it worthwhile to promote by including him in *Lives of Saints?* Ælfric's treatment of both of these saints is discussed in this paper, with reference to the imagery of light, which provides a powerful and deeply traditional metaphor, associated with creation, heaven, and the divine, and with Christ, redemption, and Christianity.

In the homily on St. Paul in *Catholic Homilies I,* Ælfric applies the exegetical approach appropriate to scriptural explication, presenting Paul as a tropological figure from whose imperfection and conversion the homily audience could learn and take comfort. At the same time, however, we can see Ælfric being distracted by anxiety about Paul's sinfulness. He presents Paul in moral terms but, simultaneously, he wishes to celebrate him as a saint. This leads him to introduce a strong element of (unconvincing) hagiographical coloring that has the effect of working against the homiletic message.

In his *Life of St. Dionysius*, on the other hand, Ælfric can be seen as consciously presenting an exploration of the theme of conversion, including that of the saint. In this presentation the imagery of light figures centrally. Dionysius is a more tractable figure than Paul (he had been a virtuous pagan), and in his treatment Ælfric is able to link his work as converter with the theme of the saint's own conversion. In doing so, he follows his source, the *passio* of Hilduin, but significantly sharpens the emphasis on conversion. This paper shows the *Life of St. Dionysius* to be a text composed with care and subtlety, presenting Ælfric's most thoughtful treatment of the theme of conversion in his hagiographical writings.

Session 16: "Project Reports I"

Antonette diPaolo Healey (Univ. of Toronto)

"The Dictionary of Old English:
A to F on CD-ROM"

This report attempts to describe the period of consolidation and migration which has occurred at the *Dictionary of Old English* as the project has made the transition from microfiche publication to electronic publishing, from typographical markup of text to logical markup. It records some of the research and technological problems which we had to overcome in order to produce *A* to *F* in a Windows environment. The report, a PowerPoint presentation, largely consists of a series of screen shots displaying the various ways the new electronic *DOE* can be navigated: by a word index, by a dropdown menu offering a number of options, by hotlinks, etc. It also suggests how particular research questions might be answered through conducting powerful searches on the *Dictionary*. Finally, this report attempts to show how the synergies created by the project's move to a standard platform have changed our research in profound ways.

David A. E. Pelteret (King's College, London)

"The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon
England Project: A Progress Report"

The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England is a database biographical register of all named Anglo-Saxons recorded as living in the period from AD 597 to 1042. The project has been funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Board for a five-year period from

2000 to 2004. To date sources composed up to the reign of Alfred the Great have been searched and data entered. By the time of the ISAS meeting it is expected that a master database collating the various data-capture databases will be in full operation and information from a range of sources for the century from AD 900 to 1000 will have been entered.

The plan for the report is to outline the progress and possibilities of the project, paying particular attention to the evidence recorded for the reign of Alfred the Great.

Session 17: "Project Reports II"

Catherine E. Karkov (Miami Univ. of Ohio)
Karen Jolly (Univ. of Hawaii, Manoa)
Sarah Larratt Keefer (Trent Univ.)

"*Sancta Crux Halig Rod* Project Report"

We present reports on the Durham (2001), Manchester (2002), and Winchester (2003) English seminars, the Kalamazoo 2002 and 2003 sessions, and the New Voices session at Leeds IMC 2002. A summary of the project, relating its goals to its outcome, and information on its publication plans complete the panel.

Malcolm R. Godden (Oxford Univ.)
Kevin Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky)

"Project Reports: 'The Alfredian *Boethius*' and 'Alfred the Great's *Boethius*: An Image-Based Electronic Edition'"

We welcome the opportunity to report on two closely related projects that focus on the Alfredian *Boethius* and should be of interest to all Anglo-Saxon scholars. Godden, Jayatilaka, and Irvine are embarking on a five-year project, generously funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board of the UK, to research the Old English *Boethius* and its context, with the aim of producing a comprehensive new print edition, to be published by Oxford University Press. This funding provides for the digitization of both *Boethius* Oxford manuscripts, Junius 12 and Bodley 180.

Kiernan and his research team are preparing an Electronic *Boethius*, based on BL, Cotton Otho A.vi, supplemented by the Bodleian manuscripts. This project is supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities for three years, with further support from the National Science Foundation and the British Library.

Kiernan and Hawley report on progress and plans, and display how modern technology can help restore severely damaged parts of the Cotton manuscript and otherwise provide enhanced access to all the Old English versions of the text. Godden and his team report on their progress and plans so far, and seek feedback and views especially on the questions of reconstructing lost or damaged versions of the Old English text and of the importance of the Latin textual and commentary tradition.

Session 18: "Ælfric's St. Cuthbert and St. Sebastian"

Mechthild Gretsch (Univ. of Göttingen)

"Cuthbert: Desert Saint, Saint of all England, Patron of the English Language"

This paper (which is drawn from a chapter of a nascent book on Ælfric and the cult of saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England) aims to explore how Ælfric came to write for his *Catholic Homilies* a *Life of St. Cuthbert*, and how he came to write it in the way he did. Both questions cannot be addressed, however, without establishing first what is known or what may be deduced about the cult of St. Cuthbert in the late tenth century. But the exploration of this cult is more than a mere prerequisite for an assessment of Ælfric's Cuthbert *vita*. The unfolding process of the cult of St. Cuthbert lets us glimpse how the "Kingdom of the English" was being forged in the course of the tenth century, not exclusively by military operations, but also by the literary activities of contemporary scholars and their way of negotiating the past. From its incipient stages a strong political component informs the cult of Cuthbert, in spite of the saint's unequivocal propensity for the solitary life. But there is also an incontestable literary component in Cuthbert's cult right from the start, inasmuch as his early hagiography (the anonymous *Life*, Bede's verse and prose *Lives*, the pertinent chapters in the *Historia ecclesiastica*) belongs with the burgeoning of Latin lives of English saints which occurred in Northumbria in the first two decades of the eighth century. While it is clear that the cult of Cuthbert played an important spiritual and political role in eighth-century Northumbria, it is difficult to estimate when and how his cult took roots in the South of England. An important witness to the establishment of Cuthbert's cult in Wessex is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183, a Cuthbert dossier, compiled at King Æthelstan's instigation and given by the king to the community of St. Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street. The remarkable Office for St. Cuthbert preserved in this manuscript sheds valuable light on the intensity with which Cuthbert's early hagiography, especially Bede's metrical *Life*, was studied at Æthelstan's court (of which Æthelwold, Ælfric's future teacher, was a member). The Office and the manuscript as a whole shed also light on Cuthbert on his way from a pan-Northumbrian to a pan-English saint. This new role of Cuthbert as a pan-English saint found its most perfect

expression in Ælfric's *Life*. Intriguingly, Ælfric's most important source was, not one of the prose *Lives*, but Bede's metrical *Life*, a very difficult poem owing to the terseness and obliqueness of its diction. Ælfric's choice of this primary source may, however, be explained by the Winchester curriculum and by Ælfric's confidence (in spite of his assertions to the contrary) in the intellectual potential of the English language.

Damian Fleming (Univ. of Toronto)

"'Prickly as a Hedgehog':
Ælfric's *Life of St. Sebastian*"

The story of the life and death of the early Roman martyr Saint Sebastian, and the numerous other saint-martyrs he converted before his death, was well known and popular in Anglo-Saxon England. The method of his death is famously alluded to in Abbo of Fluery's *Vita Edmundi* as well as Ælfric's translation of the same: "Hi scuton þa mid gafelucum...oð þæt he eall wæs besæt mid heora scotungum, swilce igles byrsta, swa swa Sebastianus wæs."

And yet Ælfric's Old English *Life of St. Sebastian* and its Latin source have remained little studied. The Latin *Life of Sebastian* which served as Ælfric's source is a very well written, highly rhetorical piece of late Latin prose, once attributed to Ambrose. The author of this (?) sixth-century life subtly develops a number of themes that he uses rhetorically to unite the work as a whole. In particular he plays with the notion that Sebastian is at the same time an actual soldier in the army of the Roman emperor and a metaphorical *miles Christi*. Directly associated with this theme in the Latin *life* are references to the arrows of the devil (which is ultimately echoed at the scene of Sebastian's death), as well as questions of the validity of hiding one's religion (as Sebastian does throughout his life). The Latin author highlights these themes with rhetorical devices well know to Anglo-Saxon authors, such as incremental repetition, envelope patterns, and "echo-words."

Ælfric, perhaps surprisingly, leaves out almost all of this material. The image of Sebastian as soldier on earth and *miles Christi* is not emphasized at all, nor is the motif of the arrows of the devil. This is surprising, both generally, because of the clear appeal such images held in Anglo-Saxon England, and specifically because Ælfric's patrons for the *Lives of the Saints* were military noblemen, who surely could have related to Sebastian's situation. Through a careful comparison of Ælfric's translation techniques I demonstrate that Ælfric simplifies his translation of the *Life* dramatically. Ælfric reduces the subtlety of the Latin *life* in order to produce a more readily "digestible" version, that is, one whose lessons and meanings are glaringly obvious. In particular, he seems to avoid exploiting the theme of Sebastian as *miles Christi*, because, I suggest, if he were to deal with that topic, he would also have to treat questions of how Sebastian can guiltlessly conceal his religion from secular authorities. Ælfric's aims are clearly different from those of the Latin source's author; in my paper I examine some of the unexpected changes Ælfric makes while converting an essentially Roman text into an Anglo-Saxon context.

Session 19: "Tiberius"

Christopher C. LeCluyse (Univ. of Texas, Austin)

"A Musical Bestiary in the Tiberius Psalter"

Study of the Tiberius Psalter (London, BL, Cotton Tiberius C.vi) has frequently focused on its images of Christ and other sacred figures. Frequently overlooked are the illustrations of various musical instruments on ff. 16v-18r, from the familiar harp to the exotic *bombulum*. Francis Wormald and Phillip Pulsiano mention these illustrations in their catalogs of the manuscript, and Wormald additionally compares the Tiberius illustrations to those found in Continental manuscripts. Neither scholar, however, notes the similarity between the Latin captions and *De diversis generibus musicorum*, a treatise on the spiritual significance of musical instruments. Acknowledging the connections between this treatise and the Tiberius illustrations places the Psalter within a network of textual transmission extending far beyond Anglo-Saxon England. Images and commentary alike extend early medieval exegesis to the material world, interpreting the sounds and shapes of human artifacts.

Spuriously presented as a letter from Jerome to his correspondent Dardanus, *De diversis generibus musicorum* (*DGM*) appears in over sixty extant manuscripts. Elsewhere it receives different attributions, however: the same text appears almost verbatim in the *De universo* of Rabanus Maurus, and two Irish glosses from the late eighth century contain an identical description of the organ, attributed variously to Augustine and Origen. At least part of the text had therefore circulated for more than two centuries before the Tiberius Psalter was compiled. Indeed, similar descriptions of instruments date back to late Antiquity and appear in Byzantine, Arabic, Hebrew, and patristic commentaries.

The treatise describes eight musical instruments and interprets each "according to its nature." Like a bestiary, the treatise blends the familiar and the fantastic, proceeding from a description of each instrument's form to a figurative, spiritual reading. Captions to the Tiberius illustrations echo *DGM*'s descriptions of the instruments and include details central to their exegetical interpretation. For example, accompanying the image of the psaltery on f. 16v is the text "Psalterium est quasi in modum clypei quadrati et corde eius

contariae sunt ab imo in altum." The same description of the psaltery's shape "like a square shield" and its strings as arranged "from the lowest to the highest" appears in *DGM*, which goes on to explain that the four sides of the psaltery signify the four Gospels and that its string arrangement represents rising from hell to heaven.

The resonance between the illustrations and the widely circulated treatise encourages us to reevaluate their importance. Rather than mere curiosities alongside the portraits featured elsewhere, they mark a major division in the Psalms and even subsume the depiction of King David on f. 17v. The captions labeling the portrait make clear that its primary purpose is to show what a psaltery looks like: at the top of the page, "This is David, Son of Jesse, holding a psaltery in his hands," and over the psaltery itself, "This is the shape of a psaltery." An audience primed to read musical instruments in spiritual terms would therefore find a place for exegesis amid the Psalms themselves.

Session 20: "The Venerable Bede"

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

"The German Transmission of the *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum* of the Venerable Bede"

Boniface and Lul, upon setting out for their missions in Germany, did not, apparently, know the works of Bede. After having arrived in the field, however, they did hear of the "pious explicator of scripture" and made some efforts to acquire his works by requesting — in their now well-known letters — that copies be sent from England. Alcuin, on the other hand, certainly knew Bede's works well before traveling to the Continent. He likewise was active in the circulation and promotion of Bede's works, as his letters and other works attest. Many of Venerable Bede's works were thus, by these and other undocumented lines of transmission, firmly established as a fundamental component of Continental libraries within a century of his death. Among the works that were widely disseminated on the Continent are the school texts, computistical works, many exegetical works, his homilies, and, surprisingly, the *Historia ecclesiastica*. This much is well established.

What remains to a large extent unexplored, among other questions, is why the *Historia* was among those works of Bede that won such a wide audience on the Continent. By virtue of their adoption as school texts we can see why *De orthographia* or *De temporum ratione* came to be so frequently copied, and the appeal of Bede's exegesis in monasteries throughout Europe is in some sense self-evident. But why were twelfth-century Austrian monks, for example, so interested — to judge by the numerous surviving Austrian copies of the *Historia* — in the early history of England? Bede, the "light of the Church who rose from the west," can be said to have conquered the intellectual world of early medieval Europe. What role in the great intellectual influence of England on the Continent did Bede the historian — as opposed to Bede the exegete or Bede the scientist — have to play?

In the paper, I approach this problem primarily on the basis of the surviving manuscript record. Nearly 160 manuscripts of the text survive, and the focus here is on one branch of the tradition, namely those manuscripts written or owned in the German-speaking portion of the Continent, where Bede enjoyed enduring popularity. The relevant manuscripts number 36, and range in date from the eighth through the fifteenth centuries. Despite the great scholarly interest in Bede, most of these manuscripts remain largely unexamined, due to the authority and quality of earlier manuscripts. Aspects of the problem that I explore include not only the nature of Bede's fame and the transmission of his most enduringly popular work, but also the place of historical writing in medieval libraries and medieval views of national and Christian history.

Joanna E. Story (Univ. of Leicester)

"The Frankish Annals of Lindisfarne and Kent"

When compiling his *Ecclesiastical History* in the 720s, Bede drew on a wide range of contacts to gather his sources. Prominent among them were Albinus, abbot in Canterbury, and Nothelm, a London priest, and it was through them that Bede acquired detailed information about the mission of St. Augustine to the English. Very few of Bede's sources about this early period survive independently; best known are the letters of Pope Gregory, some of which survive in the papal *Register* as well as in Bede's work. Other sources, much less familiar, are found only in a few Frankish manuscripts copied during the age of Charlemagne. These sources are fragmentary historical notes recording the obits of seventh-century Kentish kings — precise to the day of the week — in the margins of Easter tables. Bede incorporates some of this data within his *History*, but other notes contain information that is not found in Bede's work, or elsewhere. These unique notes are scarce evidence for the type of raw material that enabled Bede to organize his *History* within a coherent chronological structure, and are rare proof that others in seventh-century Kent were habitually recording events with an accurate dating system.

The context for the survival of these sources is revealing; the Easter tables with annals appended are associated with copies of Bede's most popular work, the *De temporum ratione*. The *DTR* was widely copied in Carolingian Francia, and it seems that one recension

carried with it the marginal annals from Kent, combined with another set concerning the succession of the bishops of Lindisfarne. The earliest Continental copy of these annals is in a Fulda manuscript, copied by a scribe trained in the Insular tradition. Fragments of another survive in a Northumbrian uncial hand of mid-eighth-century date. These fragments also carry more substantial historical notes concerning the Carolingian monastery at Corvey, indicating that the manuscript arrived there at an early date and that it promoted the habit of annalist writing at that community.

The context for the composition, transmission, and preservation of these annals is one of conversion — the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons in the seventh century, and the conversion of the Continental Saxons by the English a century later. They are also ephemeral proof that chronologically accurate records were kept in Kent in the seventh century. Important too is the observation that these marginal annals were considered integral to the main text when recopied in Carolingian Francia; more than once these short Anglo-Saxon annals spawned a Frankish chronicle. They are thus an essential part of the pre-history of historical writing in Carolingian monasteries, and are an important component in the debate concerning the text-histories of the so-called "Major" and "Minor" Frankish annals.

These manuscripts and the annals they contain have not been studied since the texts were first edited in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in the 1820s. This paper provides a fresh analysis of this material, and evaluates its significance for the writing of history in seventh-century England and ninth-century Francia.

Session 22: "Examining Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts III"

Samantha Zacher (Vassar College)

"Converting the Hebrew in Anglo-Saxon England"

Anglo-Saxons authors seem never to have exhibited that fascination bordering on obsession with the "three sacred languages" of Christian culture (namely Latin, Greek, and Hebrew) that so pre-occupied their contemporary Irish counterparts. But while recent discussions have underlined the extent of Greek influence on Anglo-Saxon literature (whether mediated through Latin patristic sources or directly introduced by individuals such as Theodore of Tarsus), there has been little parallel interest in the way in which the Hebrew language was perceived and known in Anglo-Saxon England. This paper seeks to redress that balance, by considering a range of evidence, including manuscripts and texts in both Latin and Old English, to demonstrate the extent to which Hebrew words, phrases, and letters, although often mangled and misunderstood in transmission, still survived as potent symbols of the status of the Hebrew language throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

After a brief analysis of attitudes towards Hebrew expressed by such authors as Bede and Ælfric, the discussion turns towards the ways in which Hebrew was transmitted in more or less accurate forms in surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing versions of the alphabet, before considering (again, briefly) the extensive use of Hebrew etymologies (mostly as mediated by Jerome) in a wide range of texts in both Anglo-Latin and Old English. The bulk of the paper, however, concentrates on three areas that have proved particularly fruitful in the course of my wider analysis, namely the use of Hebrew etymologies in the extant glossaries, the hitherto unrecognized use of paronomasia based on supposed Hebrew etymologies by authors such as Cynewulf, and the extent to which embedded and highly corrupt phrases from Hebrew can be detected and disentangled in several of the surviving charms. I suggest that Hebrew, albeit having undergone conversion into more easily recognizable Latin and vernacular forms, nonetheless retained a powerful symbolic force that can be felt permeating Anglo-Saxon literature at a number of different levels throughout the period.

Anthony J. Adams (Univ. of Toronto)

"Alfred's *Soliloquies* and the Literary Development of Old English Learning"

King Alfred's translation of the *Soliloquies* of Augustine remains, in the words of Milton McC. Gatch, perhaps the most "problematical" and "intractable" of all of the translations undertaken during the Alfredian revival of learning. Study of this important example of early Anglo-Saxon learning and Old English literary prose has been hindered by the less than ideal critical status of the Old English text, for although it has been recently edited, the results have been criticized on several grounds. Also, the Latin manuscripts of the *Soliloquia* from Anglo-Saxon England are from the late-tenth and early-eleventh centuries, so the state of the text and presence of glosses on the text during Alfred's time are unknown. Nevertheless, this paper presents findings reached from a close analysis of the Latin and vernacular texts in parallel, and offers new suggestions considering the state of learning in Alfred's court as can be gleaned from a consideration of the changes he or his secretaries introduced to Augustine's text. My paper focuses upon the text of Augustine contained in Brussels, Bibl. Royale 8558-63 (2498), a manuscript not included in Helmut Gneuss's original "Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," published in *ASE* 9. This manuscript is significant because of its early tenth-century date, significantly earlier than the other known Anglo-Saxon manuscript of the *Soliloquia*.

Alfred's text is also considered in light of Alfred's own translation of Boethius' *De philosophiae consolatione*, a text which is related to Augustine's in both the Old English and the Latin traditions. There are several textual similarities between the two texts, which may shed light upon the composition of the texts. Additionally, the translations of Boethius and Augustine show the development throughout of the Old English "expository style," in which a complex — or, frequently, unfamiliar — thought is "glossed" and expounded upon, often in more concrete language; commonly there is a relationship to the tradition of wisdom literature and folk learning. Extensive parallels are offered in tabular form. This paper offers a significant contribution to the understanding of early Anglo-Saxon learning and the development of literary Old English prose.

Session 23: "Britain's Place in the Anglo-Saxon World"

Nicole Guenther Discenza (Univ. of South Florida)

"A Map of the Universe: Geography and Cosmology in the Program of Alfred the Great"

In medieval world maps, England occupies a small space near the edge of the known world. In early world history, it plays little role. To find oneself on the margins can be humbling; by bringing readers into contact with a broader Latin culture through his program of translation and education, Alfred's program paradoxically risked making the rising new leaders of *Engla lond* feel insignificant. The king himself, aware from personal experience of the great distance between Wessex and Rome, provided the antidote in his texts' geography and cosmology.

In a world with Jerusalem at its heart, England may well seem marginal. But what if one redefines the boundaries? The *Orosius* moves from a traditional recitation of Mediterranean-centered geography into a detailed treatment of Northern lands in Alfred's interviews with Ohthere and Wulfstan. Descriptions of the far-off sites of Alexander's conquests and other exotic locales in the main narrative also help bring England notionally closer to the rest of Europe. The program's process of relocating England continues when the Old English *Boethius* presents readers with a world bounded by India and Thule, places so distant that they make Rome and Jerusalem seem close to Wessex. Moreover, the *Boethius* reminds readers that much of this vast world is uninhabitable, but England sits firmly in one of the narrow bands that can support life. The text tells its audience that fame neither spreads far nor lasts long, making those who can read of the greatness of Rome and the Holy Land not marginal but privileged. Frequent references to heaven, hell, angels, and devils set the entire earth in a context where it appears as just a "rondbeag on scelde" ("boss on the shield," 41.25-6) of the cosmos. England may seem small, but Rome and Jerusalem are no bigger. Yet the audience should not despair amid this shifting set of perspectives: Wisdom needs no elaborate edifice, he tells the narrator, just the human mind as a home.

The *Orosius* redraws the known world through its geographical details. The *Boethius* then upsets hierarchies of boundary, margin, and space. Transporting the reader's mind both into a narrow cell and through the cosmos, sharing the secrets of heaven and hell with the listener, the *Boethius* reconstructs the universe. England can be as central as Rome: all it needs are the tools of learning and devoted minds. The former Alfred can provide; the latter the audience must supply. Alfred simultaneously teaches his readers geography and cosmology and asks them to improve England's place in the world through their efforts. The paper concludes by suggesting that the Old English Bede carries on Alfred's project by refocusing upon the geography of England itself.

Kathleen Davis (Princeton Univ.)

"Epistolary Method and the Concept of Empire in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*"

The word *imperium* in its various forms appears frequently in Bede's history, in contexts that range from reference to the Roman Empire or emperors and to imperial dating, to the problematic reference to English kings who obtained *imperium* (II.5 — the so-called *bretwalda* passage). *Imperium* plays irresolvably across the time, space, and power relations that Bede studies. Despite these disparate uses and their nuanced meanings, and without suggesting that his history ultimately resolves them, this paper argues that Bede weaves together the various aspects of *imperium*. He does so through an epistolary method — that is, the quotation of letters, mainly sent from popes to Britain, which both discuss and enact a connection to the imperial center even as they gradually revise the concept of empire. This paper thus situates the question of *imperium* in Bede within the arc of his rhetorical method and within his own reinscription of Britain's commerce with Rome.

Space, of course, looms large for Bede, and in his history *imperium* functions mainly in reference to two spatial concepts: (1) the perilous space between Britain and Rome, given as a cause for Britain's severance from the empire and later as an impediment to English conversion and maintenance of faith; and (2) the space of Britain itself, for which Bede wishes a spiritual unity that he often links to a unifying political rule, despite the problematic disjunction between mundane and providential time. Bede's carefully placed papal letters work to close the differences within and between these

spaces and times. Gregory's letters to Augustine, for instance, chase the cowering future bishop across the perilous distance to Britain, provide the logic by which to join English culture with Roman religious practice, and accompany palls that insure Britain's spiritual viability despite its distance from Rome; moreover, Gregory's dating system connects the papacy with imperial time. Gregory's letter to Æthelberht invokes the model of Constantine *imperator*. It telescopes to a point in space and time that identifies Britain with an imperial apex. Its rhetoric thereby dissolves the difference between Britain and Rome, and encourages a spiritual-political rule that mimics empire. The epistolary rhetoric of empire peaks and shifts with papal letters to Edwin (fifth in Bede's list of kings to obtain *imperium*), spiritualizing the concept "empire" in a way that informs both Edwin's conversion process and Bede's application of *imperium* to political rule in this ecclesiastical history.

But for Bede, Britain is always doubly divided — between the various factions of the English, and between the English, Irish, Britons, and Picts — as well as between Christians and pagans and between true and heretical Christians. This paper concludes with an assessment of the way this geographical and spiritual asymmetry troubles Bede's weaving of the aspects of *imperium*, and belies the idea of a singular connection to Rome.

Session 24: "Scandinavia and Britain"

Guillaume Schiltz (Univ. of Basel)

"The Canterbury Charm: Evidence for Mutual Exchange during Conversion?"

Anglo-Saxon scholars are mostly interested in the dissemination of erudite Christian transfer as a central product of Christianization. Recent studies, however, investigate the process of conversion over paganism in the light of an integrative cultural accommodation with conjoint influence, but presuppose a self-contained society where Christian thought and folklore tradition constantly intermingle. But what about the export of Christianity over longer distances such as to the Continent during the seventh and eighth century or later to Scandinavia? Do those outward contacts with non-Christian cultures have any impact on the missionaries' homeland?

BL, Cotton Caligula A.xv contains a marginal note, written in the Danish late Viking futhark and now known as the *Canterbury Charm* because of its scribal relation to Canterbury-originated annals. The charm, written down in the eleventh century and explicitly appealing to Thor, not only points to Scandinavia by its language and coding, but it also exhibits formulaic correspondences to Scandinavian amuletic lore. Its transmission to England may be traced back through missionary activities of the English clergy in Scandinavia.

The paper focuses on textual and contextual aspects of this foreign charm inside an English manuscript and so tracks down its actual function and motivation.

Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Ohio Wesleyan Univ.)

"Let Us Be Frank: Changing Adaptions of Continental Imports in Southumbrian Material Culture"

In writing about the mortuary assemblage in Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo, Martin Carver has posited an East Anglian strategy of resistance to Frankish cultural and political influence by the adaption of Scandinavian material culture, in opposition to Kentish capitulation to Frankish influence. This paper is intended to broaden and redefine Carver's dualistic scenario of an all-or-nothing relationship to Francia where the Kentish court is read as a wholly owned subsidiary of Merovingia, and East Anglia/Sutton Hoo's Scandinavianizing as a species of resistance to the Kentish/Frankish axis of power. Early "recycling" transforms imports for use in objects reflecting local taste, as seen in the Strood horn mount and the Long Wittenham bucket which both reuse Gallo-Roman repoussé metalwork, Christian in iconography and likely ecclesiastical in origin, to decorate probably secular objects of types not widely used in Francia. This approach is contrasted with later Southumbrian metalwork, where Frankish techniques are imitated to create the effect of an import, as in the Boss Hall composite brooch, which takes a very Continental approach to laying garnet pavé over a three-dimensional surface, achieving an effect (of fish scales on a curved surface) but not the quality level of high-end Frankish garnet inlay. It may well be that the knock-on material effect of the Frankish links of the Kentish court, and with them the gradual process of conversion, is a shift away from the "taking it local" effect of the Strood piece toward the "imitatio Franciae" of the Boss Hall piece, which was found in Suffolk, outside the Kentish epicenter of Frankish influence. This suggests that attitudes among the Southumbrian elite to imported Frankish metalwork not only extend beyond Kent and its immediate dependencies but are also changeable in response to shifting political and cultural allegiances over time. Taking Carver's reading of Sutton Hoo as a methodological starting point, a more nuanced reading of some aspects of Anglo-Saxon material culture may be possible, as indicating shifting attitudes toward Francia over time.

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